

In Search of Sri Jayatirtha's Brindavana

*An Independent Exploration & Review of the books 'Sri
Jayatirthara Mulabrindavana – Gajagahvara' & 'Sri
Jayatirthara Mulabrindavana – Malkheda'*



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Sri Jayatirthara Mula Brindavana – An Independent Review

Foreword:

“History is a fable agreed upon” – is what S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, a renowned historian of early 20th century, writes in the introductory chapter of his much acclaimed work “**The Beginning of South India History**” (published in 1918 by the Modern Printing Works, Madras).

In its preliminary sense, history is an unchecked and unverified pool of information that has been gathered from various quarters. History takes its shape from both genuine and false sources whose originality was never known to us (men of the modern times). Manipulation is the only constant in the narrations of the historical accounts and this may be due to the presence ‘man’ in the spelling of that word.

Learned people know that a lifeless object like a carved stone, inscription, a correspondence and the literature can’t manipulate the history on its own but the men who use them can do the damage. After all, most of the humans are driven by emotions than enlightenment and those emotions, when run higher than needed, make the men to become corrupt and force them to manipulate everything that they can lay their hands.

In such cases where imaginative paradoxes are overwhelmingly superimposed over the facts and figures there arises a ‘controversy.’ A controversy can only become ugly when the imagination transforms in to an overdrive of belief/sentiment. The relentless emotions drive the fruitful discussions to stop. False emotions nourish vehement outbursts that go unabatedly only to distort the vision further. Such sham feelings find their death till such time arrives when the ironies are properly ironed out by the warring camps with mutual understanding and respect.

The controversy of Sri Jayatirtha’s Mula Brindavanam:

At a personal level, I got introduced to this topic back in 1997 when I bought a Telugu Teertha Prabandha published by Sri Syamasundar, Adoni with financial aid from TTD. In his Telugu translation for Shloka 18 of Teertha Prabandha, Sri Syamasundar gave an account of the controversy on the location of Sri Jayatirtha’s brindavana. In his concluding note, he had supported Anegundi (Nava Brindavana).

At that time i.e. in 1997 I did not attach much interest to the controversy but in 2002 when I have purchased Teertha Prabandha Kannada translation by Sri V.

Prabhanjanacharya and saw a lengthy note on the same Shloka 18 of Purva Prabandha refuting Anegundi assertion.

Again, I did or rather could not devote much time to dig deeper in to this topic till 2014 i.e. till I read the 480 page book called “Sri Jayatirthara Mula Brindavana Gajagahvara” (SJMBG) in May 2014.

This latest development of releasing “Sri Jayatirthara Mula Brindavana Gajagahvara” has caused the eruption of a sleeping volcano and the warring camps have quickly made their arrangements for attacks and counter-attacks.

At this juncture, I told to myself that the topic must be explored to its logical end. This zeal has resulted in to the analytical studies of the sources that are available to me. This write-up is an outcome of that keenness to understand the issue from a neutral standpoint. Hence readers are requested to treat this write-up as the one that lies within the limits of my reasoning and understanding.

The chief objective of this write-up is to present an independent scrutiny of the arguments presented by Anegundi supporters & Malakheda supporters. This write-up is an attempt to bring-in a rational synthesis of the views.

I have tried my level best to collect, piece together, assimilate, analyse and record those sources. It is my humble submission to all the readers to forgive me for the lapses, errors & shortcomings, if any and accommodate this write-up in its best spirits.

History Never Lies

If I look at the said controversy from the perspective of ‘history’ as outlined in the “Foreword” section of this article, I can see a sheer lack of understanding and acceptability of the truth by many. In other words, there are few online activists who claim to have ‘critically’ analysed and ‘refuted’ the assertions made in the new book are the frontrunners in not accepting the bitter historical facts. In their hurry to refute the Anegundi theory they have neglected the actual socio, politico, religious conditions of that bygone era.

Any conclusion on a dispute, particularly on those issues that have strong historical connections, can’t withstand the scrutiny when it neglects the real-time facts. Thus, some of the Malakheda supporters have erred in their conclusion by completely neglecting the historical data.

On the other hand the Editors of SJMBG have shown considerable respect for historical studies and have tried to incorporate some such studies. They could have done a better job had they focused more on history than diatribes. Nevertheless, Anegondi camp led by the Editor-duo was somewhat scientific in their approach towards the said controversy.

Following is an additional pool of historical information that describes the conditions prevailed over South India during the lifetime of Sri Jayatirtha.

Political Conditions between 14th – 15th Century:

Firstly one might ask the question “why history needed while discussing about religious matter?”

The answer could be given as - knowing the historical background is a must to know the vibes of the spiritual leaders who lived under those political influences. In my opinion, even the great souls like Sri Jayatirtha must have respond to the material conditions like other commoners. Sri Jayatirtha must have acknowledged the political conditions of the country that he had traversed during his ascetic life. This chapter tries to focus on the historical developments that happened between 14th and 15th century.

Sri Jayatirtha’s timeline has generally been agreed as c.1348 – c.1388. He lived for 40 years and got initiated in to sanyasa deeksha in 1368 i.e. at the age of 20. So, a critical study of South India’s political scenario during this period would definitely throw some light on the movements of Sri Jayatirtha up till his Brindavana pravesha.

1. Al-Masudi, a 10th century Arab traveler, mentioned about Rashtrakutas and stated that they were ruling from a capital called Mankir or Manykheta (today’s Malkheda). This is the earliest reference on Malkheda that I could find. But the subsequent Hindu kings lost their control over this place.
2. At the time of Vikramaditya VI’s death i.e. **mid 12th century**, his empire was spread between present Mumbai, all the land compacted between the two mighty rivers of the South India i.e. Krishna & Tungabhadra up to the borders of modern Orissa. This vast extant of land also encompasses Telangana regin in which Malakheda was an integral part at that time.
3. As per the history books, 1310 is the year during which the Muhammadan forces from the north set their foot on South Indian soil. Alladdin Khilji, a governor at that time, made the first ever expedition against South Indian kings. During 1318,

Kutubuddin Mubarak, successor to Alladdin, reinitiated the south invasion and posted his governors in the regions of **Gulbarga**, Sagar and Dhosamudra (Dvarasamudram of Hoysalas).

4. At the time of Muhammad-bin-Tughlak's death i.e. around 1335AD, many of his South Indian dominions have declared independence.
5. In 1347, Allaudin Hasan Bahaman Shah shook off the Delhi Sultanate yoke and established Bahamani Sultanate for which Gulbarga became the capital city.
6. The adjoining Devagiri dominion also had a Muslim ruler.
7. According to the history, Mangalwedha (birthplace of Sri Jayatirtha) was under Bahamani Sultanate from 14th century onwards.
8. Thus at the time of Sri Jayatirtha's birth & all through his earthly presence, a vast area that includes Manyakheta and Mangalwedha was under the Muslim rule.

The religious tolerance during Muslim rule:

There are hardly any accounts in the Indian history that showcase the religious tolerance by a Muslim ruler towards his non-Muslim subjects. In many parts of Muslim ruled dominions, there was much animosity and annihilation of non-Muslim population than peaceful coexistence. The 800 years of Muslim rule in many parts of India is best known for its temple desecrations, destruction of other religions, conversions at sword, defiling of women folk, mass slaughters of men and non-Muslim believers, uprooting the knowledge bases like universities at Nalanda, Takshashila etc.

In addition to the above, Muslim rulers such as Aurangzeb have waged Jihad wars against their own brethren i.e. Shi'a Muslims by branding them as 'heterodox'.

Under such circumstances it would be highly unlikely that Sri Jayatirtha would have peacefully spent the time in Muslim dominated dominions. Sri Jayatirtha needed a socially peaceful, politically secured and religiously co-habitable place that allows him to continue his penance and writing worthy scriptures.

With the above stark realities, I can conclude with some authority and ease that both the Mangalwedha and Malkheda being under Muslim rule would have become unsecured places for any Hindu pontiff to which Sri Jayatirtha would not be an exception.

In addition to this, having trained himself as a military commander, Sri Jayatirtha must have exercised a greater vigil about the political developments. He must have used his sharp intelligence of a seasoned warrior to decide about a safer place to carry out his mission.

Malkheda supporters made an assertion that Malkheda being in close vicinity to Mangalwedha, Sri Jayatirtha might have done the brindavana pravesha in the former location. But the political and religious atmospheres during the lifetime of Sri Jayatirtha are not in support of such assertion. Hence, Sri Jayatirtha must have chosen a different location to carry out his works and in all probability might have chosen a more secured place for his brindavana as well.

We can take another important note here that all the Devatas descended on this earth shall behave like mortal men as the saying goes “ನರಬೋಕೇ ನರವತ್ಸ್ರವರ್ತಂತೇ”. Indra Devaru too might have not taken an exception for himself in his avatara as Sri Jayatirtha.

Here I wish to offer another historic angle.

Over a period of time i.e. after the fall of Hampi in the year 1565 and the subsequent retreat of Vijayanagara emperor to Penugonda, we hear many stories of Hindu-Muslim co-existence in peaceful atmosphere. Some of those great accounts are closely associated with Madhva community. Mantralaya Guru Sarvabhauma Sri Raghavendra Tirtha's interaction with the then Adil Shahi Sultan & Sri Mahipati Dasa's elevation to the post of Diwan in Adil Shah's court and the most intriguing episode of his association with Nunga & Nungi who were of Musalman origin are some of the noteworthy developments that showcase Hindu-Muslim reconciliation. Thus since the first invasion of South by the Muslims from the North in 13th century, it took almost three centuries for a religious reconciliation between Hindu-Muslim communities in South India.

But all these developments have started occurring from late 16th century whereas the present case study of Jayatirtha belongs to mid 14th century in which Muslims were bitterly resolved to uproot Hindu 'kaphirs.' Hence, the happy assumption of Jayatirtha living peacefully in the vicinities of Mangalwedha, Yaragola and Malkheda can suffer from severe distortion of real-time history of his period.

Timelines of Sri Rajaru & Sri Raghuvaryaru

We are aware that there are two views held by two camps on the mula brindavana of Sri Jayatirtha i.e. Anegundi and Malakheda.

I am of the understanding that the Anegundi camp does not have any qualms in accepting the presence of a brindavana ascribed to Sri Jayatirtha at Malakheda. Instead they dispute whether the brindavana at Malakheda is the mula brindavana or not. This is what the Editors of SJMBG have shown through their book particularly under a section “ಉಭಯ ಬೃಂದಾವನಗಳಿಗೂ ನಮ್ಮ ನಮನ.”

On the contrary, Malakheda camp is in complete denial of Sri Jayatirtha brindavana existing out of Malkheda. This refusal is the bottle neck and is making the issue a juggernaut and their rigidity is not allowing any kind of reconciliation to materialize.

Under such severe resistance to accept sensible arguments, Sri VP Acharya’s book has recorded many erroneous statements which shall be reviewed and criticized in the ensuing chapters. But first thing first!

Now, let me focus on subtle aspect of recorded history i.e. time-line comparison of Sri Vadirajaru and Sri Raghuvariyaru. I am of the opinion that this mapping would allow us to have an impartial look at the ground reality.

1. Sri Vadirajaru's timeline → 1480 AD - 1600 AD
2. Sri Raghuvariyaru's Peethadhipatya timeline → 1502 AD - 1557 AD
3. The above timelines tell us that Rajaru was 22 years old at the time of Raghuvariyaru's PeethAroha and he was 77 years old at the time of latter's brindavana pravesha.
4. As per SJMBG book, Sri Vadiraja visited Gajagahvara in 1586 or 1588. This was his last visit to **Astha Brindavana** place. In this visit he wrote those two Tirtha Prabandha shlokas that are being heavily disputed by both the camps.
5. Going by the above statement from SJMBG, Sri Rajaru was either 106 or 108 years old at the time of writing those 2 shlokas on Gajagahvara and Jayaritharu.

Let us proceed to assimilate the further realities which are as under:

1. Now, having known the timelines of Sri Rajaru & Sri Raghuvariyaru, it shall become clear to us that Sri Raghuvariyaru came to the peetha when Sri Rajaru was at his prime youth and he left his mortal body in c.1552 i.e. well before Sri Rajaru entered his Pancha Brindavana in c.1600.

2. As Sri Rajaru had good knowledge about Gajagahvara & Hampi, he never would have suffered from lack of communication in knowing who is being enshrined in Gajagahvara. Also, at the time when Raghuvariyaru assumed Uttaradi Matha reigns, Rajaru was as young as 22 years and as dynamic as a young man of that age could be. This fact rules out any remotest possibilities of Rajaru being wrongly understood the Brindavana in question as that of Jayatirtha.
3. Sri Rajaru, having all the incredible qualities like sharp brain, excellent oratory, dexterous authorship et al, I can't imagine that he can falter in knowing the brindavana of Sri Jaya Tirtharu.
4. If we add the Ruju status to Rajaru, it becomes highly superfluous to think that he erred in composing Shloka on Jayatirtharu while standing before Raghuvariyaru or any other saint for that matter.
5. If we take a look at the timelines again, by the year 1586 or 1588 when Rajaru paid the last visit to Gajagahvara wrote those shlokas, it would have been close to 30 years that Sri Raghuvariyaru made his brindavana pravesha, if at all he entered brindavana at Anegundi. Even taking in to the account of slow and passive communication systems existed in that era, 30 years is a long period for anyone to know details like who-is-who and who-is-where etc. Particularly with the Brindavana pravesha of a Peethadhipati, it would be illogical to think that a well placed authority like Sri Rajaru to mistake the Brindavana of Sri Raghuvariya as that of Sri Jayatirtha's.

Thus, I have concluded that the Brindavana-in-question in Anegundi can't be ascribed to Sri Raghuvariyaru.

NOTE: More analysis of historical data can be found in the articles written by Sri N.A.P.S. Rao.

Extrapolation of Sri Vadiraja's Tirtha Prabandha Shlokas

With incomplete, sometimes contradictory, life accounts and the absence of authentic records of the history recorded by Madhvas of those times, we are having a need to look for other sources that shed some light.

It is indisputable to say that both the camps are relying on scriptural references from Sanskrit and Kannada sources. Among the Sanskrit sources, Sri Vadiraja's Tirtha Prabandha shlokas on Anegundi (Gajagahvara) and on Sri Jayatirtha have been quoted by each camp as authentic proof for their respective argument. These two shlokas have

been used, contested and debated repeatedly by each camp as a *pramana* that supports their point of view.

This is a weird disposition from a logical standpoint.

It is highly improbable to even think that Sri Rajaru can make such a dubious statement that contradicts with reality. Hence, there is a need to make a dispassionate scrutiny of these shlokas by using the impartial tools like Vyakarana, Chandas & Nirukta.

Now, let me present my analysis of Tirtha Prabandha shlokas:

Analysis of Shlokas 17 & 18 from Purva Prabandha

I feel that a small but an exclusive introduction is necessary to present my analysis in a logical flow. Please read through the following introduction.

Introduction

It's my firm belief that the said shlokas from Purva Prabandha shall not be read, understood and quoted in isolation but must be read with the opening and closing shlokas of Tirtha Prabandha. Most importantly the below shlokas shall become critical in understanding the real purports of Purva Prabandha shlokas (17th & 18th)

ತೀರ್ಥಕ್ಷೇತ್ರ ತದೀಶಾನಾಂ ಮಾಹಾತ್ಮಾನಿ ಯಥಾಮತಿ |
ವಾದಿರಾಜೋ ಯತಿಃ ಸ್ತೌತಿ ಪದ್ಯೈಃ ಕತಿಪಯೈಃ ಕವಿಃ ||

(Shloka 5: Paschima Prabandha)

ನಾನಾವೃತ್ತಂ ಸ್ವಯಾತ್ರಾಕ್ರಮಪರಿಚಿತಸುಕ್ಷೇತ್ರಮಾಹಾತ್ಮಯುಕ್ತಂ
ಶಬ್ದಾಲಂಕಾರಬಂಧಂ ಶಮಲಕುಲಹರಶ್ಲಾಘನೀಯಾರ್ಥಹೃದ್ಯಮ್ |
ಶ್ರೀನಾಥಪ್ರೀತಿಹೇತೋರ್ಹಯವದನಕೃಪಾಂಬೋಧಿಸಂಭೂತರತ್ನಂ
ಚಕ್ರೇ ತೀರ್ಥಪ್ರಬಂಧಂ ಬಹುಗುಣಭರಿತಂ ವಾದಿರಾಜೋ ಯತೀಂದ್ರಃ ||

(Shloka 46 – Dakshika Prabandha)

According to me, in the above 2 shlokas, the word “ಕ್ಷೇತ್ರ” plays the sheet anchor role in understanding the true interpretation of Shloka 17th & 18th of Purva Prabandha. Let me explain this:

The etymological meaning of “ಕ್ಷೇತ್ರ” is ಕ್ಷೇ ಗತಿ, ವಾಸಃ where ವಾಸಃ can also be read as ನಿವಾಸಃ. The word “ನಿವಾಸಃ” means the place/abode/enshrinement etc. From this it becomes abundantly clear that Sri Rajaru’s true intention was to write about the gods/demigods/deities/great souls and their ‘abodes’ as well and not just about deities alone! In other words, when he wrote a shloka on Sri Jayatirtha it goes beyond any doubt that he indeed was right in front of the Brindavana of Sri Jayatirtha.

Sri V. Prabhanjanacharya (Sri V.P.), in his Kannada commentary, has written that:

ತೀರ್ಥಕ್ಷೇತ್ರತದೀಶಾನಾಂ: ಇಲ್ಲಿ ತೀರ್ಥಗಳು ಎಂದರೇ ಗಂಗಾದಿಗಳು ಎಂದೂ, ಕ್ಷೇತ್ರಗಳು ಎಂದರೇ ಶ್ರೀರಂಗಪುಷ್ಕರಾದಿಗಳು ಎಂದೂ ಅರ್ಥ.

(Page 9 of Teertha Prabandha with Kannada Translation, 2nd Edition, Pub: 1996)

To substantiate his above commentary, Sri V.P. cites a particular *Smriti*:

ಪುಷ್ಕರಾದ್ಯಾನಿ ಕ್ಷೇತ್ರಾಣಿ ಗಂಗಾದ್ಯಾಃ ಸರಿತಸ್ತಥಾ (ಸ್ಮೃತಿ) (1st Footnote on Page 9)

From the above, it becomes clear that Sri Rajaru did write all the TP shlokas by physically present in that particular Teertha and/or Kshetra and never wrote anything otherwise.

Also, if we look at what Sri Rajaru told at the end of Tirtha Prabandha i.e. "ಸ್ವಯಾತ್ರಾಕ್ರಮಪರಿಚಿತ ಸುಕ್ಷೇತ್ರ ಮಾಹಾತ್ಮಯುಕ್ತಂ", it becomes abundantly clear that Sri Rajaru has written the shlokas only when he visited that place and not otherwise. The word "ಸ್ವಯಾತ್ರಾ" emphasises this said truth without any shadow of doubtfulness.

With the above analysis, one can easily confirm to one’s self that Sri Rajaru did praise Sri Jayatirtharu in Anegundi and has never enacted a ‘memorising’ act that is being constantly proposed by the Malakheda camp.

Taking the word "ಕ್ರಮಪರಿಚಿತ" for analysis, we can assess the Gajagahvara shloka (17th shloka of Purva Prabandha) and by doing so we can see how orderly Sri Rajaru arranged the pointers that lead us to locate Jayatirtha’s brindavana.

- In the 1st line of Shloka 17, he **refers to Anegundi** i.e. vast extant of land to the northern side of Tungabhadra river.

- In the 2nd line of same shloka, **by referring to the 8 Yatis as 8 Diggajas** Sri Rajaru **takes us to the Brindavana gadde** that is located in middle of the Tungabhadra which is part of Anegundi.
- Then he moves on to Shloka 18 **and directly refers to Sri Jayatirtharu**.

I wish to draw a comparison of the above inputs with today's modern communication systems i.e. postal and email.

We use "postal address" as the crucial criterion to send out communication. The Postal dept. uses this **postal address** details such as Mr. ABC, Padmanabha Nagar, Bangalore for a proper delivery. And for online communiqués, a valid **email address** like xyz@abc.com is needed.

I wonder that Sri Rajaru foresaw this modern system way back in 1586 or 1588 AD and wrote those 2 shlokas. It is a great amusement to arrive at the following by converting those 2 shlokas in to one-word-form of theirs. Please see below:

1st line of 17th Shloka of Purva Prabandha – **Anegundi**

2nd line of 17th Shloka of Purva Prabandha – **Brindavanagadde**

4th line of 18th Shloka of Purva Prabandha – **Sri Jayamuni**

Now, when the above details are inversed they appear to be like this:

Sri Jayamuni

Brindavanagadde OR srijayamuni@brindavanagadde-anegundi.com

Anegundi.

Likewise, Sri Rajaru has adhered to his proclamation of introducing the *Kshetras* in an orderly way (ಕ್ರಮಪರಿಚಿತ). The arrangement of shlokas too is according to his vow of describing those locations/objects only that are being seen by him.

With all these details I wish to conclude that Sri Rajaru has not only visited the place but also organised the shlokas in accordance with basic tenet of Madhva siddhanta i.e. ಯದೃಶ್ಯಂ ತತ್ ಸತ್ಯಂ and he never enacted a mythical "remembering act" as being proposed by the Malakheda camp.

I am also of the opinion that at the time of Sri Rajaru there was no such ambiguity w.r.t. Sri Jayatirtharu's mula brindavana as it is today and hence the shlokas are directly referring to the person.

I can see lot of proofs being furnished in support of Malakheda but all of them are of **post-Vadiraja period** and commence from mid 18th century onward. Hence, I prefer to go with Sri Rajaru to understand Anegundi as the original location of Sri Jayatirtha's brindavana. At the same time, I also wish to stay with Sri (Guru) Vijaya Dasaru and other enlightened souls to worship Sri Jayatirtharu in Malakheda as his 2nd abode.

Brindavana of Sri Jayatirtha in Nava Brindavana - An Interesting Exploration:

It would be a motivating discovery to know which exact brindavana is that of Sri Jayatirtharu among the nine Brindavanas. For this purpose, I feel, all those carved images and their symbolisms that were mentioned in SJMBG can't be ignored or omitted as is being done by Malkheda camp.

Alongside of the analysis presented in the book, I wish to make few points as to why such analysis is really needed to mitigate the issue:

- Brindavana is the physical symbol of a Yati who has departed from this mortal world.
- The next generations would learn about the Brindavana from their ancestors and continue to recognize it as the divine presence of a particular saint.
- There is no hard and fast rules w.r.t. carving images/symbols on any brindavana. Instead there is a standardized process of erecting a brindavana.
- If there is any kind of additional symbolism being exhibited on a brindavana then it must be studied in line with the life history of the saint enshrined in it.
- Images of gods are easy to understand as Maadhvas are not Advitins to assume abheda between the god & the jeevi enshrined in a Brindavana.
- If there are any images of humans or peculiar objects then that symbolism cannot be ignored as such it can negate the truth.
- Any wishful distortion of crucial symbolism shown on a brindavana is a condemnable act as it shall inflict serious dent in to the minds of devotees.
- Each brindavana is unique by its physical appearance and also by the presence of divine persona housed in it.
- The spiritual aura of each brindavana is inimitable i.e. no two brindavanas can be compared with single/common scale of measurement.

- As Madhva school of thought is deeply rooted in Taratamya, all must accept uniqueness of each brindavana and must stop from generalizing all the Brindavanas.
- Any attempt of generalization of all the brindavanas would be a futile exercise as the Brindavanas are not factory-manufactured goods to have standard physical specifications and parameters.

From this aspect, I feel that the authors of SJMBG have done a good job by analyzing the images carved on the brindavana-in-question.

Malakheda camp which is keeping mum and bypassing the images carved on the Brindavana-in-question should present a counter-analysis of the symbols and must put it forward for further studies. If this is not done then the devotees should make a choice between the assertive and defective theories and pursue the Sadhana as a *fate accompli*.

Online Arguments & The Realities

When I have presented the above arguments in Sumadhwa Seva Yahoo Group, its moderator Narahari Sumadhwa (NS) has engaged himself in a discussion.

At the outset, following are the salient points of the initial discussion:

- A. NS agreed that Sri Rajaru has described the locations/places/deities/persons after paying a personal visit to all of them.
- B. NS does not have any doubts about the great qualities of Sri Rajaru like his sharp memory, intellectuality, poetic & oratory skills etc.
- C. He stated that Sri Rajaru did praise Sri Jayatirtharu as part of Purva Prabandha.
- D. NS also agreed that Sri Rajaru never falter in wrongly recognizing the brindavana of Raghuvaryaru as that of Jayatirtharu.

Subsequently, he disagreed with the following:

1. Though Sri Rajaru described Sri Jayatirtha in Purva Prabandha, he did not specify any brindavana.
2. The lack of word brindavana or such reference hints that Sri Rajaru simply **remembered** the senior pontiff & paid homage to him at Anegundi.
3. NS also questioned the proofs from the commentary written on Tirtha Prabandha that clearly states the presence of Sri Jayatirtharu in Nava Brindavana.

Hereunder is my analysis of NS's statements:

1. The first disagreement of NS is in direct contradiction with his statements on Sri Rajaru mentioned from A – D.
2. As his first objection is suffering from inconsistency & being contradictory to the source itself, there is no point in furnishing proofs from the Tirtha Prabandha commentary.
3. The proofs from the Tirtha Prabandha commentary provided by the authors of SJMBG have been summarily dismissed by NS and hence no need to repeat the same here.

Thus, I can conclude that the [self-contradiction](#) committed by NS is the only bone of contention for him to take the submissions made by the authors of SJMBG and also by me (in favour of Sri Jayaraya's mula brindavana being at Anegundi.)

As I am not committed to any particular Matha or undergoing the sufferings of protecting an ill-conceived theory, I tried to accommodate the disagreements expressed by NS by posing following questions to myself:

- I. Are there instances in Tirtha Prabandha wherein Sri Rajaru described the place or deity without being there in that *Kshetra*?
- II. Whether he had written any shloka that supports NS's assertion of "remembering" or "recalling" or "memorizing" a place/deity/person by staying in a place that is not associated with that place/deity/person.
- III. Are there any shlokas that have been written in any other status than *Jagrut avastha* as it may provide an opportunity for Sri Rajaru to write about another place/deity/person which is not associated with the place where he was actually staying at the time of writing such shloka(s)?
- IV. Are there any shlokas that do not list the names of places/persons yet sound authentic?
- V. If at all such shlokas exist in Tirtha Prabandha, what were the translations & comments provided by the contemporary scholars?

Hereunder is the conclusions drawn by me after scrutiny:

- | | | |
|----------------------|---|----------------------------------------------------------|
| For questions I & II | - | Negative (No such shlokas found) |
| For question III | - | Affirmative (Only 1 shloka found) |
| For question IV | - | Affirmative (Only 1 shloka found) |
| For question V | - | Affirmative (after referring to 2 books) |

Detailed Summary for the scrutiny

In order to find the answers for the above questions, I took the help of two editions of Tirtha Prabandha i.e.

- (1) Sri V. Prabhanjanacharya, published in 1996 (2nd edition in Kannada)
- (2) Sri Sanuru Bhima Bhatta, published in 1997 (5th edition in Kannada).

Following are my findings:

From both the above books, I could conclude that there were no such descriptions made by Sri Rajaru without being to a *Kshetra*. But there is only one shloka written in a dream and another shloka that does not list the names of the persons though it praises them in eloquent terms. Details of these 2 curious shlokas are as under:

i. The Dream Poem

The 13th shloka from Pashchima Prabandha, its meaning & notes given by the aforesaid translators are given under:

ರೂಪ್ಯಾತ್ಮಕಾಮರಪುರಃಸರ ಸನ್ನಿರೂಪ್ಯ
ರೂಪ್ಯಾತ್ಮಕಂ ಚ ಭವತು ಕೃಪಯಾ ಗತಸ್ಯ
ರೂಪ್ಯಾತ್ಮಕಾಲಯಕೃತಾಲಯ ಯತ್ ತ್ವಮೇವ
ರೂಪ್ಯಾತ್ಮನೋ ಗತಿರಿಹಾಪಿ ತದೀಶ ಪಾಹಿ

Sri V. Prabhanjanacharya wrote the following as part of his special notes for this shloka:

“ಇದು ಶ್ರೀ ವಾದಿರಾಜಸ್ವಾಮಿಗಳ ಸ್ವಾಪ್ನಪದ್ಯ” (from Page No.23).

To the above, Sri Prabhanjanacharya gives in the footnotes, the original comment written by Sri Narayanacharya as under:

“ಪುನರಪಿ ಸ್ವಕೀಯಸ್ವಾಪ್ನಪದ್ಯೇನ ತಮೇವ ಕೃಷ್ಣಂ ಸ್ತೌತಿ” (ವ್ಯಾಖ್ಯಾನ) (footnote in Page 23)

To this same shloka Sri Sanuru Bhima Bhattaru wrote as:

ಅನನ್ಯ ಭಾವದಿಂದ ಶ್ರೀಕೃಷ್ಣನನ್ನೇ ಚಿಂತಿಸುತ್ತಿದ್ದ ಶ್ರೀವಾದಿರಾಜತೀರ್ಥರು ಹಯವದನನ ದಯೆಯಿಂದ
ಸ್ವಪ್ನದಲ್ಲಿ ಹೇಳಿದ ಅದ್ಭುತವಾದ ಪದ್ಯವಿದು. (Page No. 66)

I must admit here that the book published by Sri V. Prabhanjanacharya is of great help as it contains the quotations drawn directly from the commentary written by Sri Narayanacharya, the direct disciple of Sri Rajaru. The commentaries of Sri Narayanacharya on various Tirtha Prabandha shlokas were given in the footnotes of the said book. Whereas, the book published by Sri Sanuru Bhima Bhattaru does not provide any exhaustive footnotes but includes the Kannada translation of the shloka & its commentary as well.

Getting back to the dream poem, at the time of writing this shloka Sri Rajaru was physically present in Udupi and in his dream he composed a poem on Udupi Krishna only and not on other Krishna from some another *kshetra*! This dream poem strongly establishes the undeniable fact that Sri Rajaru did not move away from his oath to write about what he sees & where he is physically present (ತೀರ್ಥಕ್ಷೇತ್ರ ತದೀಶಾನಾಂ).

We cannot get a best example than this to understand the accuracy of Sri Rajaru in providing geo-specific, person-specific & context-specific details without any ambiguity. But, this consistent approach of Sri Rajaru is not being applied to his shloka on Sri Jayatirtharu by the Malakheda supporters. Their stance to misinterpret the shloka on Sri Jayatirthat is nothing short of doubting the commitment of Sri Rajaru towards his own oath (ಸ್ವಯಾತ್ರಾಕ್ರಮಪರಿಚಿತಸುಕ್ಷೇತ್ರಮಾಹಾತ್ಮಯುಕ್ತಂ).

ii. Shloka on Ashta Yatis of Udupi

Now, let us deal with another interesting shloka i.e. the 8th shloka of Pashchima Prabandha that praises the 8 seers (Ashta Yatigalu representing Ashta Mathagalu) of Udupi who were contemporaries of Sri Rajaru. The shloka is as under:

ಯಸ್ಮಿನ್ ವಾಗ್ವಿಜೃಢಾರಾ ದುರಿತಕುಲಮಹಾತೂಲದಾಹೇತಿಶೂರಾಃ
ದಂಡಪ್ರೋದ್ಭಾಸಿಹಸ್ತಾಃ ಸ್ಫುರದಸಿಸಮಸನ್ಮಾರ್ಗಸಕ್ತಾಃ ಸಮಸ್ತಾಃ
ಶ್ರೀಕೃಷ್ಣಸ್ನೇಹಪಾಶಾಃ ಶ್ರಮಹರಗತಯಃ ಶಾಂತಿಭಾಜೋ ವಿರಕ್ತಾಃ
ಯೋಗೀಂದ್ರಾಶ್ಚಿತ್ರಲೋಕಾಧಿಪನಿಭವಿಭವಾ ಮಧ್ವದಾಸಾ ಜಯಂತಿ

Sri Prabhanjanacharya writes that in this shloka Sri Rajaru has praised the 8 yatis of Udupi (ವಿ. ಉಡುಪಿಯ ಅಷ್ಟಮಠಾಧೀಶರುಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಪ್ರತಿಯೊಬ್ಬರೂ ಅಷ್ಟದಿಕ್ಪಾಲರುಗಳ ವೈಭವವನ್ನು ಹೊಂದಿದವರಾಗಿ ಅದ್ಭುತವೆನ್ನಿಸಿರುವರು ಎಂದು ಭಾವ.) (from Page 13)

It should be noted here that Sri Rajaru did not specify any location and the names of the people that were referred to in this shloka. In fact, he has not even mentioned the number of people being praised in this shloka. Does the absence of these so-called “direct references” altered the translation by Sri Prabhanjanacharya? No. Not at all!

To this shloka the footnotes given by Sri Prabhanjanacharya’s are as under:

“ವಿಶ್ವಂ ಸತ್ಯಂ ಹರಿಃ ಕರ್ತಾ ಜೀವೋನ್ಯಃ ಪರಮಾರ್ಥತಃ|ವೇದಃ ಸತ್ಯಂ ಪುರಾಣಂ ಚೇತ್ಯೇವಂ
ವ್ಯಾಸಮತಸ್ಥಿತಿಃ”*

ಇತ್ಯಾದಿರೂಪವಾಗೇವ ವಾಕ್ಯಮೇವ ವಪ್ರಧಾರಾ ಯೇಷಾಂ ತೇ| ಶಾಸ್ತ್ರಾಭ್ಯಾಸಪಾಟವೇನ
ಅತಿನಿಶಿತವಾಕ್ಯಧಾರಯಾ ವಿರುದ್ಧರಾದ್ಧಾಂತಪರ್ವತಪಕ್ಷವಿಚ್ಛೇದನಸಮರ್ಥಾ ಇತ್ಯರ್ಥಃ| (ವ್ಯಾಖ್ಯಾನ)
(from Page 13)

ಕ್ಷುರಸ್ಯ ಧಾರಾ ನಿಶಿತಾ ದುರತ್ಯಯಾ ದುರ್ಗಂ ಪಥಸ್ತತ್ ಕವಯೋ ವದಂತಿ| - ಕರೋಪನಿಷತ್
ಅಸಿವದತೀಕ್ಷ್ಯಾನಶನಾದಿವ್ರತಚರ್ಯನಿಷ್ಠಾ ಇತ್ಯರ್ಥಃ| (ವ್ಯಾಖ್ಯಾನ) (from Page 14)

This 8th shloka of Pashchima Prabandha did not explicitly utter the words like “Udupi” or “Ashta MathadheeshaH” etc and the above vyakhyanas provided by the translator also do not feature such words.

Going by the argument made by NS that the Shloka on Jayatirtha does not carry the word “Brindavana” can I argue here that the commentary written by Sri V.P. is unauthentic and simply doctored by him? I can’t do so because his Kannada commentary is based on the Sanskrit commentary of Sri Narayanacharya which has specified that this shloka refers to the eight Yathis of Udupi.

Sri Prabhanjanacharya, from his end, has added the following comment on Sri Rajaru:

“ಪರರ ಗುಣಗಳನ್ನೂ ಹೀಗೆ ತುಂಬು ಹೃದಯದಿಂದ ವರ್ಣಿಸುವ ಶ್ರೀವಾದಿರಾಜರ ಸಹೃದಯತೆ ಅಪೂರ್ವವಾದ
ಜ್ಞಾನಿಲಕ್ಷಣವಾಗಿದೆ.”

It is sad to note now that Sri V.P. himself is negating the very essence of his above statement by undermining Sri Rajaru. By refuting the facts embedded in 18th shloka of

Purva Prabandha about Sri Jayatirtha's Mula Brindavana and denying the true purport of Sri Narayanacharya's commentary, Sri V.P. is not helping the Madhva community at large to come closer to the truth about Sri Jayatirtha's Brindavana.

The Pros & Cons

While making his point, NS mentioned that Sri Jayatirtharu is everywhere and 18th shloka of Purva Prabandha is prasining an omnipresent Jayatirtha. Of course, Jayatirtha is everywhere as he is a *sAmsha dEvata* and I do not disagree with it. But this 'generalisation' does not fit in to the oath taken by Sri Rajaru. On the other hand, a careful study of the words used by Sri Rajaru can shed some light.

The etymological meaning of “ಕ್ಷೇತ್ರ” (i.e. ಕ್ಷೇ ಗತಿ, [ವಾಸಃ](#)) emphasizes that a *Kshetra* is superior to an ordinary place. In other words there is a special '*sannidhana visesha*' in a *Kshetra* that could not be found everywhere. From this perspective, the Mula Brindavana becomes crucial for the devotees to continue their spiritual pursuit on a right path. Thus, the attempt by NS & Malakheda camp to oversimplify Sri Jayatirtha's original Brindavana is completely wrong.

It is well known that in Dvaita siddhanta, lot of importance is attached to the '*mahima*' and '*sannidhana*' of a deity or a seer. It is due to the '*mahima*' and '*sannidhana*' alone those places became *Kshetras*. Along with '*mahima*' it is also important to know the exact location of the '*sannidhana*.' Else, '*sadhana*' shall remain incomplete.

This does not mean that I doubt the presence of Sri Jayatirtharu in Malakheda. I am not arguing 'against' Malakheda but am arguing in favour of 'Mula Brindavana.'

Another Clue to Arrive at Right Conclusion

There is another reason for me to come to the conclusion that the Shloka 18 refers to Sri Jayatirtha's Brindavana. Hereunder is my analysis:

- The commentary of Sri Narayanacharya “ಪುನರಪಿ ಸ್ವಕೀಯಸ್ವಾಪ್ನಪದ್ಯೇನ ತಮೇವ ಕೃಷ್ಣಂ ಸ್ತೌತಿ” for the 13th shloka from Pashchima Prabandha sheds more light on the background of his commentary.
- It is unlikely for anyone to know the dreams of another person by first hand.
- Unless the person who dreamt reveals the contents of his dream there is no way for others to know about it.

- If Sri Narayanacharya has commented a particular poem as a “dream poem” (ಸ್ವಾಪ್ನಪದ್ಯೇನ) it firmly establishes that Sri Rajaru himself must have revealed the background of that dream.
- In other words, Sri Narayanacharya’s commentary is nothing but the direct ‘upadesha’ given by Sri Rajaru himself. This is the unique phenomenon of Sri Narayanacharya’s commentary.
- Can such a distinctive character of Sri Narayanacharya’s commentary be brushed aside like how it is being done by the Malakheda camp?

ಗಜಗಪ್ಪರೇ ಜಯತೀರ್ಥಂ ವರ್ಣಯತಿ or ಯತ್ರ ಗಜಗಪ್ಪರೇ ಯಃ ಜಯಮುನಿಃ

Malakheda supporters’ arguments on Shloka 18 of Purva Prabandha can be summarised as under:

- That Sri Rajaru, while being at Brindavana gadde, ‘remembered’ Jayatirtharu owing to the exemplary works done by the latter.
- That the 18th shloka of Purva Prabandha focuses more on the books written by Jayatirtha than making direct references to either Sri Jayatirtha or to his brindavana at Anegundi.

I understand that Sri Prabhanjanacharya has rejected “ಗಜಗಪ್ಪರೇ ಜಯತೀರ್ಥಂ ವರ್ಣಯತಿ” as an induced statement but I don’t think that the sentence “ಯತ್ರ ಗಜಗಪ್ಪರೇ ಯಃ ಜಯಮುನಿಃ” has deviated from the inference drawn from the first statement.

I also know that the Malakheda supporters present a supposition that Sri Rajaru praised Sri Jayatirtha at Anegundi (ಯತ್ರ ಗಜಗಪ್ಪರೇ) and hence the argument of Anegundi supporters becomes void. In other words, the commentator (Sri Narayanacharya) has written that Sri Rajaru was at Gajagahvara and ‘remembered’ Sri Jayatirtha as the latter stayed at Anegundi and wrote some of his books there. Hence the shloka is speaking about Sri Jayatirtha’s books but not about the Brindavana of Sri Jayatirtha.

In my opinion Malakheda supporters need to consider the following and take cognizance of these points before assuming that their stand is the ultimate truth:

- Shloka 18 is explicitly taking the name of Sri Jayatirtharu along with the books written by him.
- The name of Sri Jayatirtharu has been clearly mentioned in the last part of the last line of this shloka (ಜಯಮುನಿರಸಕೃದ್ವೀಕ್ಷ್ಯ ರೇಮೇ ಕೃತಾರ್ಥಃ :)

- Even if we assume that the phrase “ಯತ್ರ ಗಜಗಹ್ವರೇ ಯಃ ಜಯಮುನಿಃ” specifies about the geographical positioning of Sri Rajaru at the time of writing this shloka, this assumption holds water for Anegundi supporters (ref: ತೀರ್ಥಕ್ಷೇತ್ರ ತದೀಶಾನಾಂ, ಸ್ವಯಾತ್ರಾಕ್ರಮಪರಿಚಿತಸುಕ್ಷೇತ್ರಮಾಹಾತ್ಮಯುಕ್ತಂ). In other words, Sri Rajaru praised Sri Jayatirtharu at Anegundi because that was the “kshetra” of Sri Jayatirtharu.
- The phrase “ಯಥಾ ಗೃಹಸ್ಥಃ” used by Sri Narayanacharya confirms that the **protagonist of Shloka 18 is Sri Jayatirtharu only and not his books**.
- Sri V. Prabhanjanacharya too in his Kannada translation (Published in 1996) gave “Sri Jayatirtha” as the heading for this shloka and used parentheses to add ‘Malakheda.’ *(It is a well known principle in formal writing that the text before the parenthesis holds water without the additional information put inside the parenthesis)*
- If Sri VP’s believes that 18th shloka is all about Jayatirtha’s books only then he must have used a different title such as “Sri Jayatirtha Grantha Stuti” or something similar than giving a title of “Sri Jayatirtha.”
- Sri Sanuru Bhima Bhattaru also gave the same title (Sri Jayatirtharu) to this 18th shloka.
- Thus it is confirmed that the Shloka 18 is about Sri Jayatirtharu only and not just about his works in general.
- If Sri Rajaru **remembered** Sri Jayatirtha then the commentary could have captured the same mood by writing “smarati” or “dhyayati”.
- But the word “varNayati” used removes all the shadows of doubts as the “varNana” is used to describe or paint a particular person/place/scene with specifics.

Sri Narayanacharya’s Vyakhyana – An Analysis:

Now, let us look in to the commentary of Sri Narayanacharya and find out whether it is in support to the assertions made by me in the above chapters.

It is well known that Sri Narayanacharya’s *vyakhyana* on Tirtha Prabandha is the best known source to understand the purports of Tirtha Prabandha. This commentary also helps us in knowing the mind of Sri Rajaru as well.

Sri V.P. has provided following excerpts from the commentary made by Sri Narayanacharya on Shloka 18 of Purva Prabandha:

ಯಥಾ ಗೃಹಸ್ಥಃ ಸ್ವಗೃಹಾಗತಜ್ಞಾತಿಪುರುಷಾ..... (2nd footnote on Page 198)

ಸ್ವಗೃಹಾಗತಾನ್ ಸ್ವಜ್ಞಾತೀನಿವ..... (3rd footnote on Page 198)

It would be a curious extrapolation to infer the following conclusion from the above two sentences:

- That Sri Jayatirtha, as that of a father of brides, welcomed the eligible grooms in to **his home** (ಸ್ವಗೃಹ)
- That Sri Jayatirtha, as a disciple of his guru and being known his ancestors hailing from same class (sainthood), has welcomed them in to **his home** (ಸ್ವಗೃಹ).

Thus, by the repetitive use of the word ಸ್ವಗೃಹ Sri Narayanacharya conveyed what Sri Rajaru meant in his shloka on **Sri Jayatirtha i.e. the latter being enshrined at Anegundi.**

If Sri Jayatirtha is at Malakheda, neither Sri Rajaru nor Sri Narayanacharya might have referred to Anegundi as the home of Sri Jayaritha.

I am convinced with this concerted and consistent approach maintained by both Sri Rajaru and Sri Narayanacharya and am amused to witness the denial by Malkheda camp to recognize this consistency.

Interestingly, Sri V.P. who is defiantly resisting the assertions made in SJMBG book has provided the following Kannada translation of Shloka 18:

ಜಯಮುನಿಃ = ಶ್ರೀಜಯತೀರ್ಥಮುನಿಗಳು; ಮಾಧ್ವಗ್ರಂಥಾನ್ = ಶ್ರೀಮಧ್ವಾಚಾರ್ಯರಿಂದ ರಚಿಸಲ್ಪಟ್ಟ
ಸೂತ್ರಭಾಷ್ಯಾದಿ ಗ್ರಂಥಗಳನ್ನು; ಸ್ವಬಂಧೂನ್ ಇವ = (ತಮ್ಮ ಮನಿಗೆ ಆಗಮಿಸಿದ) ಬಂಧುಗಳನ್ನೆಂಬಂತೆ;

(Page No. 195, 1996 edition of Tirtha Prabandha Kannada)

It is clear from the above that Sri Prabhanjanacharya also has taken the phrase “ಸ್ವಗೃಹ ಆಗತ” from Sri Narayanacharya and translated it as ತಮ್ಮ ಮನಿಗೆ ಆಗಮಿಸಿದ. The very words of Sri V.P. negate the argument made by NS that “ಸ್ವಗೃಹ “means “everywhere.” We can’t find such reference available in either Sri Narayanacharya’s Sanskrit commentary or in Sri Prabhanjanacharya’s Kannada translation that says “svagruha” means “everywhere.”

From this, we can conclude that the stance taken by NS, Sri V.P. & the Malakheda camp is nothing but a self-contradiction!

The Discussion, Distortion & Dereliction:

Most of the above salient points have been put up for a detailed discussion in Sumadhwa Seva Yahoo group. What has unfolded there, particularly with Narahari Sumadhwa, holds the key to understand the mindset of certain sections in Malakheda camp.

Hereunder I present the excerpts of the discussion.

With an intention to plow his way through many of the counters positioned by me on Sri Narayanacharya's commentary of 18th Shloka, NS made an outlandish statement as below:

[QUOTE]As such, Narayanacharya has not meant the Jayatirtha vrundavana at Anegondi, by using the word "svagruha", he actually meant the budhahrudaya gruha only.[UNQUOTE]

As his attempt to cancel out the meaning of "svagruha" has weakened with the above counter argument, NS has resorted to distort the meaning of "svagruha" by bringing in another word i.e. "ಬುಧಹೃದಯಗೃಹ"

This connotation is going against the very spirit of Sri Rajaru's Shloka. Let me explain this:

Sri Rajaru said that the hearts of the *Jnanis* are the houses **given** by Sri Jayatirtharu to his daughters (his commentaries) as a gift. Hereunder is the translation made by Sri V. Prabhanjanacharya:

ಬುಧಹೃದಯಗೃಹಂ = ವಿದ್ವಾಂಸರ ಹೃದಯವೆಂಬ ಮನೆಯನ್ನು; ದತ್ತಾ = ನೀಡಿ

The above translation makes it clear that the "**houses**" given by Sri Jayatirtharu to his daughters (his books) are different from "**his home**" (ತಮ್ಮ ಮನೆಗೆ ಆಗಮಿಸಿದ).

Sri Narayanacharya's Sanskrit commentary is very much in-line with the above:

ಯಥಾ ಗೃಹಸ್ಥಃ ಸ್ವಗೃಹಾಗತಜ್ಞಾತಿಪುರುಷಾಣಾಮ್.....ವಿವಾಹ್ಯ ತಾಸಾಂ ದಾಸೀಗೃಹಕ್ಷೇತ್ರಾದಿಕಂ ದತ್ತಾ

The English translation could be made as "*Like how a family head or householder (ಗೃಹಸ್ಥಃ) receives the well acquainted men "in to his home"(ಸ್ವಗೃಹ).....gives*

(ದತ್ತಾ) [presentations such as] maids, **houses**, lands etc. to their (ತಾನಾಂ) son-in-laws (ವಿವಾಹ್ಯ)"

Thus the home of the brides' father is different from the houses donated by him to the brides & grooms.

When Sri V. Prabhanjanacharya's Kannada translation has not deviated from the original commentary, I could not understand how NS dared to deviate from the original meaning of the shloka by ascribing his own assertions to Sri Rajaru & Sri Narayanacharya?

I can only say that such rampant misuse of knowledge is nothing short of self-destruction!

But NS does not stop here. He goes further to make the issue complicated by making an obnoxious statement which completely erodes the poetic beauty of Sri Rajaru. Read it in NS's own words:

[QUOTE] Further Vadirajaru has compared Sri Jayatirtha as a father of beautiful daughters. **No doubt about this.** But whom he called his daughters, whether the born children? or the granthaas is the question to be answered. Assumption camp has gone with the assumption that children, so they have come to a conclusion that it is the house of Jayatirtharu. When you have children from the other perceptive, you ought to have house. That is where some people are erring.

But the other camp has gone with the meaning that the children means the granthas. As when you have granthas as the children, you ought to have "hrudaya named house".[UNQUOTE]

NS has blamed me that by commenting on the word "svagruha" I made an illicit act of ascribing mortal daughters being born to Sri Jayatirtha! What a detestable blame? Did I ever say so? To add the fuel to fire, he calls the names such as "assumption camp" etc. which is nothing but belittling others. But this is how NS carried on with his spurious attacks without substance.

Not satisfied with the wishful arm-twisting of Sri Rajaru & Sri Narayanacharya, NS goes on to say that:

[QUOTE]I don't understand why you are leaving the main word in the sentence "yathaa" and "iva" in the sentence of Narayanacharya. It is our assumption theory which has brought the desired meaning, not the meaning of

Narayanacharya. There is no necessity of excluding the word yatha gruhasta, because it is a sentence by a good jnaani Sri Narayanacharya, who has well covered his intentions.[UNQUOTE]

This is yet another pussyfooting by NS. He tried to get support from “yathaa” and made a suggestion to me that I am missing it again and again. Also, NS has pointed that in Shloka 18, Sri Rajaru has used “Utpreksha alankara.” By bringing in the poetic aesthetics to the front, NS has again failed to get the required support as both “yathaa” & “Urpreksha” have gone squarely against his school of thought!

Let me explain this with my limited knowledge of Sanskrit grammar.

On the usage of "ಯಥಾ":

Firstly, let us see an example for ಯಥಾ.

In the highly popular adage "ಯಥಾ ರಾಜಾ ತಥಾ ಪ್ರಜಾ" the word ಯಥಾ holds other words tightly and brings in the similarity (in action & character) between the king and his subjects. If we read this sentence without ಯಥಾ, the intended allusion (ಧ್ವನಿ) will be lost.

The great AlankArika Ananda Vardhana emphasies the importance of allusion by saying "ಕಾವ್ಯಸ್ಯಾತ್ಮಾ ಧ್ವನಿ" i.e. allusion is the soul of a great literary work. Sri Narayanacharya upholds this magnificent literary concept of Dhvani.

I understand that ಯಥಾ is an indeclinable word i.e. Avyaya pada which does not allow the alteration of the meaning under any context/circumstance and thereby anchors the sentence. By prefixing indeclinable ಯಥಾ before masculine adjective ಗೃಹಸ್ಥ, Sri Narayanacharya actually strengthened the framework on which Sri Rajaru composed the shloka i.e. Sri Jayatirtha is like a family head having beautiful daughters i.e. the father of his brain-born-daughters (Teeka granthas). This being the original and final meaning of the shloka which has been accepted by me how can NS blame that I have assumed that Jayatirtha had biological daughters? Is this not a shameful act by NS to level baseless allegeations against his opponents by superimposing his ill-gotten ideas? Such pitiable act by NS represents the crooked mindset

On Utprekshalankara:

In his Kavya Prakasha, Mammata (11th century AD), one of the great Samskruta AlankArikAs, has defined Utpreksha as:

ಸಂಭಾವನಮಥೋತ್ಪ್ರೇಕ್ಷಾ ಪ್ರಕೃತಸ್ಯ ಸಮೇನ ಯತ್ (4th Karika, 10th Chapter)

Meaning: Now Utpreksha is being explained. The mentioned Upameya when achieves **uniform assumption** with Upamana it will be called as Utpreksha.

From the above kArika, we can understand that Utprekshalankara is generally used by the poet to express the commonality between the object being compared with the object to be compared. In other words, both the Upamana & Upameya are fully synchronised in their guNa (quality), kriya (action), rUpa (form) etc. and with that the poet establishes the commonality (i.e. likeness) of both the objects.

Going by the above said characteristics of Utprekshalankara we can draw the below uniform suppositions from Shloka 18 of Purva Prabandha:

1. Sri Jayatirtharu is a Grihastha residing in a home (ಗೃಹೇ ತಿಷ್ಠತೀತಿ ಗೃಹಸ್ಥಃ confirms that Gruhastha **does not** necessarily **mean a man with wife**.)
2. If Sri Jayatirtharu is a Grihastha then what is his home? Taking the cue from the etymological meaning of Griha i.e. ಗೃಹ್ಣಾತಿ ಧಾನ್ಯಾದಿಕಮ್, home is a place where a person carries out all the activities (here it must be the brindavana from where Sri Jayatirtha is performing his divine activities). Also, the etymological meaning of Kshetra as “a residence”, “abode” etc. also adds strength to this supposition.
3. Brides are the books of Sri Jayatirtha (he was not a biological father of mortal daughters but a father of divine works)*
4. Books of Acharya Madhva are the grooms. (Again these books are of divine nature not mortal)
5. Minds of the learned are the gifts given to grooms by Sri Jayatirtha.

**It is well known in Indian tradition that a literary work is usually considered as the brain-child (ಮಾನಸಪುತ್ರೀ) of the author. Following this age old tradition, Sri Rajaru compared Sri Jayatirtha as the father of his works.*

The above perusal of the usage of ಯಥಾ confirms that it does not give rise to any other meaning than what Sri Narayanacharya has directed in his commentary that Sri Rajaru praised Sri Jayatirtharu in Anegundi as the latter has his Brindavana in that very place.

When we take a relook at the translation made by NS for Shloka 18 by the very *Utprekshalankara* that was pointed out by NS, his translation is falling short of being authentic & accurate. For me it appears that NS mistook “*atishayOkti*” for “*Utpreksha*”!

On the above (wrong) interpretation and merciless fiddling with Sri Narayanacharya’s commentary by NS, I had replied as under:

Narahari avare,

Now I understood the reason for the confusion. Following is the bone of contention:

//Similarly, here also "yathaa gruhasta: svagruhataagata jnaati puruShaaNaam" can't be said to be the house of Jayatirtharu. It merely means that like a gruhasta greets the atithi in his house, Jayatirtharu also greeted the granthas in the budhahrudaya//

Let me quote from your message dated 02/08/2014 wherein you have provided the shloka with its Kannada translation:

ಮಾಧ್ವಗ್ರಂಥಾನ್ ಸ್ವಬಂಧೂನಿವ ಸರಸಹೃದಾಽಽಲಿಂಗ್ಯ ವಿಜ್ಞಾತಭಾವಃ
ಸಂಯೋಜ್ಯಾಲಂಕೃತಾಭಿಃ ಸ್ವಸಹಜಮತಿಸಂಭೂತವಾಗ್ನಿವರ್ಧೂಭಿಃ
ಕೃತ್ವಾಽನೋಕ್ತೀಶ್ಚದಾಸೀರ್ಬುಧಹೃದಯಗೃಹಂ ಪ್ರೌಢವೃತ್ತೀಶ್ಚ ವೃತ್ತೀಃ
ದತ್ವಾಽನ್ಯೋನ್ಯಾಭಿಯೋಗಂ ಜಯಮುನಿರಸಕೃದ್ವೀಕ್ಷ್ಯ ರೇಮೇ ಕೃತಾರ್ಥಃ

ಜಯತೀರ್ಥರು ಆಚಾರ್ಯ ಮಧ್ವರಿಂದ ರಚಿಸಲ್ಪಟ್ಟ ಬ್ರಹ್ಮಸೂತ್ರಾದಿ ಭಾಷ್ಯಾದಿ ಗ್ರಂಥಗಳನ್ನು ತನ್ನಬಂಧುಗಳಂತೆ (“ವರ”ನಂತೆ) ಸ್ನೇಹಮಯಿ ಹೃದಯದಿಂದ ಚೆನ್ನಾಗಿ ವಿಚಾರಿಸಿ, ಜಯತೀರ್ಥರ ಟೀಕೆಗಳೆಂಬ “ಕನ್ಯೆ”ಯರೆಂಬ ಅಪ್ಪಿಕೊಂಡು, ಗ್ರಂಥಗಳ ಮತ್ತು ಬಂಧುಗಳ ಅಭಿಪ್ರಾಯವನ್ನು ತಿಳಿದವರಾಗಿ, ಅರ್ಥಾತ್ ಮೂಲಗ್ರಂಥಗಳ ವಿಚಾರಧಾರೆಯೇ “ಆಲಿಂಗನ” ಮತ್ತು ಮಾಧುರ್ಯಾದಿ ಗುಣಗಳು, ಶಬ್ದಗಳು, ಅಲಂಕಾರಗಳಿಂದ “ಅಲಂಕರಿಸಲ್ಪಟ್ಟ, ತಮ್ಮ ಸ್ವಾಭಾವಿಕವಾದ ಬುದ್ಧಿಯಿಂದ ಉತ್ಪನ್ನವಾದ ಟೀಕಾರೂಪವಾದ ವಚನ ವಿಶೇಷಗಳೆಂಬ ಕನ್ಯೆಯರಿಂದ “ವಿವಾಹ”ವನ್ನು ಬೆಳೆಸಿ, ಇತರ ವಾದಿಗಳ ಟೀಕೆಗಳನ್ನು “ದಾಸಿಯರ”ನ್ನಾಗಿ ಮಾಡಿ, ಪಂಡಿತರಹೃದಯವೆಂಬ “ಮನೆ”ಯನ್ನು ನೀಡಿ, ಪ್ರೌಢ ಪಂಡಿತರ ವ್ಯಾಖ್ಯಾನವೆಂಬ “ಜೀವನೋಪಾಯ” ಗಳನ್ನು ಕೊಟ್ಟು, ಹಲವು ಬಾರಿ, ಪ್ರತಿ ಬಾರಿಯೂ, ಟೀಕಾ ಮತ್ತು ಮೂಲ ಗ್ರಂಥಗಳ ಪರಸ್ಪರ ಸಂಬಂಧವನ್ನು ಅರ್ಥಾತ್ ಆಚಾರ್ಯಮಧ್ವರ ಗ್ರಂಥ ಮತ್ತು ಅವುಗಳ ಟೀಕಾ/ಟಿಪ್ಪಣಿಗಳೆಂಬ ಸಾಮರಸ್ಯದ “ಮಧುರ ಬಾಂಧವ್ಯ” ಇಂತಹ ಅಮೋಘಕಾರ್ಯವನ್ನು ಮಾಡಿದ ಜಯಮುನಿಗಳೇ ಕೃತಕೃತ್ಯರಾಗಿ ಸಂತುಷ್ಟರಾದರು.

In the above translation, you have said that Sri Jayatirtha 'gave' the house called as minds of learned to his daughters (please refer the highlighted portion). This contradicts with the recent translation i.e. It merely means that like a gruhasta greets the atithi in his house, Jayatirtharu also greeted the granthas in the budhahrudaya

Could you please clarify about the disagreement between the two translations!

NS did not publish the above mail and withheld it from public appearance. Instead of publishing & answering the above mail, he wrote a personal mail to me from Moderator’s mail id as under:

SUMADHWASEVA-owner@yahooogroups.co.in

To
Me

Aug 6
Hare srinivasa

Mr Raghottam/Jayatirtha

There is no bone of contention. Not a concern for confusion. I stand by my both the mails. [budhahrudaya](#) refers to the house of pandits. [Sri Jayatirtharu greets the atithi in his house.](#)

ಮಾಧ್ಯಗ್ರಂಥಾನ್ - Brahmasutra Bhashya, etc are the bride grooms

Jayatirtha Teeka are the brides
Shabdalkara, etc is the ornaments
Moola grantha & Teekaas vichara manthana - embracing
Paramateeya Tippanis - Servants to the couple
Pandit's hearts - Where the couple stay
Prouda Vritti - Jivana upaaya
Mula & Tikas - Daampatya

- - - -

As my mail did not find the light, I had to write the following mail to NS questioning his intentions of holding back my mail to the Group.

Me
To
SUMADHWASEVA-owner@yahoogroups.co.in
Aug 7

Narahari avare,

If you wish to have one-to-one interaction, I welcome it but please let me know why the last message has not been published yet? Or is it a habit to suppress the voices selectively?

Regards
Raghothama

The above mail went unanswered and even to this date it remains unanswered.

@@@@@

During the entire argument, it could be observed by the reader that NS has relied up on his own interpretation of 18th Shloka of Purva Prabandha. But at the same time he contradicts his own interpretation when it does not suffice his need.

@@@@@

The Fall-off:

To summerise the whole episode, either by historical evidences or by the scriptural evidences NS who is the online voice of Malakheda supporters could not uphold his

argument. Instead, he thwarted the original meanings of Tirtha Prabandha & its commentary. All his replies were rhetoric and belittling the others who question his stance. The way in which he killed the debate that was contested on merits of the arguments is completely appalling.

I have taken the utmost care to not to bring any Matha or Mathadhipati in the discussion. I have respected the arguments made by NS and only pointed out the anomalies and/or contradictions. Yet, NS could not extend the mutual respect neither for me nor for the subject being discussed but suspended the dialogue with his autocratic censorship.

I am sure that these types of polarized attitudes do not help our community in resolving the conflicts that are plaguing us but aggravate unwanted rifts between the followers of different Mathas.

Closing Remarks for this chapter:

It's my firm belief that Sri Vadiraja has shed lot of light on Sri Jayatirtha's Mula Brindavana and the commentary by Sri Narayanacharya is capable of leading the interested devotees to find the original location.

The following shloka from Vidura Neeti may guide us in drawing the plan of action to mitigate this issue:

ಅಮಿತ್ರಮ್ ಕುರುತೇ ಮಿತ್ರಮ್ ಮಿತ್ರಮ್ ದ್ವೇಷ್ಠೀ ಹಿನಸ್ತಿ ಚ|
ಕರ್ಮಂ ಚ ಆರಭತೇ ದುಷ್ಠಂ ತಮಾಹುರ್ಮೂಢ ಚೇತಸಾಮ್||

It is my sincere appeal to the all the stakeholders to become cordial with each other as the merits of the facts & figures alone should be held above individualistic whims and fancies. Otherwise the future generations shall look down us as the Mudhas described by Vidura.

@@@@@

A Review of Sri V.P. Acharya's Rejoinder to SJMBG

Critical Exploration of Anegundi, Hampi & Madhva Brindavanas

Anegundi & Hampi – Is Interchangeable Usage acceptable?

Sri V.P. Acharya in his latest rejoinder to SJMBG has made the following statement in Page 114:

“ನಿಜವಾಗಿಯೂ ಪ್ರಶಿಷ್ಯರಾದ ಶ್ರೀ ನರಹರಿತೀರ್ಥರ ವೃಂದಾವನವು ಆನೆಗೊಂದಿಯಲ್ಲೇ ಇರುವುದರಿಂದ ಅವರೇ ಇಲ್ಲಿ ವಿವಕ್ಷಿತವಾದ ಪ್ರಶಿಷ್ಯರು ಎಂದು ತಿಳಿಯುವುದು ಅತ್ಯಂತ ಸೂಕ್ತ.”

He has provided a footnote in **Page 115 (Footnote 2)** that suggests, without any ambiguity, that **Hampi (Vijayanagara) too can be called as Anegondi (Gaja Gahvara)**. The original text of the footnote is as under:

“ಆನೆಗೊಂದಿ ಪ್ರಾಂತದಲ್ಲಿ ನವವೃಂದಾವನಗಡೆಯಲ್ಲಿನ ಇಂದು ಪ್ರಸಿದ್ಧವಿರುವ ನವವೃಂದಾವನಗಳಲ್ಲದೇ ಶ್ರೀ ನರಹರಿತೀರ್ಥರ ವೃಂದಾವನವೂ ಇದೆ.”

In Page 115, under chapter titled as “ಮಾಧ್ವರಾಧ್ಯಾಂತಧರಣೀಧರಾಃ” too he makes similar statement:

“[...]ತೀರ್ಥಪ್ರಬಂಧದ ಮಾಧ್ವರಾಧ್ಯಾಂತಧರಣೀಧರಾಃ ಎಂಬುದಕ್ಕೆ ಶ್ರೀಮದ್ಭಾಗವತ ಪುರಾಣದ ವಾಕ್ಯವನ್ನು ಆಧರಿಸಿ ಶ್ರೀ ಪದ್ಮನಾಭತೀರ್ಥರು, ಶ್ರೀನರಹರಿತೀರ್ಥರು, ಶ್ರೀ ಕವೀಂದ್ರತೀರ್ಥರು ಹಾಗೂ ಶ್ರೀ ವಾಗೀಶತೀರ್ಥರು ಎಂಬ ನಾಲ್ವರು ಮಾತ್ರ ವಿವಕ್ಷಿತ ಎಂದು ತಿಳಿದಾಗ ಯಾವುದೇ ಸಮಸ್ಯೆಯು ಇರಲಾರದು. ಈ ನಾಲ್ವರಲ್ಲಿ ಶ್ರೀನರಹರಿ ತೀರ್ಥರು ಒಬ್ಬರೇ ಗಜಗಹ್ವರ ಪಶ್ಚಿಮಕ್ಕೆ ಇರುವವರು. ಒಟ್ಟಾಗಿ ನಾಲ್ವರು ಸಹ ಗಜಗಹ್ವರದಲ್ಲಿಯೇ ಇದ್ದಂತಾಗುವುದರಿಂದ ಈ ಮಾತು ಸಾರ್ಥಕವೆನ್ನಿಸುವುದು.” [Emphasis added by me]

Here, Sri V.P. Acharya **tries to add the Brindavana of Sri Narahari Tirtha to the Brindavana Gadde of Anegundi**. He takes the support of two shlokas from *Purnabodha Guruvamsha Kathakalpataru* which reads as:

ದತ್ತಾ ಮಾಧವತೀರ್ಥೇಭ್ಯಸ್ತತಃ ಶ್ರೀಮುಖವತ್ಸರೇ|

ಪುಷ್ಯೇ ಕೃಷ್ಣೇ ಚ ಸಪ್ತಮ್ಯಾಂ ಗಜಕೋಣ್ಯಾಂ ಗುರೂತ್ತಮಃ|||
ತುಂಗಭದ್ರಾನದೀತೀರೇ ಗುರೋವೃಂದಾವನಾಂತಿಕೇ|
ತ್ಯಕ್ತ್ವಾ ದೇಹಂ ಹರಿಪದಂ ಜಗ್ಮುರತ್ಯಂತದುರ್ಲಭಮ್|| (೫/೮, ೬)

Based on these shlokas, Sri V.P. Acharya has tried to include Sri Narahari Tirtha as part of Anegundi and at the same time excluding other brindavanas such as Sri Raghunandanaru, Sri Surindraru etc. as they belong to Hampi!

I firmly believe that these inclusions and exclusions have been done for his 'convenience' only and are in no way connected to the ground-reality. I would ratify my statement in the ensuing paragraphs.

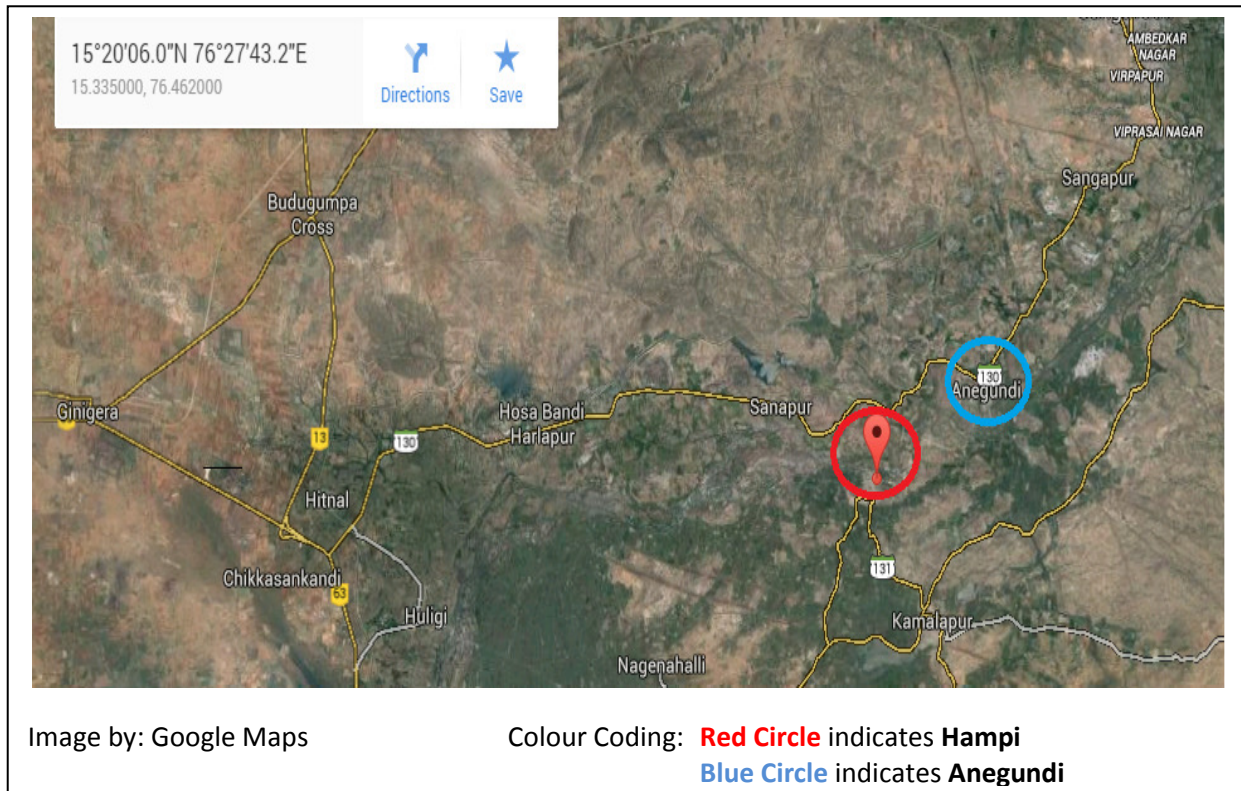
Firstly, let me summarize what the rejoinder says about Hampi, Anegundi & Nava Brindavana. Following inferences can be drawn from the above statements of Sri V.P. Acharya. *My observations have been provided in parenthesis.*

1. Anegundi includes Hampi *(this is historically untenable and so confirms the 'convenience' aspect specified above)*
2. In his shloka 17 of Purva Prabandha, Sri Rajaru did not clearly mention the number of Brindavanas. *(but enough discussions were made on this by Sri V.P. Acharya & others by adding, subtracting, omitting and including various Brindavanas)*
3. 'Nava Brindavana' does not necessarily mean the 9 Brindavanas located in that rocky island. *(again 'convenience' playing the spoilsport)*
4. Sri Narahari Tirtha's Brindavana also can be included in 'Nava Brindavana' *(two slokas from a lesser known, minimalist book of a Matha that is unacceptable to many overrules the widely accepted book by a genius!)*
5. Sri Rajaru would have included 03 Mrittika Brindavanas purportedly located in an yet-to-be-ratified area of Anegundi town called as "Rajawade" *(whose reference cannot be found in any historical research work but in Sri Narayana Tirtha's manuscript held by Sri V.P. Acharya only)*

While I would put my comment on veracity of *Purnabodha Gurukatha Kalpataru* shlokas in later part of this write-up, meanwhile let us examine whether the above assertions made by Sri V.P. Acharya do stand their ground when studied with the geographical and historical testimonies.

In order to know the accuracy of Sri V.P. Acharya's contention, it is important to know a little about the geographical specifications of Anegondi and Hampi.

1. Both the cities are situated along the banks of river Tungabhadra
2. **Gaja Gahvara (Anegondi)** is situated on **northern bank** of Tungabhadra.
3. **Vijayanagara (Hampi)** is situated on **southern bank** of Tungabhadra.
4. In other words, river Tungabhadra bifurcate the geography in to two distinctive and separate land parcels. (See the below image)



We can know the distance between Anegondi and Hampi by taking the help of GPS coordinates of these two locations. Following Coordinates have been taken from Wikipedia and by using online distance calculators I have got the following conclusions:

1. **Gaja Gahvara or Anegondi** - Coordinates: **15.3527°N 76.4919°E**
2. **Vijayanagara or Hampi** - Coordinates: **15.335°N 76.462°E**
3. The **width of Tungabhadra**, between the two areas is roughly **3.6 to 5 KMs**.

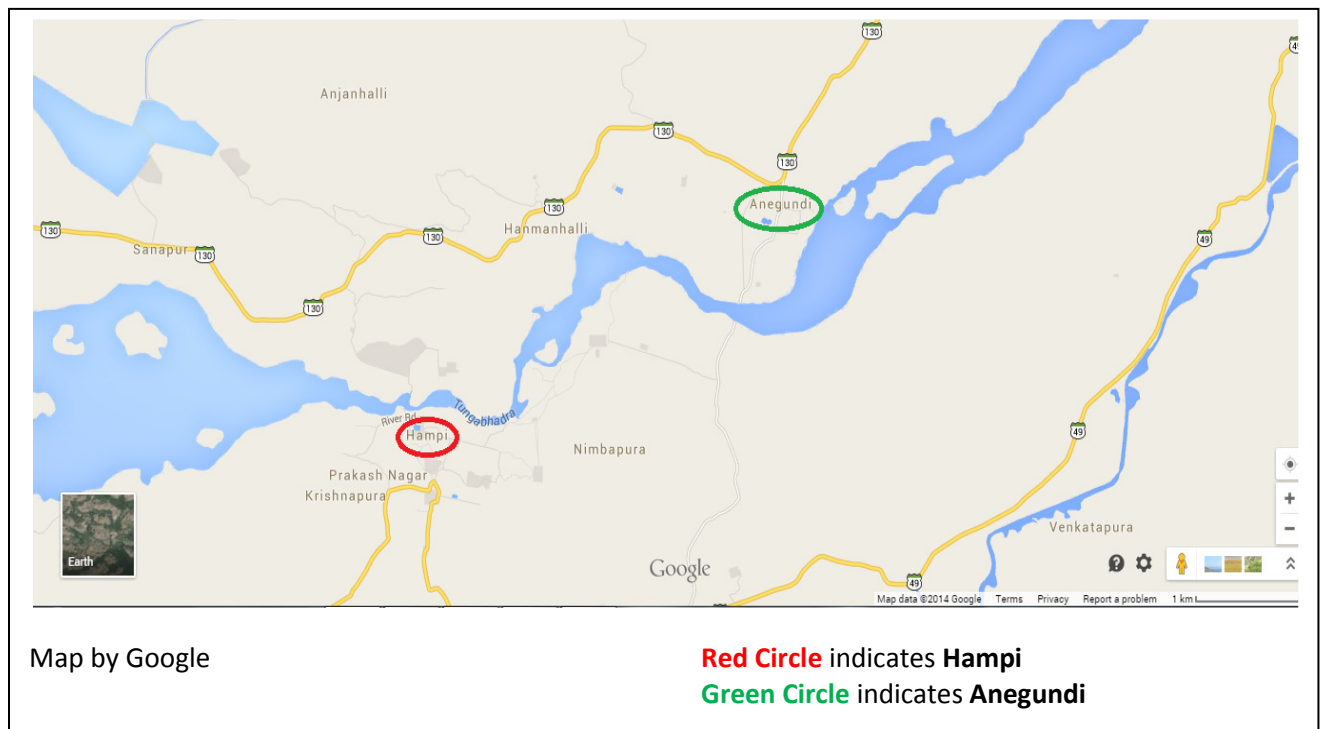
The **different GPS Coordinates** of Anegondi & Hampi indicate that **these two land parcels are considered as different regions**. (GPS system indicates an exact location on

earth in a set of numbers. This also means that each exact location will be assigned with a specific set of numbers called as Coordinates.)

Had Aneondi & Hampi been termed as same location, as done by Sri VP, there should have been a single set of GPS Coordinates but in reality there are two distinct GPS coords for Hampi and Aneondi.

We can find that the **driving distance** between Aneondi and Hampi is **around 46-50KMs**. This would further substantiate the divergence between these two locations when traveled by road.

Getting back to the location details, to understand how Tungabhadra separates Aneondi from Hampi, please see the below image:



Therefore, from the above scientific details it becomes evident that Aneondi and Hampi can't be termed as one single land parcel or one location. Instead, they are two different geographic locations that are being identified by two unique GPS Coordinates.

Now, let us see some of the historical proofs that negate the interchangeable usage of Aneondi & Hampi.

Historical Proofs

Historical accounts also do suggest to us that Anegondi and Hampi are two different locations. **No historian**, of ancient and contemporary periods, has **ever used** these two cities **interchangeably**.

Right from the inscriptions of the kings ruled from Anegondi and Hampi to the 19th and 20th century explorers like Robert Sewell and Krishnaswamy Aiyangar, no one have ever recorded that Hampi can also be called as Anegondi or vice versa.

Mr. Bangalore Suryanarayana Row, who wrote an interesting rebuttal to Robert Sewell's book on Vijayanagara, has thus clearly stated in his book:

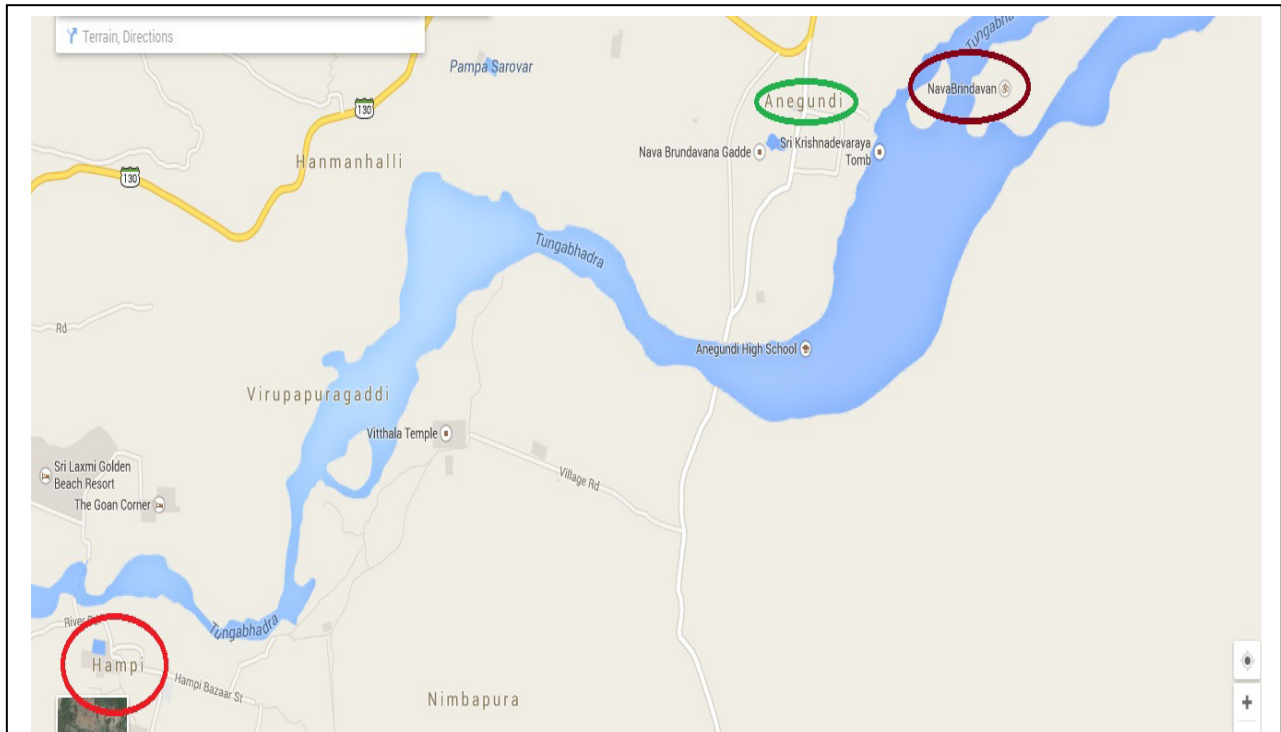
12

THE NEVER TO BE FORGOTTEN EMPIRE.

that the new suburb, built on the southern bank of the river, with the river placed in the middle between himself and his Mahomedan enemies, would be ~~much~~ safer for himself and his descendants to live in than **Anagondi**. Since that period, Anagondi ceased to be the capital of these Kings, and was more or less occupied by poorer classes and subordinate officers. This new city of Vijayanagar must have been built by Vijayadhwaja about A.D. 1150, and it was in existence for nearly two centuries

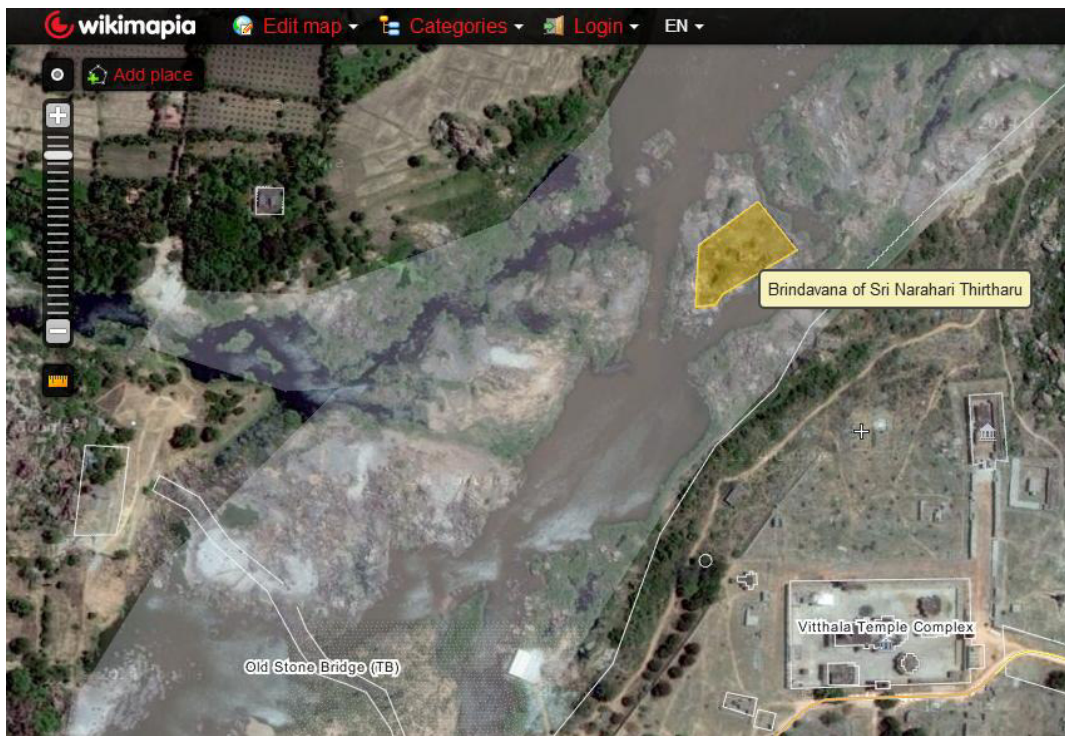
The “**new suburb built on the southern bank of the river**” mentioned in the first sentence of the above paragraph **specially refers to Vijayanagara** which also indicates that Anegondi was a different location and had been the capital city in the bygone era of Vijayanagara's history and subsequently lost its place to Hampi.

If all these verbal descriptions of Anegondi & Hampi are translated into a map by including the geographical location of Nava Brindavana, it would like this:



Map by Google

Red Circle indicates **Hampi**; **Green Circle** indicates **Aneundi**
Dark Red Circles indicates **Nava Brindavana**



From the above satellite image it becomes clear that the **Brindavana of Sri Narahari Tirtharu is near Vijaya Vithala temple**. It is well known that this Vijaya Vithala temple is part of Hampi (Vijayanagara). This map makes it clear that Sri Nahari Tirtha Brindavana is located in Hampi and so can't be considered as part of Nava Brindavana or Aneundi. Hereunder is the bird's eye view of Nava Brindavana (marked in Green circle) and Sri Narahari Tirtha Brindavana (marked in Red circle).



It becomes pretty clear that **Nava Brindavana is closer to Aneundi** and from the beginning Brindavana Gadde was being treated as part of Aneundi only. On the other hand the **Brindavana of Sri Narahari Tirtha has always remained as part of Hampi**.

Let us now look at the numerical data like the years of establishment of the cities, inscriptions, Brindavana pravesha etc.

- Some researchers state that Hampi existed before the foundation of Vijayanagara Empire and was probably under Nayakas of Kampili who ruled from old Hampi from late 13th century to early 14th century (roughly for 50 years).
- Here is one such reference to Hampi existing by 12th century itself:

The tradition of temple-building was prevalent in this area since long. It is said that the Pallavas, the Chalukyas, the Hoysalas and the Cholas from time to time, had built temples in this area. In an inscription of 1199, found from the Virupaksha temple, it is claimed that a grant was made to the shrine in the presence of seven hundred mahajanas. It appears that Hampi had developed into a city by that time. We

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(Excerpt from History of India by Dr. Malti Malik, 2009 Edition)

- As per Bangalore Suryanarayana Row, **Hampi** was **founded in c.1150**.
- As per **popular accounts**, Hampi was **founded in c.1336 by Harihara I**.
- So, we can draw a conclusion that while **Anegundi** was thriving to be a **'fortified town' on northern bank of Tungabhadra**, **Hampi** too had a humble existence as a **city of chieftdom on southern bank**.
- **Sri Narahari Tirtha's brindavana pravesha** is considered to be in **c.1333**.
- Therefore, at the time of Sri Narahari Tirtha's departure, Hampi was indeed inhabited by people, was ruled by a Chieftain and the famous Virupaksha temple was receiving grants as early as c.1199.

These historical details and documents make it amply clear that Hampi was never part of Anegundi or to be precise **Hampi was never called as Anegundi or vice versa**.

If, per se, the above conclusion can't be agreed to by Sri V.P. Acharya then what consequences could arise? Let us see them too:

1. The historical proofs, ancient anecdotes and other materials which clearly specify the demarcation of Anegundi and Hampi will become null & void.
2. The exclusive compositions by Sri Rajaru in TP w.r.t. Hampi and its temples too become extended literature of Anegundi thus leading the reader to perceive a factually incorrect conclusion.
3. If we, as per the notion made by Sri V.P., have to include all other Brindavanas that came in precincts of Hampi will end up in Nava Brindavana becoming insignificant.

4. Finally, Sri Rajaru's Shloka 17 of TP becomes an erroneous poem (which it is not in its core meaning)

But the conclusions that we get from the supporting documents & maps make it explicitly clear that **Anegondi is different from Hampi** and that they can never be seen as one location as suggested by Sri V.P. Acharya. Also, the **attempt of adding Sri Narahari Tirtha's Brindavana** to Nava Brindavanas **does not stand the ground**.

Having said about the historical accounts, maps and the realities on ground let me move to the shlokas of *Purnabodha Guruvamsha Kathakalpataru* (PGKK).

This is a recent work as compared to Tirtha Prabandha. This book has been chiefly written to record the events happening in Uttaradi Matha. If I am not wrong, this book has not been accepted by all stakeholders of the on-going issue and in no way this work is on par with Tirtha Prabandha. On these counts, this book may serve the needs of those who accept it but does not do so for all the stakeholders. Therefore, relying on PGKK alone would not clarify the matter.

Also, it can be argued further that the meaning of these shlokas indicate that Sri Narahari Tirtha, after handing over the Peetha to Sri Madhava Tirtha, has paid a last visit to his Guru's brindavana located in Gajakona and then departed from the world on the banks of Tungabhadra (i.e. in Hampi). This assertion holds good as Sri Narahari Tirtha's brindavana is on the banks of Tungabhadra but not in Ganakona!

The Episode of Brindavanas & Their Count

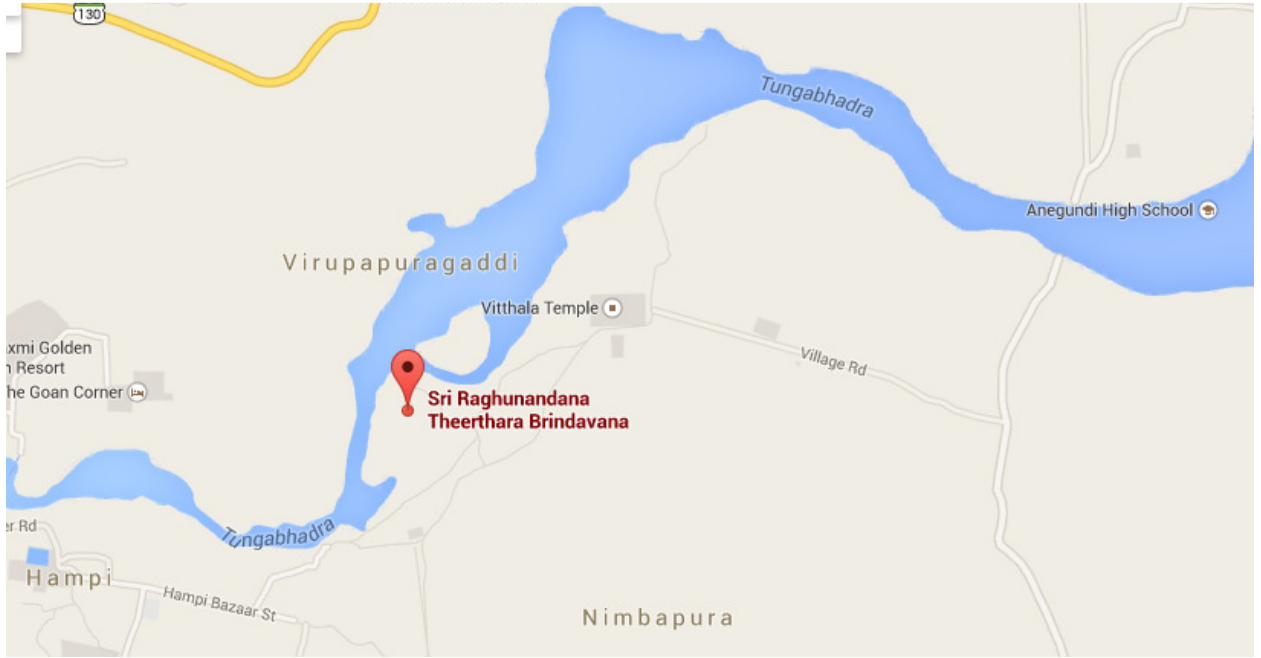
In order to prove his argument, Sri V.P. Acharya has presented many permutations and combinations of Brindavanas located in and around Hampi and Anegundi. But the interesting lacuna that I could find in Sri V.P. Acharya's narration on counting the Brindavanas is the omission of Sri Raghunandana Tirtha's and Sri Surendra Tirtha's. Sri Acharya thus explains about this peculiar 'exclusion':

“ಆನೆಗೊಂದಿ ಪ್ರಾಂತದಲ್ಲಿ ನವವೃಂದಾವನ ಗಡ್ಡೆಯಲ್ಲಿನ ಇಂದು ಪ್ರಸಿದ್ಧವಿರುವ
ನವವೃಂದಾವನಗಳಲ್ಲದೇ ಶ್ರೀ ನರಹರಿತೀರ್ಥರ ವೃಂದಾವನವೂ ಇದೆ. ಶ್ರೀವಾದಿರಾಜರ
ವಿಜಯನಗರದ ಪ್ರವೇಶಕ್ಕೆಂತ ಮುಂಚಿತವಾಗಿ ಅಲ್ಲಿ ಆ ಮುನ್ನವೇ ಶ್ರೀ ಕವೀಂದ್ರತೀರ್ಥರ ಹಾಗೂ ಶ್ರೀ
ವಾಗೀಶ ತೀರ್ಥರ ವೃಂದಾವನಗಳು ಸೇರಿದ್ದವು. ಅಂತೂ ಯಾವುದೇ ಕಾರಣದಿಂದಲೂ ಶ್ರೀ
ನರಹರಿತೀರ್ಥರ ಹಾಗೂ ಶ್ರೀ ಕವೀಂದ್ರತೀರ್ಥರ ಹಾಗೂ ಶ್ರೀವಾಗೀಶತೀರ್ಥರ ವೃಂದಾವನಗಳನ್ನು

ಇವುಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಸೇರಿಸದೇ ಇರಲು ಸಾಧ್ಯವಿಲ್ಲ. ಅನಂತರ ಕೆಲಕಾಲದ ಬಳಿಕ ಅಲ್ಲಿ ಶ್ರೀ ವ್ಯಾಸರಾಜರ, ರಘುವರ್ಯ ತೀರ್ಥರು ಮೊದಲಾದವರ ವೃಂದಾವನಗಳು ಉಂಟಾದವು. ಶ್ರೀ ರಘುನಂದನತೀರ್ಥರ ವೃಂದಾವನವು ಸಹ ಹಂಪಿಯಲ್ಲಿದೆ; ಶ್ರೀಸುರೇಂದ್ರತೀರ್ಥರ ವೃಂದಾವನವು ಹಂಪಿ ಎಂಬುದಾಗಿ ಮಾನ್ವಿಯ ಶ್ರೀಶ್ರೀದಾಮೋದರದಾಸರ ಲಿಖಿತ ಎನ್ನುವ ಪುಸ್ತಕದಲ್ಲಿ ನಮೋದಿತವಾಗಿದೆ. ಆದರೆ ಆ ವೃಂದಾವನಗಳಿರುವ ಸ್ಥಳಗಳು ಆನೆಗೊಂದಿಯ ವ್ಯಾಪ್ತಿಗೆ ಬರುವುದಿಲ್ಲ ಆದ್ದರಿಂದ ತೀರ್ಥಪ್ರಬಂಧದ ಈ ಶ್ಲೋಕದಲ್ಲಿ ಅವುಗಳು ವಿಹಿತವಾಗುವುದಿಲ್ಲ ಎಂದಾಗುವುದು.”

(Foonote 2; Page 114 & 115)

Now, let me try to simulate the locations of Sri Narahari Tirtha Brindavana and that of Sri Raghunandana Tirtha. See the below Google map.



In this map we can see “Vitthala Temple” near to which Sri Narahari Tirtha’s Brindavana is located. (Refer to the detailed maps presented under **Sri Narahari Tirtha Brindavana – Is it in Hampi or Anegundi?**)

The approximate distance between Vitthala Temple and Sri Raghunandana Tirtha’s Brindavana is almost 1 KM. By considering the width of Tungabhadra between Sri Narahari Tirtha’s Brindavana and Vitthala temple, we may add another kilometer or so to the distance between the two brindavanas. Also, it is important to note that **these**

two Brindavanas are on the southern side of Tungabhadra river i.e. on Hampi side only while Nava Brindavanas are closer to northern side of the river (i.e. closer to Anegundi).

Alongside of the above proofs, you have already read how I have established Sri Narahari Tirtha brindavana is located in Hampi and can never be part of Anegundi.

But Sri V.P. Acharya has tried to build a case on the base of two shlokas from a lesser known & not widely accepted source (Purnabodha Guruvamsha Kathakalpataru) that can't stand firm when read with the impartial and widely accepted historical records. The exclusion of Sri Raghunanda Tirtha (brindavana pravesha 1507 AD) by citing the reason that it is located in Hampi sounds illogical and far away from the truth.

In the background of precise geographical details, I fail to understand how Sri V.P. Acharya can add one Brindavana to Anegundi and the nearby one to Hampi by overlooking the precise geographic dispositions and the close proximity of the said brindavans i.e. Narahari Tirtha and Raghunanda Tirtha? *Is this not an 'act of convenience' and being 'selective'?*

As per the available information, Sri Surendra Tirtha's Brindavana is in Madurai (Tamil Nadu). If we go by the statement made by Sri V.P. Acharya that Sri Surendra Tirtha's Brindavana was in Hampi (according to the manuscript of Sri Damodara Dasa) then it becomes a great puzzle as to how this Brindavana could have got shifted to a far off place such as Madurai which is roughly 800 KMs away from Hampi?

I request Sri V.P. Acharya to throw some light on this relocation of Sri Surendra Tirtha.

Closing remarks for this chapter:

As closing note to this episode, the statements made in the rejoinder on Hampi, Anegundi and brindavanas are falling short of their historical accuracy and honest authenticity. It appears that certain deviations have been intentionally allowed by Malkhe camp led by VP Acharya to achieve compatibility with the line of argument that is dear to them.

As a seeker of true knowledge, I can't digest such digressions and I don't think that the said detours can resolve the issue let alone precipitating the matters further.

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Exploration of Tirtha Prabandha Shloka 17

Historical Accounts Of Anegondi & Yaragola

Before proceeding to explore Shloka 17 of TP, let me add some important supplementary details of South Indian history sourced from the sources that are reliable and authentic. Under this chapter, I shall be discussing about the contradictions found in a section called “ತೀರ್ಥಪ್ರಬಂಧ ಶ್ಲೋಕದ ಬಗೆಗಿನ ವಿಮರ್ಶೆ” in the rejoinder written by Sri V.P. Acharya.

Historical data provided in ತೀರ್ಥಪ್ರಬಂಧ ಶ್ಲೋಕದ ಬಗೆಗಿನ ವಿಮರ್ಶೆ & Its futility

Sri V.P. Acharya makes many curious but plainly abstract statements that go in complete contrast with the recorded historical events of medieval South India. Some of those historical descriptions are given hereunder along with my findings on the same.

[NOTE: Following statements have not been put in the order that they appear in the rejoinder but have been put in a sequence by me such that the reader can understand the context in a progressive manner]

1. ಗಜಗಹ್ವರ ಎಂಬುದಕ್ಕೆ ಗಜಗಹ್ವರ ಎಂಬ ರಾಜಧಾನಿಯ ಪಟ್ಟಣ ಎಂಬಂತೆ ಗಜಗಹ್ವರ ರಾಜ್ಯ ಎಂಬ ಅರ್ಥವನ್ನೂ ಮಾಡಿಕೊಂಡಾಗ ಈ ಸಮಸ್ಯೆ ಪರಿಹಾರವಾಗಿ ಅದು ಗ್ರಂಥರಚನೆಯ ಸ್ಥಳವಾದ ಯರಗೋಳಕ್ಕೂ ಅನ್ವಯಿಸುವಂತಾಗುವುದು. 'ರಾಜಧಾನಿ' ಎಂಬ ವಿಶೇಷಣ ಗಜಗಹ್ವರಕ್ಕೆ ಹಿಂದಿನ ಶ್ಲೋಕದಲ್ಲಿ ಬಂದಿರುವುದು ಇದಕ್ಕೆ ಗಮಕ. ಗಜಗಹ್ವರವು ರಾಜಧಾನಿಯಾದ್ದರಿಂದ ಗಜಗಹ್ವರ ರಾಜ್ಯ ತುಂಬಾ ವಿಶಾಲವಾಗಿ ಹರಡಿತು. ಕೃಷ್ಣದೇವರಾಯನ ಆಳ್ವಿಕೆಯ ಕಾಲದಲ್ಲಿ ಅದರ ವ್ಯಾಪ್ತಿ ದಕ್ಷಿಣ ಭಾರತವನ್ನೇ ವ್ಯಾಪಿಸಿತ್ತು. [Page 129]

This proclamation is a hub for many questions. Let me list them out:

- a) Is “Rajadhani” an adjective? ['ರಾಜಧಾನಿ' ಎಂಬ ವಿಶೇಷಣ]
- b) Did any historian term Vijayanagara Empire as Gajagahvara kingdom?
- c) Was Yaragola part of Anegondi Empire? If so, what proofs Sri Acharya can provide to establish his claim?
- d) If at all any proof exists, to which period of time in medieval history it confirms that Yaragola was part of Anegondi Empire?

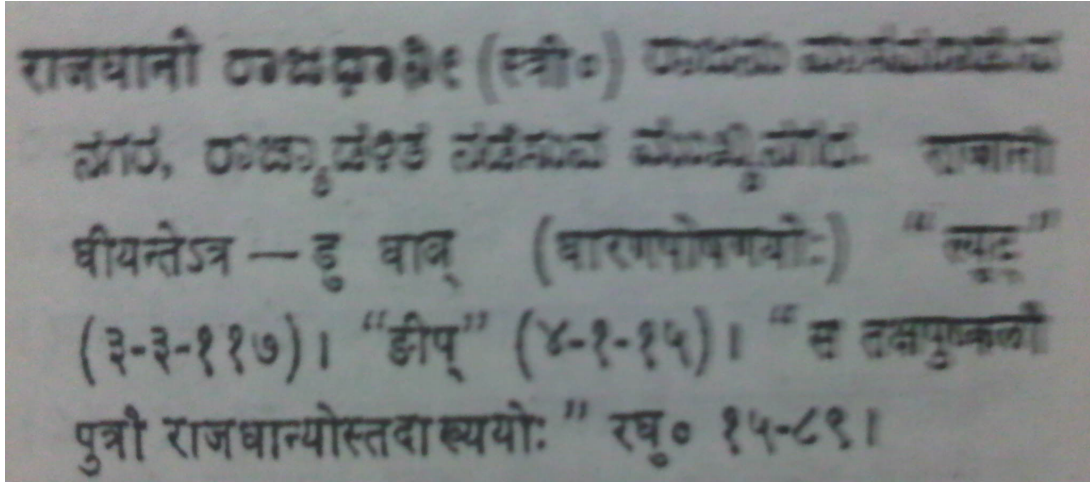
e) What is the need for expanding the application of *Gajagahvara* to whole of the then kingdom when it was used in its limited application that Sri Rajaru was present in the historic 'fortified town' of Anegundi?

I have not found any satisfactory explanations or authentic proofs from the author for these questions except some footnotes that contain fractured pieces of information from Wikipedia and other sources.

In the absence of convincing evidences coming from the author, I have attempted to explore all the questions by referring to various proven records of the history.

About the word 'Rajadhani':

I have referred to "ಶಬ್ದಕೌಸ್ತುಭಃ - ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತ ಕನ್ನಡ ಶಬ್ದಕೋಶ" compiled by Sahitya Vidwan Chakravarthy Srinivasa Gopalacharya. For the word "ರಾಜಧಾನೀ" it has been written as under:



So, it is my understanding that the word Rajadhani is **feminine noun** and **not an adjective**. I request Sri V.P. to elucidate his statement.

About Gajagahvara Kingdom:

Sri V.P. Acharya, in Foonote 1, Page 131 quotes a Kirtana of Sri Vidyaprasanna Tirtha whose first sentence reads as "ಗಜಗಹ್ವರದೇಶದ ನರವತಿಗಳಿಗೆ ನಿಜವರಕರುಣದಲಿ" This is the only reference given by the author in support of his claim about Vijayanagara Empire being called as Gajagahvara kingdom.

To find further evidences for this, I have searched through the history books and research works that I have read so far and found that **no historian of any denomination has ever called Vijayanagara Empire as Gajagahvara kingdom.**

As I must honour the words of Sri Vidyaprasanna Tirtharu, have probed further by referring books like **Karnataka Bhakta Vijaya** by Sri Beluru Keshava Dasa etc. and then I found one more reference in “**Kaliyuga Kalptaru**” written by Sri Raja Gururajacharya. In page 323, Sri Raja Gururajacharya quoted a shloka **from Sri Vyasaraja Charitram** composed by Sri Vidyaratnakara Tirtha (1903-15 AD) of SVM. The complete shloka is as under:

ಅಬ್ಬೇ ವಿಕ್ರಮನಾಮಕೇಽಂತಿಮದಿನೇ ಮಾಘಸ್ಯ ಕೃಷ್ಣಾಭಿದಮ್ |
ಶ್ರೀಮಂತಂ ಗಜಗಹ್ವರಾವನಿಭೃತಂ ಸೋಪಾತ್ಯಹೂತ್ತಾಪದಃ ||

Here we can see the usage of “**ಗಜಗಹ್ವರಾವನಿ**” to indicate the kingdom of whose throne Sri Vyasaraja ascended during Kuhu Yoga. From this we can understand that Sri Vidyaprasanna Tirtha (1940-69 AD) took the clue from here and composed the Keertana quoted by Sri V.P.

While adding his translation to the above shloka, Sri Raja Gururajacharya has written as below:

“ಅಂದರೇ ವಿಕ್ರಮ ಸಂವತ್ಸರದ ಮಾಘ ಕೃಷ್ಣ ಅಮಾವಾಸ್ಯೆ ದಿವಸ **ಗಜಗಹ್ವರ (ವಿಜಯನಗರ)ದ** ಅರಸನಾದ ಕೃಷ್ಣದೇವರಾಯನನ್ನು ಕುಹೂಯೋಗ ವಿಪತ್ತಿನಿಂದ ಕಾಪಾಡಿದರು ಎಂದು ತಿಳಿದುಬರುತ್ತದೆ.”

[ಕಲಿಯುಗ ಕಲ್ಪತರು; ಪುಟ 323]

Here the author added “Vijayanagara” in parenthesis to make it clear to the readers that Sri Vidyaratnakara Tirtha by using Gajagahvara word meant Vijayanagara. One may argue that the word kept in parenthesis may not alter the meaning of the preceding word to which I too agree. Also, it would be a foolhardy act to neglect the words used by two of the SVM peethadhipatis. So, we need to explore further sources to arrive at a logical solution.

Towards this direction, I have tried to study some of the literary works composed during Krishnadevaraya’s time and also tried to read the texts of an inscription unearthed by British military officer in late 19th century.

Firstly, to all of us it is well known that in Tirtha Prabandha Sri Rajaru wrote separate shlokas for Hampi (Vijayanagara) and Anegondi (Gajagahvara) and I consider this distinction between Hampi and Anegondi made by Rajaru himself is historically correct.

Now, let us see one poem from a Telugu literary work called “Paarijataapaharanam” (ಪಾರಿಜಾತಾಪಹರಣಂ) written by Mukku Timmana, one of the 8 poet laureates (ಅಷ್ಟ ದಿಗ್ಗಜಗಳು - ಅಷ್ಟ ದಿಗ್ಗಜಾಲು) of Krishnaraya’s court.

ವಾಡು ವೊಗಡೊಂದು ಸರ್ವ ಸರ್ವಂಸ ಹಾಧಿ

ದೇವತಾ ಮುಖದರ್ಪಣ ದ್ವಿಜಯನಗರ

ಭದ್ರ ಸಿಂಹಾಸನಸ್ತು ಡುನ್ನಿದ್ರ ತೇಜು

ಡೀಶ್ವರಾಧಿಪು ನರಸ ಭೂಮೀಶ್ವರುಂಡು

(Poem 12 from 1st Canto; Paarijaataapaharanam)

This poem is in praise of Narasa Bhupala, father of Krishnadeva Raya, as a valiant warrior **seated on Vijayanagara throne**. From this it is evident that Krishnadevaraya too was ruling Vijayanagara and Sri Vyasaraaja sat on the same throne during Kuhu Yoga. It should be noted here that Mukku Timmana dedicated this work to Krishna Deva Raya.

Hereunder is another poem from Srinatha who has been conferred with a title “Kavi Sarvabhauma” (ಕವಿ ಸಾರ್ವಭೌಮ). Literary experts and researchers from Andhra have confirmed that this poem has been read out to Deva Raya II (also called Praudha Deva Raya) who ruled Vijayanagara Empire between c.1426-1446.

The following is another piece said to have been composed by Śrīnātha during his visit to the capital Vijayanagar. There was some delay in his being introduced to the emperor. Śrīnātha did not like the habits and fashions of the capital which were very different from those of his province, and did not relish the food served to him in a hotel. He addresses in this verse the goddess of the Kannaḍa Kingdom, and, describing his plight, prays that he may return to his country soon.

శా. కుల్లాయుంచితః గోకసుట్టితిమహా కూర్పాసముం దోడ్డితిన్
 వెల్లుల్లిబిలపిప్టమున్ నె సవితిన్ విశ్వస్థః క్షింపగాన్
 సల్లానంబలిద్రావితిన్ రుచులు దోసంబంచు బోనాడితిన్
తల్లీ ! కన్నడ రాజ్యలక్ష్మీ ! దయలేదా నేనుశ్రీనాథుడన్.

(Excerpt from Page 61 of Chapter 'Srinatha's Visit to Vijayanagara; Sources of Vijayanagara by Krishnaswamy Aiyangar)

It is clear that Srinatha addressed the Empire as “Kannada Rajya.”

Following excerpt from Sri B.N.K. Sharma’s “History of Dvaita School of Vedanta and its Literature” confirms that Sri Vyasarajaru has been hailed as the emperor of “Vijayanagara Karnakata Vidyasimhaasana.”

2. It was during this ‘Kuhuyoga’ that tradition says Vyāsarāya himself ascended the throne of Vijayanagar, to save his disciple Kṛṣṇarāya from peril. The appellation “Vyāsarāja” and the custom of “*Divaṭige salām*” which is to this day kept up in the Vyāsarāya Mutt at Sosale, when the Svami seated on his “throne” is hailed at a daily darbar, every evening, as the Lord seated on the “Vijayanagara-Karnāṭaka Vidyāsimhāsana”, serve to keep in memory the forgotten past. Purandaradāsa also has recorded Vyāsarāya’s occupation of the throne of Vijayanagar in one of his songs already cited.

3. The period between 1524-26 was a gloomy one. Taken ill, the Rāya was probably forced to abdicate in favour of his son Tirumaladevarāya in or about 1524 (*Ep. Car.* Bangalore, Māyadi, 82) and after his death in 1525 to take his brother Acyuta as Regent.

4. The date is given by Purandara Dāsa, in one of his songs, (quoted by Kittel, in his *Nāgavarmana Chandassu* : विलम्बित्सरदल्लि विजयनगरदल्लि फाल्गुनबहुलचवृत्तियल्लि स्थिरवारदल्लि । The author of *Madras Uni. His. Ser. XI*, feels, rather vaguely, that Vyāsatirtha “appears to have breathed his last *a little later than 1532*” ! [*Italics mine*].

There is another salutation for Sri Vyasaraja that reads as “రాజాధిరాజ సంపూజ్య సర్వవృష్టవశేషర గజగక్షర కనాటక సింహాసన గతప్రభూ”. In this surely there is the word “గజగక్షర” but clearly followed by “కనాటక సింహాసన.” In the above mentioned Telugu

poem Srinatha Kavi too called the kingdom as “Kannada Rajya” and hence we can conclude that Sri Vyasaraaja ascended Vijayanagara Simhasana only. Then, the question remains as what is the purpose of “ಗಜಗಢ್ವರ” word as it is now part of legacy and tradition of SVM and this elucidation is being uttered in every Darbar held by SVM pontiffs. Well, this is quite an interesting exploration. Let me put forward a few thoughts of mine on this:

Now, there are two salutations attributed to Sri Vyasaraaja as the Lord of “ವಿಜಯನಗರ ಕರ್ನಾಟಕ ವಿದ್ಯಾಸಿಂಹಾನ” and “ಗಜಗಢ್ವರ ಕರ್ನಾಟಕ ಸಿಂಹಾನನ.” In my opinion the first one denotes the throne used by Vijayanagara kings and emperors and the second one denotes the throne of Vedanta Empire whose spread is as greater as Vijayanagara. But the quintessential question here is how to correlate and where to correlate the word “ಗಜಗಢ್ವರ” in the above context. Hereunder is my submission:

It is well known to us that the **Brindavana of Sri Padmanabha Tirtha is the first ever Brindavana in Maadhva world**. Like how, the Vijayanagara Empire had its origin in Gajagahvara (Anegondi) and then expanded to all over South India, similarly the world of Madhvas originated from Brindavana Gadde of Anegondi and spread all over the country through the installations of Brindavanas of its Yathis. This is how **Gajagahvara can be seen as the Capital City of Madhva siddhanta**.

The greatness and perhaps the uniqueness of Sri Vyasaraaja Tirtha is that he has ascended the throne of Vijayanagara and also that of Vedanta at a single point of time. He sat on both the thrones simultaneously and ruled them with affluence.

Interestingly, this **Emperor of Vedanta and Vijayanagara** has chosen **Brindavana Gadde as his final resting place** in which place the first Vedanta Emperor i.e. Sri Padmanabha Tirtha left his permanent presence in the form of a Brindavana. This is why, I believe, that Sri Rajaru has praised **Gajagahvara** in eloquent terms and called it as **the Capital of Madhva Siddhanta**.

From this point of view both the salutations of Sri Vyasaraaja fits in well and do not cause any contradiction or confusion in our minds.

With all these accounts, we can conclude that Vijayanagara is the widely used word to denote the popular Hindu Empire of South India and the usage of the words “ಗಜಗಢ್ವರ

ಅವನೀ ಅಥವಾ ಗಜಗಪ್ಪರ ದೇಶ” has to be taken as Vijayanagara only but the word “ಗಜಗಪ್ಪರ” in its spiritual sense denotes the world of Madhva Siddhanta whose capital is the Brindavana Gadde.

Now, Let us proceed to see whether words like **Samrajya**, **Rajya** and **Samsthana** are synonymous or not.

Prof. Gustav Solomon Oppert, Madras University, wrote a small book “**Contributions to the History of Southern India: Inscriptions**” in c.1882. This book deals with couple of copperplate inscriptions found in remnants of Raichur Fort by one Col. Branfill. By reading the text of first *Shashana* we can understand what exactly a “Rajya” was in Vijayanagara Empire. Before that please read the introduction given by Prof. Gustav:

II.

II.—SANSKRIT AND KANARESE COPPER ŚĀSANAMS
ENGRAVED IN NANDINĀGARĪ CHARACTERS
DUG UP NEAR WANDEWASH.

These two Śāsanams were dug up near Wandewash by Colonel Branfill, who kindly sent them to me for translation.

The Śāsanams which are published here have neither been previously printed nor translated. In some respects they resemble those found in the collections made by Colebrooke and Rice.¹ Our two Śāsanams are on three copper-plates, united by a copper ring with a *Vāmana* seal, the old emblem of the Vidyānagara kings. The plates are tablet-shaped, in the middle 9 inches, on the sides 7½ inches long and 5½ inches broad.

The first Śāsanam is on two plates, one of which is engraved on one and the other on both sides, 28 lines with 28 to 30 letters a line are on the first two sides and the third side has 15 lines with the signature of Tryambaka in Telugu. The

Now, read the Kannada text of the Shashana written in Sanskrit script:

35 सोयं विजयभूपालो हंपणार्याय धीमते ।

स्वदेशे चेद्दुपेडाख्यं ग्रामं मान्यं प्रदत्तवान् ॥ १७ ॥

स्वस्ति श्रीविजयाम्बुदयशकवर्ष १३३८ वर्तमानदुर्मुखि
संवत्सरद भाद्रपदबौळ सप्तमियलु श्रीमन्महामण्डलेश्वर श्रीवीर-
प्रतापविजयरायवोडयरु हरितगोत्रद आपस्तबसूत्रद सकलविद्या
विशारद तार्किकहंपणैयगळिगे कोट्ट ग्रामशासनदक्रमवितेदरे प-
डबीडुराज्यदलु सप्तनाथनु माडुव आगरदहोबळि यनु वृत्तिपट्टिन-
ळि शेरिबहकोनैकोट्टपट्टिन चेद्दुपेडेव ग्रामक्के सल्लुव तगरइरुपे-
डंतांगलु सह कुलवरहगद्याण इप्पत्तुमूरुहोन्नु मूरुहणं वट्टदिन्द

As per the above text, this inscription is belonging to c.1416 (SS 1338) and in the text therein the phrase ‘ಪಡಬೀಡು ರಾಜ್ಯದಲ್ಲೆ’ is what I am trying to explore hereunder.

What is that a “Rajya” means in this context? Does it indicate the name of a kingdom or something else? To find this out let us read the English translation give by Prof. Gustav:

*Kanarese Text.*⁴

Hail! The village-grant executed on the seventh day of the dark fortnight of the current year Durmukhi, in the victorious and prosperous 1338th (*expired*) Śaka year by the blessed monarch, the honored Virapratāpavijayarāya Voḍayaru, to the logician Hampanaiya of the Haritagōtra and Āpastambasūtra, who is skilled in all the branches of learning, is as follows :—

The village of Ceṭṭupēḍu, together with the tank near Tagara Irumpēḍu, which village Ceṭṭupēḍu belongs to Kōnainkōṭṭapaṭṭi, which is enclosed in the freehold list of the Hōballi of Āgara, (and) governed by Saptanātha in the province of Paḍabīḍu, together with twenty-three hon^s and three fanams according to the weight of the silver pagoda in the village, with one hon and one and-a-half fanams by money

So, the word “Rajya” actually means a province and not a kingdom.

This also indicates that the whole Vijayanagara Empire was divided in to several Rajyas (Provinces) which would have further divided in to several revenue divisions. Further, Prof. Gustav concludes that the said **Padabidu is today's Halebidu, the erstwhile capital of Hoyasala kings**. From this we can understand that a capital city of a kingdom can get reduced to a province. This would have been the fate of Anegondi as well. So, **if someone calls Anegondi as a Rajya or Samsthana it denotes a province only and not a kingdom or Empire.**

In today's usage too "Rajya" means a state. For e.g. Karnataka which is called as Karnataka Rajya. This Rajya does not mean whole of India! Similarly, Gajagahvara Rajya must have been a province ruled by a Governor (Dandanaayaka) but that word can't cover the whole Empire.

It is therefore to be understood that the word Gajagahvara kingdom has never been used in inscriptions of Vijayanagara kings or by the modern historians and not even by the Telugu poets who were present in the capital city during the reigns of Devaraya II and Krishnadeva Raya. It is the words - Vijayanagara or Karnataka (Kannada) - that have been the most popular names used from 15th century and got continued in 16th century (i.e. the time of Sri Vyasaraaja, Vadiraja and Krishnadeva Raya) to till date.

The above ramifications confirm to us that we should go by the writings belonging to the times that we are discussing at this moment (i.e. 14th – 15th century) and not as per the writings that came up in later periods. If any writing of later centuries contradicts with ancient usages those must be read in line with the ancient usage only. Or they can kept aside if need be!

With this we can conclude that Gajagahvara Kingdom has not been used by any of the writers and scribes of 14th, 15th and 16th century but has been used in SVM whose justification has already been submitted with an assurance that they too have not deviated from the facts.

Was Yaragola part of Vijayanagara Kingdom

Sri V.P. Acharya made following assumption in Page 120:

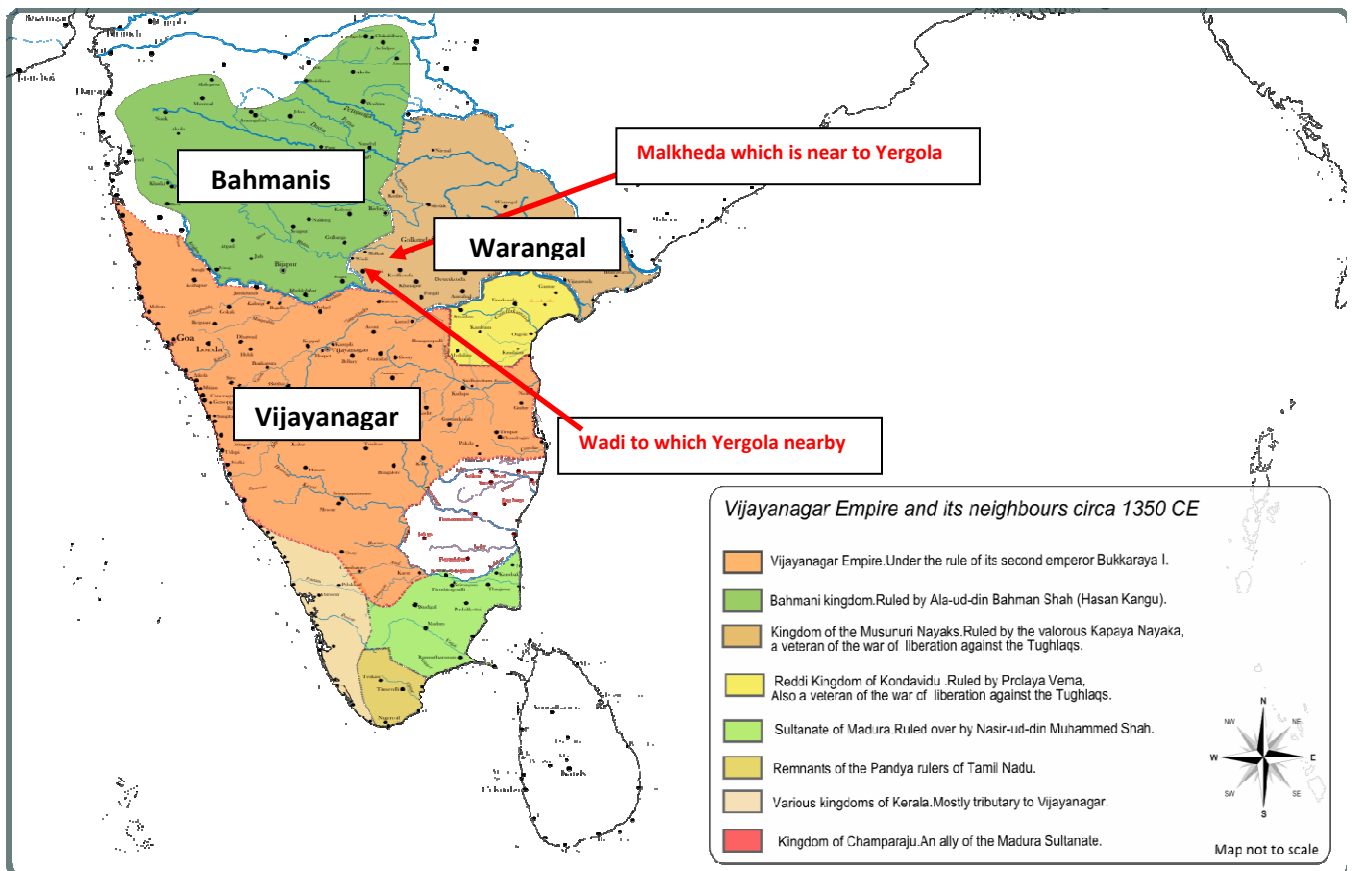
2. **[...]ಗಜಗಘರ ವ್ಯಾಪ್ತಿಯ ಯರಗೋಳದಲ್ಲಿ ಶ್ರೀಜಯತೀರ್ಥರ ಗ್ರಂಥ ರಚಿಸಿದ್ದು ಸುಪ್ರಸಿದ್ಧ ವಿಚಾರ. ಹೀಗಾಗಿ ಇಲ್ಲಿ ಯಾವುದೇ ಗೊಂದಲಕ್ಕೂ ಅವಕಾಶವಿಲ್ಲದಂತಾಗುವುದು. [Page 120]**

In the above sentence, the word Gajagahvara means the Kingdom of Gajagahvara.

In the previous section it is established that **there is no Gajagahvara kingdom** but Vijayanagara Empire only and any usage of Gajagahvara points towards Brindavana Gadde in its spiritual usage as its usage is lacking in the contemporary political and literary usage of those times!

Now let me proceed to find answers for other question i.e. **whether Yaragola was part of Vijayanagara Empire? If so when and under whose reign it was?** I feel that the answer we can get for these would solve many problems in knowing Anegondi as the final resting place of Sri Jayatirtha or not.

Before I list out the historical anecdotes, for the benefit of the readers, let me present a map to know to which kingdom Yaragola was belonging to in mid 14th century i.e. during the life time of Sri Jayatirtha. See the below **Map 01**.



[MAP 01 \(Image: jambudveep.wordpress.com\)](http://jambudveep.wordpress.com)

From the above map, it becomes clear that the places like **Yaragola, Malkheda and Wadi** were **part of** another Hindu kingdom called **Kingdom of Musunuri Nayakas (Warangal)**.

As per the historical narrations, till c.1365 both Malakheda and Yaragola areas were part of a Hindu kingdom of Musunuri Nayakas ruling from Warangal (Orugallu or Eka Shila Nagara). Vijayanagara & Bahamani kingdoms were the most prominent and powerful neighbours. These Nayaks ruled over the dominion shown in the map from **c.1326 – c.1370** but have got disintegrated subsequently.

From c.1370 onwards Bahamanis took over entire Telangana region which includes Yaragola and Malakheda. Before this total domination, in c.1365, Mohammad Shah Bahamani waged a great battle with Kaapaya Nayaka of Musunuri clan in which Nayaka was defeated. This military upset of Nayaka has caused the decline of Hindu grip over Telangana.

As part of the peace treaty, Musunuri Nayaks have agreed to hold Golconda as the border point between theirs and Bahmani kingdom. As a result of this treaty, they have lost their forward positions such as Malakheda, Yaragola and Wadi etc. to Muhammad Shah Bahamani.

If we juxtapose the timelines of Sri Jayatirtha i.e. **c.1345 – 1388**, Yaragola was under Hindu kings till his 20th year (i.e. up to c.1365) and for the rest of his life (i.e.c.1336-1388) it remained in the hands of Bahamanis.

In other words, **during 23 years of ascetic life of Sri Jayatirtha (c.1365-88), Yaragola was under Bahmani sultanate only.** Thus, **during Sri Jayatirtha's lifetime Yaragola was either with Warangal Kingdom or with Bahmani Sultanate and it never came under the rule of the then Vijayanagara kings.**

Having found the answer for the historical account of Yaragola between c.1350-1400, I have furthered my search to find any evidence that supports the claim made by Sri V.P. Acharya that during Krishnadeva Raya's regime, Yaragola was part of Vijayanagara Empire.

There is not an iota of doubt that by c.1520, Krishnadeva Raya has been successful in his military conquests and was able to bring many parts of South India under one banner. But I don't think Yargola and Malkheda were under Vijayanagara rule even in this golden regime of Vijayanagara. Let me put forward critical information gathered on this.

During Krishnadeva Raya's time, Bahamani kingdom was fast disintegrating and fragmenting in to independent Sultanates. Incessant battles broke out between Muhammad III, the last notable Bahamani sultan and his powerful nobles. These battles were waged between c.1490 to c.1518 in which Bahamanis were completely destroyed and 5 independent Sultanates were established.

The order of formation of these independent sultanates does vary from historian to historian but for the sake of our discussion I have considered that Bijapur, Ahmadnagar, Birar, Bidar and Golconda have got established in that order.

The new Sultanate of our interest in the above five is that of Qutub Shahis' which sprung up in c.1518. Qutub Shahi Sultanate has lasted for 170 years before fading out in c.1687. During its existence, this Sultanate was holding sway all over Telangana in which Yaragola and Malkheda were part & parcel. (See map below)



[MAP 02 \(Image: mapsofindia.com\)](http://www.mapsofindia.com)

If we draw a time-scale map of Krishnadeva Raya's regime vis-à-vis the Muslim dominions around him, we can get the following output:

Krishnadevaraya's regime	-	c.1509 - 1529
Bahamani's downfall began & ended	-	c.1490 - 1518
Golconda Sultanate founded	-	c. 1518

From the above, it becomes clear that the disintegration of Bahamanis began 19 years before Krishna Raya's ascendency and completed during his regime. If at all Krishna Raya got hold of Yaragola and Malkheda it should have been during this chaotic situation of the Muslim rulers. But history annals do not point towards this development. Hereunder is what has happened in that time.

During the dismantling process of Bahamanis, all provinces and parts of the dying Sultanate have been shared between the five newly formed Sultanates. As part of this distribution, Yaragola went into the account of Golconda. We have already seen that parts of Telangana such as Yaragola, Malakheda, Wadi etc. have fallen in to the hands of Bahamanis back in c.1365 and remained under them till c. 1518 and subsequently slipped into Golconda Sultanate's hands from c.1518 and remained so till c.1687.

In nutshell from c.1365 to c.1687 i.e. for 322 years, Yaragola was under unbroken rule of Muslims (i.e. Bahamanis, Qutub Shahis and Mughals). It must be noted here that the mighty Vijayanagara never got into these areas during its entire existance.

Hereunder I am producing a historical account which confirms that Golconda sultanate was in possession of Malakheda and other parts as late as c.1677.

When Prince Azam and Prince Muazzam—Aurangzeb's sons—marched on Bijapur, Aurangzeb ordered them to invade Golconda with the intention of annexing the state. The primary motive ascribed to this invasion by Aurangzeb was that Golconda was a Shia state. There were, however, other more important reasons as we will see. Abul Hasan took Shivaji's help against the Mughals, which made the Maratha leader spend considerable time in Golconda-Haidarabad in 1677 CE. The armed struggle between Golconda-Haidarabad and the mighty Mughal empire was hopelessly unequal.

In the previous battles between the Mughals and the Qutb Shahis, treaties were signed, the terms of which had been more favourable to the Mughals. However, each time a consensus had been drawn. This time it turned out to be different. Abdullah Qutb Shah had no choice but to make peace with the Mughals on terms set by them. A settlement was reached according to which the Golconda Sultanate agreed to pay one crore and twenty lakh as war indemnity in addition to the usual annual tribute of two lakh huns. In addition, the territories of Malkhed and Seram were to be ceded to the Mughal empire. And,

Abdullah re-affirmed his subordination to the Mughals and agreed to dismiss his two *brahman* ministers, Akkanna and Madanna, from service. Through these terms, the Qutb Shahis could continue for the time being without any fresh Mughal threat, but even this truce seems to have been short-lived.

After a few years, the Mughals attacked Golconda and its neighbouring city of Haidarabad, which was seized and sacked by Prince Muazzam in 1685 CE; but the sultan once again withdrew to his impregnable fortress of Golconda. It was this vast and big fortress that Aurangzeb began to besiege, but living up to its reputation, the fortress could not be invaded. For eight months Aurangzeb's army, suffering greatly through the monsoons made no headway. Finally, in September 1687 CE, not relying on his military strength alone, Aurangzeb bribed an Afghan official, Mir Muhammad Ibrahim, the commander in chief of Abul Hasan, who joined hands with the Mughals. Through bribery the gate to the fort was opened and the Mughal troops were admitted. The sultan surrendered without a fight; it was only Abdur

(Excerpt from A Comprehensive History of Medieval India: From Twelfth to the Mid-Eighteenth Century by Salma Ahmed Farooqui)

All the aforesaid facts rule out the possibility of Yaragola being under Vijayanagara's rule either during Sri Jayatirtha's lifetime or in Krishnadeva Raya's regime and not even in the succeeding regimes of Vijayanagara Empire.

The historical narrations that have been examined so far have clearly ruled out the assumptions of Sri V.P. such as (a) existence of a Gajagahvara kingdom and (b) Yaragola being part of Gajagahvara kingdom.

Sri V.P. Acharya may put forth historical evidences to support and continue with the assumptions made in his rejoinder. Till such time the assumption of Gajagahvara kingdom and Yaragola being part of it remains erroneous.

With this it can be understood that instead of erasing the confusion VP Acharya has created a great historical 'ಸಂಘಟ' by patching up two different timelines i.e. 14th century (Sri Jayatirtha's period) and 16th century (Krishnadeva Raya's regime). In this

process of distortion Malkheda camp led by VP Acharya has ignored all the actual chronological accounts of medieval South India's history to mislead the gullible readers. Here the matter of convenience has taken the precedence over factual accuracy. This is a glaring drawback of Sri V.P.'s rejoinder.

3. [...]ವಿದ್ಯಾರಣ್ಯರು ತಮ್ಮ ದಿಗ್ವಿಜಯ ಯಾತ್ರೆಯ ಕಾಲದಲ್ಲಿ ಯರಗೋಳವನ್ನು ಸಂದರ್ಶಿಸಿದ[...]ಉಲ್ಲೇಖ ಆ ಸ್ಥಳವು ಗಜಗಹ್ವರ ರಾಜ್ಯಕ್ಕೆ ಸೇರಿದ್ದಿತು ಎಂಬುದಕ್ಕೆ ಮತ್ತೊಂದಿ ರೀತಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಗಮಕವೆನ್ನುವಂತಿದೆ[...]ವಿದ್ಯಾರಣ್ಯರು ತಮ್ಮ ಸಂಚಾರ ಕಾಲದಲ್ಲಿ ಯರಗೋಳವನ್ನು ಸಂದರ್ಶಿಸಿ ಶ್ರೀಜಯತೀರ್ಥರ ಪ್ರತಿಭೆಗೆ ಮಣಿದ ಐತಿಹಾಸಿಕ ಸಂಗತಿಯು[...]ಆಗಿನ ಕಾಲದಲ್ಲಿ ಪರರಾಜ್ಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಸಂಚಾರ ಅಷ್ಟು ಸುಲಭವಾಗಿರಲಿಲ್ಲ ಎಂಬುದು ಇತಿಹಾಸದಿಂದ ತಿಳಿಯುವುದು. ಆದ್ದರಿಂದ ವಿದ್ಯಾರಣ್ಯರ ಸಂಚಾರ ಕಾಲದಲ್ಲಿ ಯರಗೋಳ ಪ್ರಾಂತವು **ಆನೆಗೊಂದಿ ಸಂಸ್ಥಾನಕ್ಕೆ ಸೇರಿತ್ತು ಎಂದು ಸ್ಪಷ್ಟಪಡುವುದು. [Page 130 & 131]**

If I have to be critical of VP Acharya here, *the alleged Gajagahvara Rajya that Sri Acharya painstakingly built up in Page 129 got reduced to a mere Samsthana in Page 130 & 131. (Samsthana is not a kingdom but a splinter state that pops up when a major kingdom disintegrates)*. Is this an error or oversight or the misuse of vocabulary – is best known to the author alone!

The statement “ವಿದ್ಯಾರಣ್ಯರ ಸಂಚಾರ ಕಾಲದಲ್ಲಿ ಯರಗೋಳ ಪ್ರಾಂತವು ಆನೆಗೊಂದಿ ಸಂಸ್ಥಾನಕ್ಕೆ ಸೇರಿತ್ತು ಎಂದು ಸ್ಪಷ್ಟಪಡುವುದು” has already been refuted fully in the previous sections of this write-up. *Please refer Map 01 & 02 for visual confirmation of dominions of the then kingdoms.*

Let me make a submission now on the other important aspect i.e. Sri Vidyanarya's travel and his meeting with Sri Jayatirtha.

Mr. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar, in his work “**Sources of Vijayanagara**”, puts out the **timelines of Vidyanarya as c.1302 0 1387**. See the below extract from the said book:

of the Vēdas. The fact that Bukka asked Mādhavāchārya to set about this indicates the exalted position which the latter held at court. The date of death of Mādhavāchārya is now ascertained to be A.D. 1387 on epigraphical evidence, and he himself says that he lived 85 years. So the period of his life is clearly A.D. 1302 to 1387. He must have been a ripe scholar of great reputation at the beginning of the empire of Vijayanagar, and that Bukka entrusted him with this extraordinary commission is only confirmatory of his great reputation for learning. Apart from all other considerations,

[Page 3, Introduction – A History of the Empire of Vijayanagara from original Sources by Krishnaswamy Aiyangar; 1919 Edition]

At the time of Sri Jayatirtha's birth, Vidyaranya was 43 years old and by c.1365 i.e. Sri Jayatirtha's ascendancy to the Peetha, he was 63 years old. I could not get any reliable historical account that points towards the time-stamp of Jayatirtha-Vidyaranya meet. Hence, I have assumed that Vidyaranya could have met Sri Jayatirtha prior to c.1365 as Yaragola slipped in to Bahamanis hands in c.1365.

Between c.1326 to 1365, Yaragola was under the rule of Hindu Kings of Warangal (Musunuri Nayakas) who were friendly with Vijayanagara and have formed a formidable alliance with them to fight Bahamanis. During this period any commoner in general and great personality like Vidyaranya in particular who was a mentor to the then Vijayanagara king would not have faced any problems to travel from Vijayanagara to Warangal dominions. Hence the assertion made by Sri V.P. Acharya “ಆಗಿನ ಕಾಲದಲ್ಲಿ ಪರರಾಜ್ಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಸಂಚಾರ ಅಷ್ಟು ಸುಲಭವಾಗಿರಲಿಲ್ಲ ಎಂಬುದು ಇತಿಹಾಸದಿಂದ ತಿಳಿಯುವುದು” contradicts with the true historical fact of friendly relationship between Vijayanagara and Warangal kingdoms.

This assumption of Sri Acharya holds water only when Sri Vidyaranya happened to meet Sri Jayatirtha between c.1365 – 1387 of which I am doubtful under given political situations. During this period Yaragola went under Bahamanis' fold after the defeat of Musunuri Nayakas. Vidyaranya ascended the Sringeri peetha in c.1380 and remained on the peetha till his demise in c.1387. Some historians say that during this period Sri Vidyaranya took retirement from active politics and spent his time in deep meditation in Hampi. Read the following statement from Bangalore Suryanarayana Row on this version:

A small island formed by the two branches of the Thungabhadra, near the famous Hampi temple, is still pointed out as "Sanyasi Dibba," and there is a stone mantapa of humble proportions in which, it is alleged, that the great Vidyaranya lived and practised his Yoga. Like Chanikya and the former Maharishis, he led a severe ascetic life, undisturbed by the bustle of the grand city which extended on the southern bank of the river for many miles, and which he revived and called it after his own honored name. In his younger days, he appears to have taken an active part in the formation of the Vijayanagar kingdom, but as he grew old, he separated himself from its political atmosphere, and seems to have continued to give advice only when the matter was most important, or when counsel was sought from him.

Further support to the above contention can be found from the official website of Sringeri Peetha. An extract of that webpage is presented hereunder:

www.sringeri.net/jagadgurus/sri-vidyaranya/biography

1380 and 1560

Sri Vidyaranya

The Early Acharyas

Sri Sureshwaracharya

From 1555 to 1580 A.D.

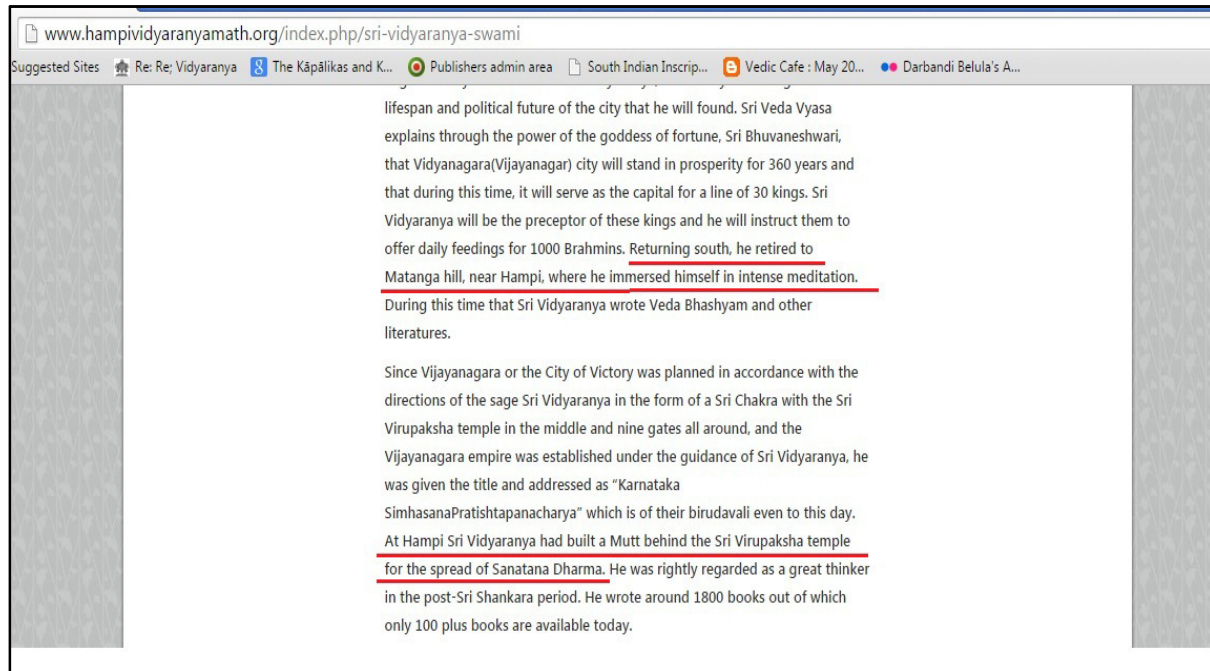
The Jagadguru's Greatness

Sri Vidyaranya then resumed his pilgrimage to Varanasi. While he was there, Sri Bharati Krishna Tirtha at Sringeri had already started construction of the magnificent Vidyashankara temple over the tomb into which his guru Sri Vidya Tirtha had entered into Lambika Yoga Samadhi.

Bukka and Harihara who were sharing the responsibilities of ruling their empire and were marching from victory to victory, went to Sringeri in 1346 for the blessings of Sri Bharati Krishna Tirtha. They celebrated the occasion with a land grant to the senior Sripada.

Bukkaraya communicated all the details to Sri Vidyaranya in Kashi, forwarding to him Sri Bharati Krishna Tirtha's srimukha. It desired his early return to Sringeri, which Sri Vidyaranya complied with, reaching Sringeri via Hampi, accompanied by Bukkaraya. At Hampi, Sri Vidyaranya had built a Mutt near the Virupaksha temple, for his use. After Sri Bharati Krishna Tirtha attained videha mukti, Sri Vidyaranya assumed charge of the Sringeri Mutt and reigned as Jagadguru for six years from 1380 to 1386. The Acharya initiated the emperor into the mysteries of Advaitic meditation, and in 1386 attained videha mukti. Shortly after this event, Harihara visited Sringeri and founded the agrahara of Vidyaranyapura in memory of the guru.

Even the official website of Hampi Vidyaranya Matha, a pontifical seat founded by Vidyaranya, narrates similar story. Hereunder is the screen shot of the webpage from www.hampividyaranyamath.org:



Thus in all probability Vidyaranya must have met with Jayatirtha before c.1365 and not anytime later to this. At this time Jayatirtha might have not yet completed his Nyaya Sudha but would be in the process of writing it. Hence the purported debate between Jayatirtha and Vidyaranya needs a thorough investigation.

Narahari Sumadhwa of Sumadhwaseva.com opines that Vidyaranya must have met Jayatirtha after c.1365 but strangely contradicts by offering another opinion that the said meeting might have happened during early years of Jayatirtha's ascendance i.e. in c.1365 during which Yaragola has gone in to Bahamanis!

him to honour his great work. Jayatirtha told him that as soon as it is finished, he will send a copy of the same to him also.

Jayatirtha completed the Teeka on Pramana Lakshana and did the samarpana in front of the vrundavana of Akshobhya Tirtharu at Malakheda.

Vidyaranya showed his respect to Jayatirtharu with great procession (ambary elephant) followed by vedaghosha, kept all his granthas on an elephant.

Note : 1. It seems that Vidyaranya must have met Sri Jayatirtharu after 1365AD only, that too after the Vrundavana pravesha of Akshobhya Tirtharu. But it is surprising that even though he is defeated by Jayatirtharu, Vidyaranya has not recorded the same in his works. He has mentioned about Vedanta Deshika in Ramanuja Darshana but not mentioned about Jayatirtha. He has written about Poomapragna Darshana, there also no mention of Jayatirtha. As such, it seems that Vidyaranya must have met Teekarayaru during the early part of sanyasa of Jayatirtharu, and he may not come across all his works, that is why he has narrated in "sarvadarshana sangraha" by Vidyaranya.

2. Sri Chalari Sankarashanacharya opines in his book "Jayatirtha Vijaya" vyakhyana, that the Vidyaranya who met Jayatirtha was junior Vidyaranya. (In Vidyaranya parampare all the yathees would be having the name Vidyaranya.)

3. But Vidyaranya's (Maadhavacharya – who had a vaagvaada at Mulbagilu) period is 1302-1387 and has accepted by many. As such, he (Senior Vidyaranya) only must have had vaagvaada with Jayatirtha.

In lieu of such contradictions, I have tried to build a simulation for this Jayatirtha-Vidyaranya meet which is as under:

In the biography of Sri Vidyaranya posted in Sringeri Peetha's official website, it is said that Sri Vidyaranya has undertaken a pilgrimage to Kashi but rushed back to Sringeri as the then pontiff Sri Bharati Tirtha has sensed his death and wanted Vidyaranya to come back forthwith. This is the only travel of Vidyaranya that is cited in that short biography. With this alone one may not be able to make an assertion but I have tried to build the simulation with this fractured info:

- The time line of Bharati Tirtha is c.1333-1380.
- Vidyaranya ascended Sringeri Peetha in c.1380.
- Assuming that Vidyaranya might have undertaken pilgrimage a year or so before c.1380 then his journey would have begun in c.1379.
- By making a wild assumption that he would have undertaken pilgrimage to North five years prior to his ascendancy for all sorts of 'Vadaas' & 'Digvijayas' then the year would be c.1375.
- The purported meeting of Vidyaranya and Jayatirtha might have occurred during this travel.
- The political situation says that by c.1375 Yaragola was under Bahamani Sultanate. (**which can negate the possibility of Sri Jayatirtha staying in Yaragola at this time**)

- Muhammad Shah Bahamani died in c.1375 and Mujahid Shah (c.1375-78) sat on the throne and his reign was full of pitched battles with Vijayanagara particularly in Telangana areas (***again ruling out the possibility of Sri Jayatirtha staying in Yaragola***).
- After Mujahid's murder in c.1378 Mahamood Shah I ascended and ruled the sultanate till c.1397. (As per Srigenri and Hampi Vidyaranya Matha's websites ***Vidyaranya appeared to have not undertaken any major travel between c.1380 – 87 i.e. till his demise. Thus ruling out the meeting with Sri Jayatirtha during this period.***)
- On the other hand, Jayatirtha would have been in Hampi or Anegondi between c.1370-88 as he might have moved there owing to the political insecurity and religious proselytization in Telangana region including the areas of Yaragola & Malkheda.
- It has been witnessed in above paras that Vidyaranya spent his last years in Hampi by building an Ashram for himself.
- So, in this period i.e. between c.1370-87 only there are some chances for both of them coming face-to-face.
- If this becomes true then the presence of Sri Jayatirtha in Hampi or Anegondi areas gets confirmed.

All said and done the **purported meeting of Vidyaranya and Jayatirtha is another confusion** that needs thorough probe and an impartial inquiry might throw light on the Brindavana of Sri Jayatirtha too!

For now, it can be summerised that:

- **Yaragola has not been under Vijayanagara Empire even during the Krishnadevaraya's regime.**
- **Sri Vidyaranya would have not faced any hardships only if he travelled before c.1365 to Yaragola and met with Jayatirtha. This seems impractical as this situations renders the Uttaradi Matha's narrative of Jayatirtha – Vidyaranya meeting and the triumph of the former. (the famous "sapOham" story).**
- **In post c.1365 scenario, the supposed meeting of Jayatirtha-Vidyaranya must have taken place in Hampi or Anegondi only as Jayatirtha moved to inlands of Hindu rulers by leaving Muslim dominions.**

- If this could be established with further proofs, then we can get a vital lead towards the identification of Mula Brindavana of Jayatirtha within the vicinities of Hampi or Anegondi.

Till such a time counter evidences to the above are furnished, all the assumptions made by Sri V.P. Acharya w.r.t. Gajagahvara kingdom and Yaragola being part of Vijayanagara kingdom can be dismissed on the basis of the authentic historical evidences furnished hitherto.

Now let me turn the attention towards Sri Rajaru's time and the political scenario that surrounded Yaragola.

Earlier we have seen that at the end of Musunuri Nayaks reign, entire Telangana area in which Yaragola and Malakheda were part & parcel of got slipped into Bahmanis' grip. In c.1518 Qutub Shahis founded their own Sultanate and have made Golconda as the capital. History accounts authenticate the **formation of Grand Muslim Alliance of five Sultanates that surrounded Vijayanagara**. See the below map:



MAP 03 (Image: aarde.in)

From the above we can see that **by c.1565 Golconda** has become a **member of Grand Muslim Alliance which conspired against Vijayanagara**. The epic battles of Rakkasi

Tangadi and Tallikota in c.1565 have caused the downfall of Hampi city as a result of which Anegundi too became desolated.

At the time of Sri Rajaru's visit to Anegondi i.e. in c.1586 or 88, it becomes clear that the places like Yaragola and Malkheda were under the rule of Shahis of Golconda sultanate (See Map 02). Also, in Yaragola, there are no commemorative monuments/places of great importance especially for Madhvas except the cave that Sri Jayatirtha stayed for some time. This fact rules out the possibility of Sri Rajaru visiting Yaragola under the inconvenient politico-religious circumstances and praising Sri Jayatirtha there.

Other important conclusions that can be drawn are:

- That Sri Jayatirtha and Vidyaranya are separated from Krishnadeva Raya by a century. *Thus we can't connect the political situations of these two eras like how Sri V.P. did.*
- During entire lifespan of the aforesaid personalities, Yaragola was never under Vijayanagara Empire.
- Sri Rajaru's visited Anegondi only and has not visited Yaragola.
- Sri Rajaru paid the visit to Anegondi after approx. 60 years from the death of Krishnadeva Raya and almost 150 years after the departure of Jayatirtha & Vidyaranya during which period the political scenarios have completely changed.

And so, the statement by Sri V.P. that Sri Rajaru might have praised Jayatirtha in Yaragola is completely negated by the afore-furnished historical facts.

4. [...]ಯರ ಎಂಬುದಕ್ಕೆ ಆನೆ ಎಂಬ ಅರ್ಥವೂ ಸಹ ಇರುವ ಸಾಧ್ಯತೆಯನ್ನು ಅಲ್ಲಗಳೆಯುವಂತಿಲ್ಲ. ಅದರಿಂದ ಯರಗೋಳ ಎಂಬುದಕ್ಕೆ ಗಜಗಹ್ವರ ಎಂಬ ಅರ್ಥವಾಗುವ ಸಾಧ್ಯತೆ ಇದೆ. (Footnote 1 in Page 130)

As my Kannada knowledge is just workable, I can't comment on the meaning of 'ಯರ.' Assuming that Sri V.P. Acharya is right in offering its meaning as 'Elephant' and 'ಗೋಳ' means 'pit' and thus matches with Gaja (Elephant) Gahvara (Pit/Hiding place) then I have few questions to ask:

- a) **What are those historical accounts that call Yaragola as Gajagahvara just like Malkheda that was called as Manyakheta or Vrushtikheta?**

- b) Are there any works such as Purana or Ithihasa or local stories that connect Yaragola with Sanskritised Gajagahvara?
- c) If Yaragola is Gajagahvara and Anegondi too is Gajagahvara where did Sri Jayatirtha write his commentaries?
- d) Did he write some books in Yaragola and others in Anegondi? If so which was the place that he stayed last?
- e) Are there reliable historical evidences that confirm Sri Jayatirtha's travel from Anegondi to Malkheda or from Yaragola to Malkheda?
- f) What if Sri Jayatirtha spent his last days in Anegondi which is the most well known Gajagahvara of those times & our times?

Sri VP Acharya must answer these questions with solid historical, archeological and scriptural evidences only and without quoting Matha-based, biased and unreliable sources.

@@@@@

Further Exploration of Shloka 17 of Purva Prabandha

In Shloka 17 of Purva Prabandha chapter Sri Rajaru has praised Anegondi as:

ರಾಜಧಾನೀ ಜಯತಿ ಸಾ ಗಜಗಹ್ವರ ಸಂಜ್ಞಿತಾ
ಯತ್ರ ಭಾಂತಿ ಗಜಾ ಮಾಧ್ವಸಿದ್ಧಾಂತಧರಣೀಧರಾಃ

This shloka throws up certain challenges on its historic relevance and factual accuracy. Let us see the questions:

1. What do the historical anecdotes of Anegondi & Hampi tell us?
2. How Hampi & Anegondi were looking during the visit of Sri Rajaru?
3. Was Anegondi a dynamic and bustling capital city at the time when Sri Rajaru composed this shloka?
4. If Anegondi was the capital city, as described in this shloka, then what was the status of Hampi (Vijayanagara)?

Before venturing in to the findings, we should remember that as per the book SJMBG, Sri Rajaru paid his last visit to Brindavana Gadde of Anegondi in the year 1586 or 1588. Assuming that this information is correct, let us explore the historical facts.

Question 1: What do the historical anecdotes of Anegondi & Hampi tell us?

Anegondi is an older city than the Hampi. Though being ancient to Hampi, Anegondi never had a chance to rise in its grandeur owing to the geographic and strategic disadvantages as identified by the historians. Hereunder are the statements made by famous historians:

- According to Robert Sewell, **Anegondi** has remained as a **tiny principality** up to the late 13th century AD and its structure remained as a 'fortified town' only. (from *Vijayanagara – Forgotten Empire*)
- Sri Bangalore Suryanarayana Row quotes from the Muslim historian Ferishta that “**Chiefs of Anagondi** had existed as a ruling family for seven hundred years prior to the year A.D. 1350.” (from *History of Vijayanagara : The Never To Be Forgotten Empire Part 1*).
- Vir Savarkar, the famous freedom fighter, thus writes “[...]the **Kingdom of Anagondi**, too, was overpowered by the Muslims.” (*6 Glorious Epochs of Indian History*).

- B.N. Roy and M.N. Das write that “It was before 1336 [AD] that Harihara captured **Anegondi (Kunjarakona)** which **became his capital** [...] he laid the foundation of a new city on the southern bank of the Tungabhadra, opposite to his capital Kunjarakona (Anegondi) and gave it the appropriate name Vijayanagar.” (from **A Comprehensive History of India: Comprehensive History of Medieval India**)

It can be thus summarized that before Hampi (Vijayanagara) was founded and made to flourish, Anegondi was the capital for the ruling dynasties yet it has remained as Kingdom or Chiefdom or in its lowest status - a ‘Fortified town.’”

From 1309 AD to 1335 AD, there have been several bloody battles fought between the Muslim invaders and native Hindu rulers in & around Anegondi. With the entry of Sri Vidyanarya, a great change has been ensued and in the mid 14th century Anegondi has forever lost its [capital city] status to newly built Hampi (Vijayanagara).

Hampi, having many strategic advantages, has risen to prominence in a short period of time. It remained as the most thriving capital of the then known world till it was reduced to dust in late 16th century by Muslim armies and thugs from Maratha region.

Thus we can conclude that from somewhere in the distant past to early 14th century Anegondi had been the capital city but abandoned from mid 14th century and Hampi became the capital city from mid 14th to late 16th century. In other words, during the pontifical lifetime of Jayatirtha, Anegundi was not the capital city of Vijayanagara emperors.

Question 2: How Hampi & Anegondi were looking during the visit of Sri Rajaru?

Anegondi ceased to exist as the capital city of Vijayanagara kings from mid 14th century. From this perspective, if we take a look at the time (i.e. in c.1586 or c.1588) in which 17th shloka on Anegundi was composed it becomes amply clear that Sri Rajaru wrote that shloka 250 or 252 years after Anegondi lost its place to Hampi.

If we take into account the birth year of Sri Rajaru i.e. c.1480, it can be understood that almost 144 years have elapsed since Anegondi lost its place to Hampi.

By these accounts, can we believe that Sri Rajaru ignored this glaring historical truth of his times yet went ahead to praise Anegondi as “Rajadhani”?

Question 3: Was Anegondi, a dynamic and bustling capital city at the time when Sri Rajaru composed this shloka?

This question can be answered in one word i.e. **NO**

Question 3: If Anegondi was the capital city, as described in this shloka, then what was the status of Hampi (Vijayanagara)?

After the humiliating defeat of Vijayanagara Empire in c.1565 in the battle of Tallikota, Tirumala Raya, the brother of slain Vijayanagara defacto-king Aliya Ramaraya, made a post haste retreat from Hampi to Penugonda (now in Andhra Pradesh) and has abandoned the city of Hampi. Since then, for more than six months, this beautiful city witnessed large scale destruction carried out by Muslim marauders and thugs. Fire and sword were the only things that filled the streets of the capital city.

Assuming that Sri Rajaru wrote this shloka in c.1586 or 88, then by that time, Anegondi was turned in to a poor hamlet and Hampi had completely fallen from its greatness. Some good 20 years have since then elapsed when Sri Rajaru paid his last visit to Brindavana Gadde and wrote shlokas on Anegondi & Sri Jayatirtharu. It would be a great nightmare to imagine that Sri Rajaru was not aware of what has befallen to both the capital cities of Vijayanagara rulers?

So, the question occurs “why did he compose a grand shloka on Anegondi calling it as “the capital” and make a praise of as it as the capital that is “victorious” (Jayati)?”

What did Sri Rajaru really mean, then? Let us explore.

Sri Rajaru's True Intention Behind Shloka 17:

Before I give a try to fathom out the true intention of Sri Rajaru, let me examine what Sri V.P. Acharyaru, in **Page 114**, offers to us to read:

“ಇಲ್ಲಿ ಗಜಗಪ್ಪರ ಎಂಬುದಕ್ಕೆ ನವವೃಂದಾವನ ಗಡ್ಡೆ ಎಂದು ಅರ್ಥ ಮಾಡಿರುವುದೇ ಸರಿಯಲ್ಲ.
ಗಜಗಪ್ಪರ ಎಂಬುದಕ್ಕೆ ಗಜಗಪ್ಪರ ಎಂದೇ ಅರ್ಥವಾಗುವುದೇ ಹೊರತು ನವವೃಂದಾವನ ನಡುಗಡ್ಡೆ
ಎಂದು ಹೇಗೆ ಅರ್ಥವಾದೀತು?”

For a novice like me the above statement sounds like an insecure argument quaking with meek defense. Let me make an attempt to put forward my thoughts on this.

It is beyond any doubt that Sri Rajaru did use the words “Gaja Gahvara”, “Rajadhani” and “Jayati.” These words do say that “Anegundi, the capital, [is] victorious” though the reality is that this town was abandoned centuries before. So, from the historical perspective, **this shloka should become null & void.** But we can’t simply dismiss Sri Rajaru’s words without understanding his true intention.

I feel that Sri Rajaru’s true intention in writing Shloka 17 could have been something else. Here is my thought process:

1. Sri Rajaru has not talked about Anegondi - the fortified town that has served as capital city to the earlier dynasties of Vijayanagara.
2. Sri Rajaru was well versed with the then contemporary history and he was a witness to the fall of Hampi. He also knew about the discarded city of Anegondi.
3. Being a highly spiritual person, Sri Rajaru has never given importance to such perishable worldly matters and he never considered these brick & mortar cities as ‘the capital.’
4. Sri Rajaru was also conscious of the fact that it was this Brindavana Gadde that neither rose to prominence nor fallen to become rubble but was stable like the North Star.
5. He was sensitive to the fact that this holy place has never attracted the wrath of the hooligans though the whole neighbourhood was put to sword and fire from time to time.
6. Sri Rajaru is quite knowledgeable to understand the greatness of this desolated place that looks despicable in its outward appearance but admirable within its celestial disposition.
7. Hence by saying “**ರಾಜಧಾನೀ ಜಯತಿ ಸಾ ಗಜಗಹ್ವರ ಸಂಜ್ಞಿತಾ**” he did not mean the brick & mortar Anegundi but the entrenched island (Gahvara) that houses the Eight Diggajas (Gaja).
8. Brindavana Gadde is the only place that houses the very first Brindavana of Madhva lineage i.e. Mula Brindavana of Sri Padmanabha Tirtha. With this we can also understand that Sri Padmanabha Tirtha as the first disciple succeeding Sri Madhva reigned the Madhva Siddhanta Samrajya as its First Emperor.
9. This Brindavana Gadde not only houses the First Emperor of *Madhva Vedanta Dharani* but also houses the Mula Brindavana of Sri Vyasaraaja who has a unique

character to his credit i.e. presiding over the thrones of Empires of Vedanta and Vijayanagara simultaneously. This uniqueness we can't find elsewhere.

10. Alongside of all these, this place also houses the Mula Brindavana of Sri Jayatirtharu who led the Madhva parampare as a seasoned Commander that followed his Emperor (Adi TikAkAra Sri Padmanabha T.) in true letter & spirit.
11. Thus, the Brindavana Gadde, at the time of Sri Rajaru's visit was glowing and gleaming with the eternal presence of the First Emperor, the one & only Saint-cum-Emperor and the Chief Commander of Madhva Siddhanta Dharani.
12. This is what made Sri Rajaru to address this tiny rock island thrown in the middle of Tungabhadra as The Capital of Madhva Siddhanta.

In addition to the above, I feel that some focus must be put on the word “ಸಂಜ್ಞಿತ” which also means as “communicated” apart from giving meanings like “called”, “named” or “made known” etc. It may be recalled here that Sri Rajaru used words “ನಗರಿ”, “ಪುರೀ” etc. while writing on holy cities. Few examples are - Ayodhya (ಅಯೋಧ್ಯ ನಾಮ ನಗರೀ ಭಾತಿ ಸಾಧ್ಯೇ ವಧೂರಿವ), Siddhapuri (ಭಾತಿ ಸಿದ್ಧಪುರೀ ಯತ್ರ ಸಿದ್ಧಾ ಮುಕ್ತಿಪುರೀ), Hastinaavati (ಸಾ ಭಾತಿ ಹಸ್ತಿನಪುರೀ ಪ್ರಥಿತಾ ತ್ರಿಲೋಕ್ಯಾಮ್) and Dwaraka (ಸಾ ದ್ವಾರಕೇಷ್ವಿತಪುಮರ್ಥಕರೀ ಪುರೀ ನಃ). But in the context of Gaja Gahvara he prefers to use the word “ಸಂಜ್ಞಿತ” which in its feminine form (ಸಂಜ್ಞಾ) gives meanings such as “signal”, ‘perception” and even “nickname.” **Thus Rajaru nicknamed the tiny rock island as the real “Gajagahvara” and praised it as the eternal capital city of Madhva Siddhanta.**

Sri Rajaru's capital city is not similar to the capital city of Vijayanagara Empire. It is indeed different in its entirety. Sri Rajaru called the Brindavana Gadde as the Capital city for the land of Madhva philosophy and the Eight Yathis are like eight cosmic elephants (ಗಜಾ = ದಿಗ್ಗಜಾ) that are believed to be holding the earth that we live in.

Thus, Sri Rajaru has clearly described the Eight Brindavanas that were coexisting in the rocky island on Anegundi side. Is this not a direct reference?

It is needless to mention that Sri Rajaru did not deviate from his oath to describe only those places that he personally visited. By using the word **Gaja Gahvara** he was physically present not only in the Anegondi, the erstwhile brick & mortar city but also in

the spiritual capital city of Madhva Siddhanta built in the same vicinity. Thus Sri Rajaru dexterously fulfilled his oath.

In light of this, it becomes superstitious to promote Yaragola as Gajagahvara as that place has never been a capital even for a Jagirdar let alone for a mighty empire like Vijayanagara. This place is devoid of Eight Brindavanas and so does not become the common shelter for eight Madhva Yathis who bear the land of Madhva like eight cosmic elephants.

Sri V.P. Acharya's following summation needs a revisit:

"[...]ಆದ್ದರಿಂದ ತೀರ್ಥಪ್ರಬಂಧವನ್ನಾಗಲಿ, ಅದರ ವ್ಯಾಖ್ಯಾನವನ್ನಾಗಲಿ ಆಧಾರವನ್ನಾಗಿತ್ತು ಗಜಗಹ್ವರದಲ್ಲಿಯೇ ಶ್ರೀ ಜಯತೀರ್ಥರ ಮೂಲಬೃಂದಾವನ ಎಂದು ವಾದಿಸುವುದು ಅತ್ಯಂತ ಅಪ್ರಾಮಾಣಿಕವಾದ ವಿಚಾರಸರಣಿ ಎಂದಾಗುವು. "ಅಂತೂ ಸತ್ಯ ಯಾವುದು, ಜಯ ಯಾರಿಗೆ" ಎಂಬುದು ತಿಳಿಯಿತಲ್ಲ."[Page 120]

In this section, I have put efforts to understand the Shloka 17 from historical facts and this attempt has led me to find the clues to trace back Sri Jayatirtha's mula brindavana to Brindavana Gadde. In the section "**Jayatirthara Mula Brindavana – An Independent Review**", I have presented my analysis of Sri Narayanacharya's Teeka. This too has led me towards Brindavana Gadde as the location of Sri Jayatirtha's Mula Brindavana.

It is my humble request to Sri V.P. Acharya to take a fresh perspective of Shloka 17 by removing the superficial layer of its literal meaning or advise me about the inaccuracy in my submissions.

Concluding Notes of this Chapter:

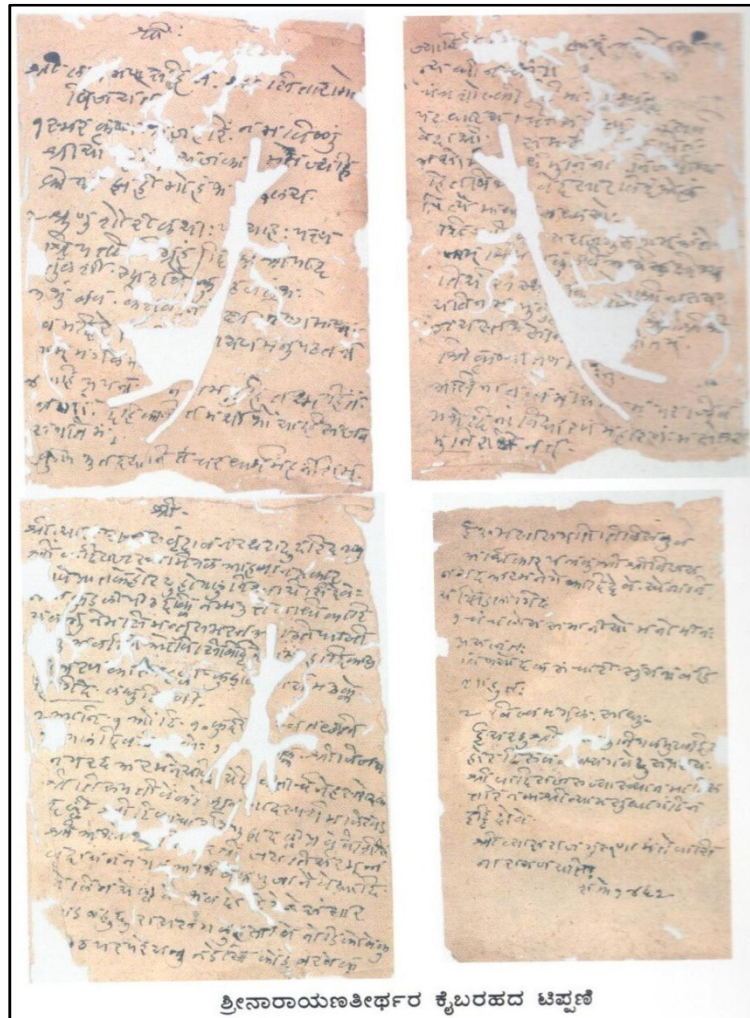
While dealing with the history of an established system i.e. a nation or community, proper care must be taken by one and all while presenting the facts. Only truth should prevail over all other petty feelings. Twisted accounts should not become our *fate accompli*.

I sincerely feel that this element is missing, at least in the chapters "ತೀರ್ಥಪ್ರಬಂಧ ಶ್ಲೋಕದ ಬಗೆಗಿನ ವಿಮರ್ಶೆ" and "ಮಾಧ್ವರಾದ್ಧಾಂತಧರಣೀಧರಾಃ" of Sri VP Acharya's book. All the statements made therein are the personal feelings/opinions/beliefs of the author and cannot become the final judgment in concluding the Mula Brindavana of Sri Jayatirtha.

Sri Narayana Tirtha Hand-written Manuscripts

As part of the rejoinder, Sri V.P. Acharya provided scanned images of paper manuscripts (*image given below*) purportedly written by Sri Narayana Tirtha (Sri NT) who was a disciple of Sri Vyasaraja.

It is claimed by Sri V.P. that 1st MS of these 2 manuscripts has come to light sometime in 1980 through Sri Chikkeruru Acharya and Sri V.P. published the contents and his findings of this manuscript in Tattvada monthly in July, 1980. Another paper MS of Sri NT was found in 1982 again through Sri Chikkeruru and a study paper of Sri VP has been published in February, 1982 in Tattvada.



(Sri Narayana Tirtha's paper manuscript – as on the inner page of back cover of Sri VP's rejoinder)

As per Sri V.P. it is believed that the contents of the said paper manuscript have been written by Sri Narayana Tirtha (NT) in his own handwriting. It is believed by Sri V.P. that the said

manuscript was written sometime in Shaka 1462 which corresponds to c.1540. **In 1980, Sri V.P. read the Shaka year as SS.1467 i.e. c.1545. Now in the present rejoinder, this year has been pushed to c.1540.** Whatever is the year of writing, Sri V.P. claims that the said manuscript confirms the presence of Mula Brindavana of Sri Jayatirtha in Malkheda.

The editors of SJMBG, in their book, have discussed at length about these manuscripts and have raised many questions on their authenticity. Sri V.P. provided answers in his rejoinder.

This write-up is an independent review of Sri NT's 02 paper manuscripts and touches upon this subject from historical & scientific perspective. **This write-up examines various scenarios of the paper usage in India, its manufacturing techniques in medieval India and more importantly its usage in Madhva community.**

1st PAPER MANUSCRIPT OF SRI NT (ಶ್ರೀ ನಾರಾಯಣತೀರ್ಥರ ಕೈಬರಹದ ಟಿಪ್ಪಣಿ) – QUESTIONS THAT ARISE

In this write-up the antecedents of Sri Narayana Tirtha's handwritten manuscript will be reviewed with the historical accounts available to me at this moment and the observations made by the subject-matter-experts (Printing, Writing trends, Manuscript studies, Paleography etc.) are being provided at their appropriate places. *I do not have any preconceived notions about the said manuscript and this write-up is the prose form of my inner thoughts about this matter.*

Following are the critical questions that need to be explored to understand whether Sri NT's paper manuscripts are authentic or not.

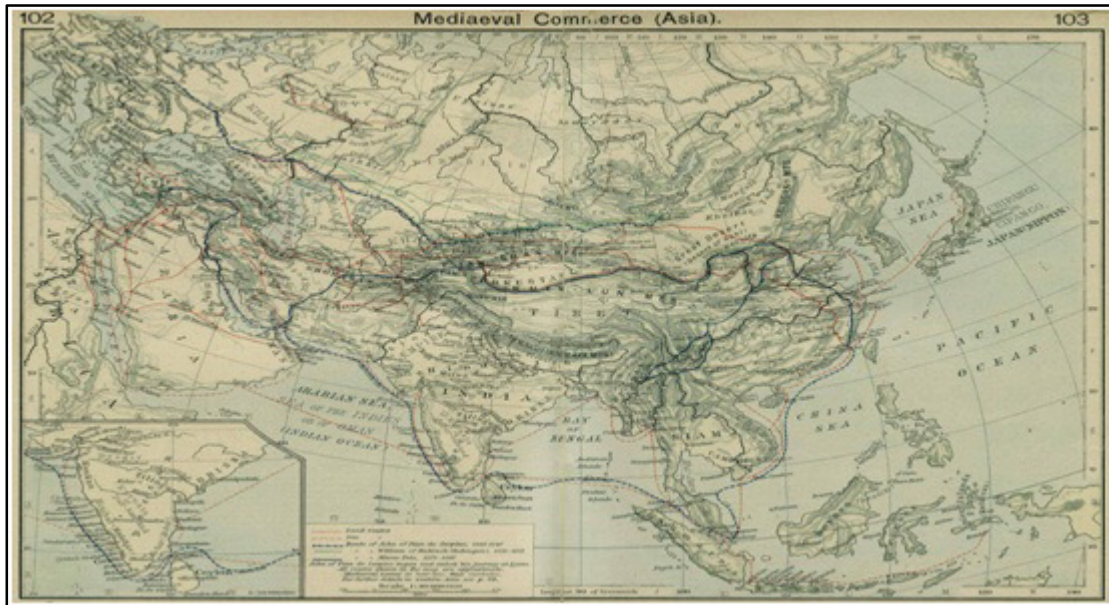
1. **When was paper introduced in India?**
2. **When did paper enter in South India & how?**
3. **Were Hindu Sanyasins of medieval S. India using paper owing to their strict adherence to austerity that prohibits them from touching/using many items?**
4. **Was 'paper' treated as an object of sanctity by the Sanyasins or not? If so by whom?**
5. **Whether Madhva Peethadhipatis and Sanyasins were using paper as an instrument of writing?**
6. **Are any paper manuscripts (MS) from Madhva sources of Sri NT's period available for our verification?**

In the ensuing paragraphs, I shall be presenting the findings of the above questions:

1. When was paper introduced in India?

Many historians opine that **paper was first invented in China** and later **got introduced to different parts** of the Europe and Middle East **via the then famous Silk Route**. This distribution

of paper technology started **from 7th Century AD onwards**. Some historians say that the history of paper could be traced back to 2nd Century BC and say that the distribution took place from 4th Century CE. Nevertheless both the schools of historians agree that this technology spread through Silk Road only. *Below map shows the silk routes (RED LINE - Land routes; DOTTED RED LINE - Sea routes).*



Map 1 (Image: www.silkroutes.net)

It is said that Ibn Nadim (died c. 995), an Arab bibliographer, has made some references about paper technology in his *Kitab al-Fihrist*:

‘The Chinese write on the Chinese paper made from a sort of herbage. This (industry) is a great source of income for the city.’⁴

It also said that another Persian scholar, Al Beruni (c.973-1058) wrote that:

‘Paper was invented by the Chinese. The Chinese captives introduced it in Samarqand whence it diffused to other parts of the world.’⁵

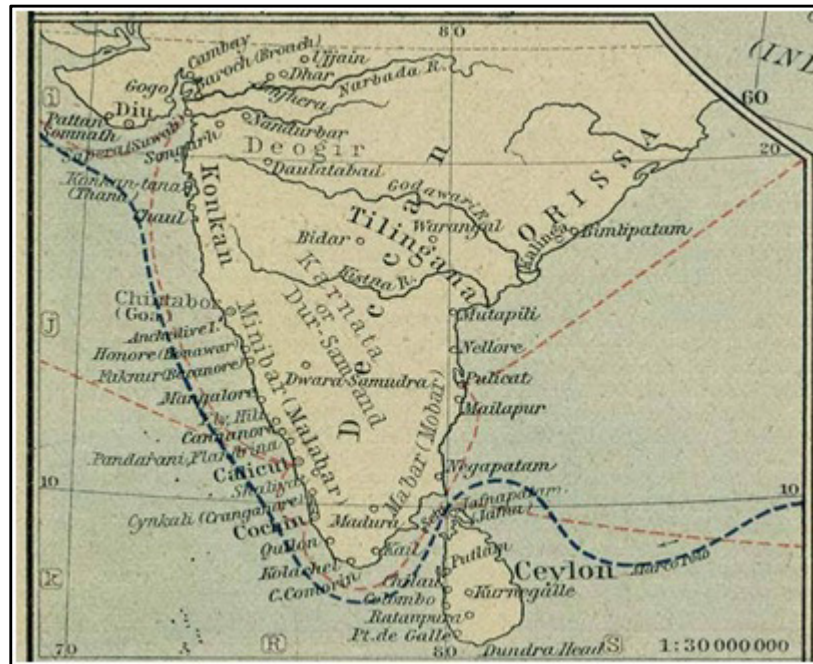
Ibn Nadim has given references to the writing habits of Indians and Arabs:

‘The Arabs write on the shoulder bones of camels and on the leaves of date-palm . . . whereas the Indians use copperplates, rocks and white silk.’¹

(Above excerpts are from ‘Paper Technology in Medieval India by S.A.K. Ghori and Mr. A. Rahman; 1966)

From the above statement, we can understand that the paper was almost unknown in India at a time when the other parts of the world have come in contact with the technical knowhow of Paper. This situation makes us to examine whether India was connected to those famous Silk Routes that carried Paper technology or not?

The map (Map 2) below shows the Silk Routes that traversed to & from Indian sub-continent. From this map that shows the silk routes of 13th century confirms that the country on whole was well connected, by both land & sea, with the said Silk Route.



Map 2 (Image: www.silkroutes.net)

NOTE: Above images are depicting the routes that were in vogue between c.1200-c.1300.

India, though well connected with the Silk Routes, did not use paper since 7th century. India's connection with China, the birthplace of Paper, is much older and dates back to several centuries before Common Era but the non-interest of Indians in using paper is quite an intriguing subject to explore!

Paper and Its Entry into India:

It is a commonly held opinion by many historians that **Paper entered in India [read North India] during 15th century and the entry point was the present day Jammu & Kashmir**. Others say that paper has entered India in 11th century. Whatever is the time of entry, our focus is on its usage.

As far as the entry of paper in North India through Kashmir is concerned, there is an interesting story. In their revised edition of “**Paper Technology in Medieval India**” Mr. S.A.K. Ghori and Mr. A. Rahman of the National Institute of Sciences-New Delhi (now called as National Science Academy), have narrated this story as under:

It is not until the reign of Sultan Zainu'l-'Abidin of Kashmir (A.D. 1417-1467) that the first pointed reference to the establishment of paper industry in this country is found in the chronicles. His father, Sultan Sikandar (c. 1386-1410), was ruling over Kashmir at the time of Timur's invasion of India (A.D. 1398). Sultan Sikandar sent an embassy, led by his son, **Shāhī Khān**, to that formidable personage and sought his friendship. Timur summoned him to meet him but in the meanwhile political developments at home compelled him to leave India. He hastened to Samarqand but took **Shāhī Khān** with him to that place where he kept him virtually as a hostage till his death. **Shāhī Khān**, later known as Sultan Zainu'l-'Abidin, utilized his sojourn at Samarqand in the pursuit of knowledge. When he returned to Kashmir he brought with him many artisans and persons skilled in various trades with a view to introducing new industries in Kashmir. These persons included papermakers, bookbinders harnessmakers and midwives. According to the author of *Tārīkh-i Kashmīr* :

‘During his stay at Samarqand he acquired knowledge. When he returned to Kashmir he brought with him a number of artisans skilled in different trades such as papermakers, bookbinders, carpetmakers harnessmakers and well-trained midwives.’⁷

His enthusiasm for the welfare and progress of Kashmir did not diminish even after ascending the throne. The same author states elsewhere:

‘He requisitioned the services of artisans from Iran, Turkey and particularly from **Khurāsān** (being nearer to Kashmir). He made land grants to those artisans whom he had brought from foreign countries as an incentive to boost their respective trades.’⁸

The Kashmiris learnt papermaking and improved upon the technique to such a degree that within a few years Kashmiri paper earned the reputation for its excellence. It acquired so much excellence that the Sultan thought it fit to be sent as a present to his contemporary kings. Never before did

Inferences from the above narratives:

The above said narrations confirm that **Kashmir was the entry point for Paper** and it soon became a giant manufacturer and Paper entered North India in early 15th century. This supposition leads to draw an inference that **South India did not bring the paper into India** though the whole of east, west & southern coasts of it were well connected with Silk Routes through which paper went to other parts of the world (Ref. Map 2 above).

This inference becomes more interesting in South Indian perspective that from the days of Shatavahanas of Andhra (230 BCE – 220 CE) and to the days of Vijayanagara Empire, South India has been a thriving maritime destination in both military and commerce perspectives. **The great Cholas** whose rule flourished for more than 1,400 years and **having expanded** their dominions **to Cambodia, Indonesia, Thailand etc. which are again connected to the international Silk Routes did not use Paper as part of their writing letters or books.**

So when on Southern India actually started using Paper as part of their communication tools? Were there any religious or cultural barriers that stopped the usage of Paper in South India? These are the questions listed at the beginning (2nd, 3rd & 4th questions) and the same will be discussed in the following sections.

2. When did paper enter in South India?

The entry of Paper in to Southern India is not described much in the books that I have verified so far. Till such time that I can find that story I wish to present a narration from Arthur Coke Burnell, a 19th century British scholar of Sanskrit who made couple of curious observations on Paper usage in S. India.

Arthur Burnell has authored many books and “**Elements of South-Indian Palæography, from the Fourth to the Seventeenth Century A.D.**” is considered as the best work amongst all. This book got published in c.1878 and became a must-read for the then students. He said to have died due to overwork and harsh weather conditions of Madras.

I have taken inputs from this book owing to its given importance in 19th century. Also, his curious remarks/comments made on Sri Madhvacharya and Madhva Brahmins in this very book made me to quote him frequently. Let us see what Burnell has said about Paper in South India.

6. Paper. The use of paper in India seems to be subsequent to the 11th century A.D., but, up to quite recent times it was unknown in S. India, and is, even now, regarded by rigid Hindus as unclean. In all the dialects of India it is called by more or less corrupt forms of the name 'kāgad' by which it was known to the Arabs⁹, and its foreign origin is, thus, apparent.

According to Albirūni⁹ (and there is no reason to doubt his accuracy) paper was discovered by the Chinese at Samarcand, when Transoxiana was under their power, or in the earlier centuries A.D., and from Samarcand the manufacture gradually extended to other countries.

The earliest Indian ms. on paper that has, as yet, been discovered is of 1310 A.D.⁹, but there are many others in existence of anything like this age, and most of the mss. in existence are subsequent to 1500 A.D. The miserably destructive climate of India is quite sufficient to account for this seemingly strange circumstance.

The paper used in the South of India during the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries came chiefly from Portugal, though, latterly, some was imported from China. English paper was but little used. The water-mark affords an easy means of detecting forgeries.

Perhaps the first *exact* historical mention of books in India is that by the Chinese which records the importation of Buddhist books from India into China in 73 A.D. At the beginning of the 5th century A.D. we have Fa-hian's testimony that books were then rare, and he also tells us that he had to copy for himself what he wanted⁹. But two hundred and fifty years after this there was not so much difficulty; copyists were then to be found⁹ and Hiouen Thsang appears to have had little difficulty in collecting a considerable library. With the Buddhists and Jains it has always been esteemed a virtuous act to have sacred books copied in as elegant a way as possible, and to present them to monasteries⁹ or learned men, but though this practice is also mentioned by Hindus (*e. g.* Hemādri), the Brahmans do not seem to have taken to

(Page 88; *Elements of South-Indian Palæography, from the Fourth to the Seventeenth Century A.D.* by A.C. Burnell; 1878)

The suppositions that could be drawn from the above statements are:

1. Paper remained unknown to South India from 11th century AD to “recent time” whose allegory means that paper came in to vogue in S. India from 18th century AD onwards. We may go up to 17th century which itself becomes stretched far from the intended meaning of “recent time”.
2. The phrase ‘recent times’ can’t hint 15th or 16th century when the author is using it in 19th century and stretching to those centuries shall become a far-fetched assumption.
3. As late as 19th century, “rigid Brahmans” of South India have considered Paper as “unclean” and this provides an unmistakable pointer towards the feelings of Brahmans in centuries before the 19th.

I wanted to double check the above statements and scouted for other evidences and found the following statement coming from another British linguist and paleographer, David Diringer (1900-1975). In his book “**Early Writing in India**” published in 1953 he resonates what Burnell said in c.1878 with more clarity than the latter.

It is generally agreed that the introduction of paper into India occurred in the eleventh century A.D., and was due to the Moslems. “It only very slowly and gradually displaced the Corypha palm-leaf, the use of which had the sanction of age and religion among the conservative Indian literates: they looked with distrust upon the product of the Mlecchas.” Indeed, until quite recent times the Indian paper-mills were in the hands of the Moslems. There is no indigenous term for “paper”; the Hindū word *kāgaj* or *kāgad* is a corruption of the Persian *kāghaz*, itself a derivation from the Chinese word *kog-dz*, the term for “paper made of the bark of the paper-mulberry tree”.

Diringer cites the **Muslim hold on paper making industry in India** is an **indication for a self-imposed sanction of ‘paper’** by the then **conformist Indians**. By and large, the **conservative literates** (read Brahmans) **in South India** have **considered paper as a “Mlechcha” product** and exercised self-imposed sanction against it.

Notwithstanding the said statements, I tried to find the earliest paper manuscripts to check whether any Brahminical texts were written on paper in centuries before, during & after Sri NT’s period.

In this process I have come across with a handout titled as “Vijñananidhi” published by the National Mission for Manuscripts (www.namami.org). This is a PDF file and is available in NMM’s website for free download.

This handout gives out some critical information on the paper manuscripts from medieval India (North & South). Keeping them as samples for this study, I have made my assertions. First let us see some of the samples from ‘Vijñananidhi.’

CHIKITSASARASANGRAHA

29.2 x 11.4 cms.

Hand-made paper

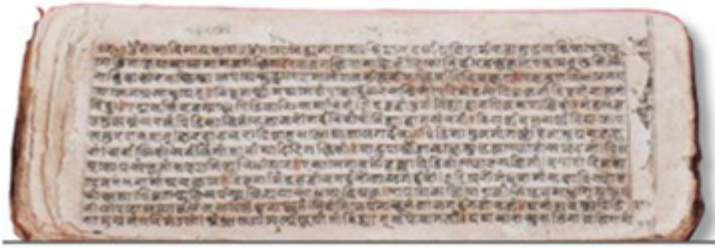
104 folios

Acc. no.: 352/ 1879-80

Collection: Bhandarkar Oriental
Research Institute, Pune

The *Chikitsasarasangraha* was originally composed in the 12th century by Vangadatta. This manuscript of the medical treatise was written shortly thereafter by the scribe Jalasuta Ranasimha of Bijapur in 1320 A.D. (1376 Vikram Samvat). It is one of the largest compilations on medicinal knowledge that draws heavily from older works related to medicine. It also contains copious extracts from the work of the 8th century physician Madhava who wrote about diseases, their causes, symptoms and complications with a special focus on small pox. This manuscript is also one of the earliest known manuscripts on paper as paper is said to have arrived in India in the 12th century i.e. around the time that the author of this text lived.

The *Chikitsasarasangraha* is certainly the oldest paper manuscript in the collection at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. Since it was acquired during the 1880s, two printed editions of the text have been published. The manuscript is composed in Sanskrit in Devanagari script with *prishthamtras*.



(Page 26: “Vijñananidhi” by National Mission for Manuscripts)

NMM states that the above manuscript is considered to be the oldest paper manuscript of South India. This is believed to be written in c.1320. The said scribe Jalasuta Ranasimha has been identified with a place called Bijapur.

As per the online search results, two Bijapurs are in India i.e. one in Karnataka and the other in Chattisgarh. I understand that the Bijapur of Chattisgarh is a newly formed district (formed in 2007) and does not have much historical background. So the said Bijapur in the manuscript may be the famous Bijapur of Karnataka which was under Muslim rule since early 14th century i.e. from the times of Alludin Khilji who raided the Deccan areas in c.1309

As we could see from the statements of Burnell and Diringar, it was Muslims who brought paper in to India through Kashmir. So, there should not be any doubt about the usage of paper in c.1320 in an area like Bijapur which was under Muslim rule. Also, this book is about Ayurveda i.e. Indian medical system and the book is not of a religious system/practice and hence usage of Paper, a Mlechcha product, would not fall under the category of “unclean.” Also, I could not get any information on Jalasuta Ranasimha and hence his caste & religious belief have remained unknown to me.

Further probe in to the ancient paper manuscripts of South India has shown that **during 14th & 15th century a majority of the works** that were **written on paper belong to Jains, Buddhists, Lingayats, Kurubas** and such other ethno-religious sects. **For these sects paper might not have been a ‘taboo’** owing to their flexible belief systems and sometimes Non-Vedic stance embraced by some religions like Jainism.

If this is the situation in South India, the **whole of North, West & East India has embraced Paper without much resistance**. Historians say that in these parts of India from the period of paper got into India, both palm-leaves and paper co-existed for long time before paper replaced palm-leaves completely.

In the books and research papers that I have verified, I **could not find any work of Brahmins written on paper**. I could see the **exceptions to this phenomenon** coming into light **from mid 17th century onwards**. From 17th century onwards sacred texts like Bhagavata Purana and Mahabhashya (Advaita philosophy) etc. were written on paper.

The self-imposed prohibition of paper in South India during 14th & 15th century and **the absence of paper manuscripts from Brahmins of these periods are strengthening the observations made by Burnell and Diringer**.

With these, I was able to conclude that the **severe orthodoxy of South India Brahmins did not allow them to use Paper as their writing material**.

4. **Were Hindu Sanyasins of medieval S. India using paper owing to their strict adherence to austerity that prohibits them from touching/using many items?**
5. **Was ‘paper’ treated as an object of sanctity by the Sanyasins or not? If so by whom?**
6. **Whether Madhva Peethadhipatis and Sanyasins were using paper as an instrument of writing?**

Having understood that **paper** being treated as a **product of “Mlechcha”** and majority of the then Sanyasins were from Brahmin community, it becomes easy to comprehend that **“no Hindu Sanyasins from S. India would have used paper!”**

Here I have asked for myself another question i.e. **“What else could have forced these Brahmins to adhere to a self-imposed prohibition of paper?”**

I have developed a doubt that the raw materials used for manufacturing the paper might have prevented the sanctity-loving, orthodox Brahmins from using it. I have

furthered my search in this direction and tried to find out the paper making technology in medieval times. A research paper titled “**Paper Technology in Medieval India**” gives the following manufacturing process of paper in medieval India.

Kashmiri paper was in much demand in the rest of the country for manuscripts and was used by all who wished to impart dignity to their correspondence. The pulp from which the paper was made was a mixture of rags and hemp fibre, obtained by pounding these materials. Lime and some kind of soda were used to whiten the pulp. The pulp was then placed in the stone troughs or baths and mixed with water. From this mixture a layer of the pulp was extracted on a light frame of reeds. This layer was the paper which was pressed and dried in the sun. Next it was polished with pumice-stone and its surface was glazed with rice-water. A final polishing with

I have highlighted some of the ingredients which I suspect as the reasons for the aversion of Brahmins towards Paper.

So, **Sri Narayana Tirtha being a South Indian Brahman sanyasi of 16th century, I doubt if he had ever touched a piece of paper let alone writing on it and keeping it in his baggage!**

Sri V.P. may clarify the above with the proofs that support the usage of paper by South Indian Brahmins & Sanyasins.

With this I concluded that though the paper was used by all castes, creeds and religions of North India and also by the ethno-religious sects of South India the followers of Vedic culture particularly the rigid South Indian Brahmins did not use paper.

Now, let me move to another aspect i.e. the scientific presentation of an ancient manuscript which helps us in finding out the factual and accurate information related to the MS.

Presentation of Manuscripts by Researchers

During my study of books on manuscripts, I have observed that the researchers and academicians have mentioned the size of the manuscript as if it is a ‘law’. Few examples have been provided hereunder for the readers’ understanding.

II.

II.—SANSKRIT AND KANARESE COPPER ŚĀSANAMS ENGRAVED IN NANDINĀGARĪ CHARACTERS DUG UP NEAR WANDEWASH.

These two Śāsanams were dug up near Wandewash by Colonel Branfill, who kindly sent them to me for translation.

The Śāsanams which are published here have neither been previously printed nor translated. In some respects they resemble those found in the collections made by Colebrooke and Rice.¹ Our two Śāsanams are on three copper-plates, united by a copper ring with a *Vāmana* seal, the old emblem of the Vidyānagara kings. The plates are tablet-shaped, in the middle 9 inches, on the sides 7½ inches long and 5½ inches broad.

The first Śāsanam is on two plates, one of which is engraved on one and the other on both sides, 28 lines with 28 to 30 letters a line are on the first two sides and the third side has 15 lines with the signature of Tryambaka in Telugu. The

From "Contributions to the History of Southern India: Inscriptions" by Prof. G.S. Oppert; 1882

INDIAN PAPER MANUSCRIPTS

The earliest of all preserved Indian paper manuscripts seems to be one of the Calcutta Sanskrit College (*Library Catalogue*, No. 582): it is dated A.D. 1231. Another very early paper manuscript is dated A.D. 1343. "They are both written in a distinctly western type of Nāgarī, and must have been written somewhere in the North-West Provinces." They "point to their having been made in imitation of such a birch-bark prototype as the *Bakhshālī MS.* The oldest . . . has exactly the same squarish shape; it measures 6 × 4 inches. The next oldest . . . is rather more oblong, measuring 13½ × 5 inches, but it has no string hole. . . . It seems permissible to conclude that when paper came into use, its leaves were cut and treated in imitation of birch-bark book leaves in those parts of India where birch-bark was the common writing material, and that it was cut and treated in imitation of palm-leaf, wherever the latter material was used for book-writing" (Hoernle).

"The Book Before Printing – Ancient, Medieval and Oriental" by David Diringer; 1953

MAHABHASHYA

53.34 x 14.6 cms.

Hand-made paper

209 folios

Acc. no.: 95/1881-82

Collection: Bhandarkar Oriental
Research Institute, Pune

The *Mahabhashya* was written in 1490 A.D. (1546 Vikram Samvat) although the date of the original composition of this linguistic treatise in Sanskrit remains unknown. It is believed that a large part of it was authored by the famous linguist Patanjali. A monumental work, it is essentially a commentary on the more technical aspects of Panini's grammar and Katyayana's critical annotations of Panini's *Sutras* (aphoristic doctrinal summaries). Written in a conversational style, it is one of three known works of Patanjali.

It was acquired for Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute by Prof. Kielhorn during his treks across Bombay Presidency in search of Sanskrit manuscripts in the early 1880s. Subsequently, he also published a critical edition of *Mahabhashya* in three volumes under the Bombay Sanskrit Series. Jogeshwar, the scribe, has composed this manuscript in very fine calligraphy in small yet clearly discernible Devanagari characters with *pristhamatras* on hand-made paper.



Vignananidhi-Manuscript Treasures of India by National Mission for Manuscripts; 2007

Above examples tell us that while writing about the manuscripts right from c.1882 to c.2007, manuscript researchers have maintained certain standards to introduce the manuscript i.e. **(a) size, (b) type of material used, (c) no. of lines or folios, (d) type of script used** etc.

Sri V.P. Acharya has not provided such information in his rejoinder except for the no. of pages (4 pages in total). It would have been better if he had given others details too.

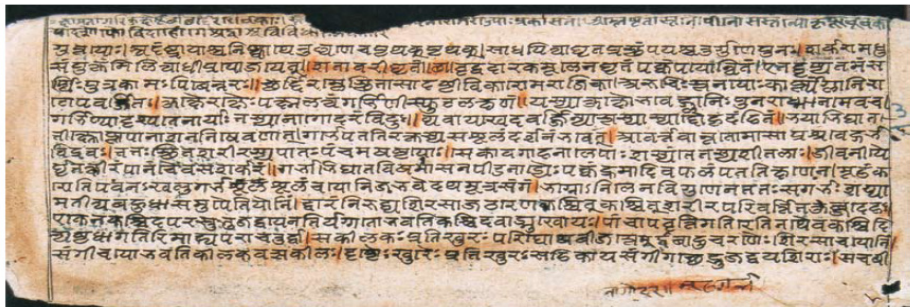
IMPORTANCE & USEFULNESS OF INFORMATION ON MSS

One may develop a question that “why such information is needed?” Here is the answer.

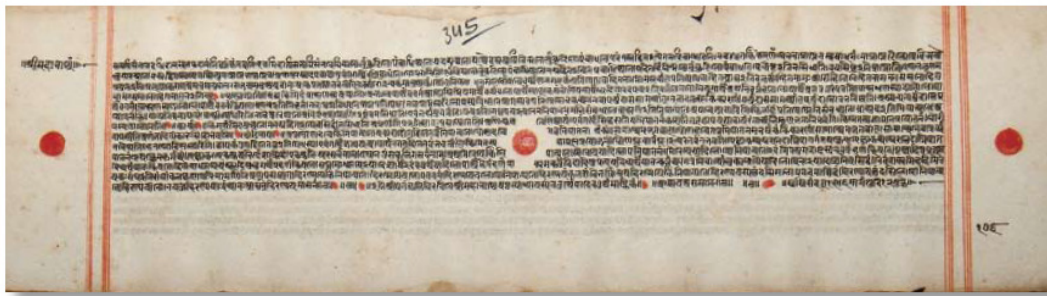
Each period in the bygone eras exhibits certain common characteristics, beliefs, trends and procedures. The size of manuscripts is also part of these common characteristics. This is why the researchers usually mention the sizes of the manuscripts. The absence of such important information in Sri V.P.’s book will hamper others to study it in *toto*.

Let me present you with the size and shape of the Paper MSs that were included in “**Vignananidhi – Manuscript Treasures of India**” published by National Mission for Manuscripts (2007). These images would let us know the common design of MSs used by the authors and scribes.

1. Chikitsasara Sangraha – Hand-made Paper – 29.2 x 11.4 cms – 14th Century



2. Mahabhashya – Hand-made Paper – 53.34x14.6 cms – 15th Century

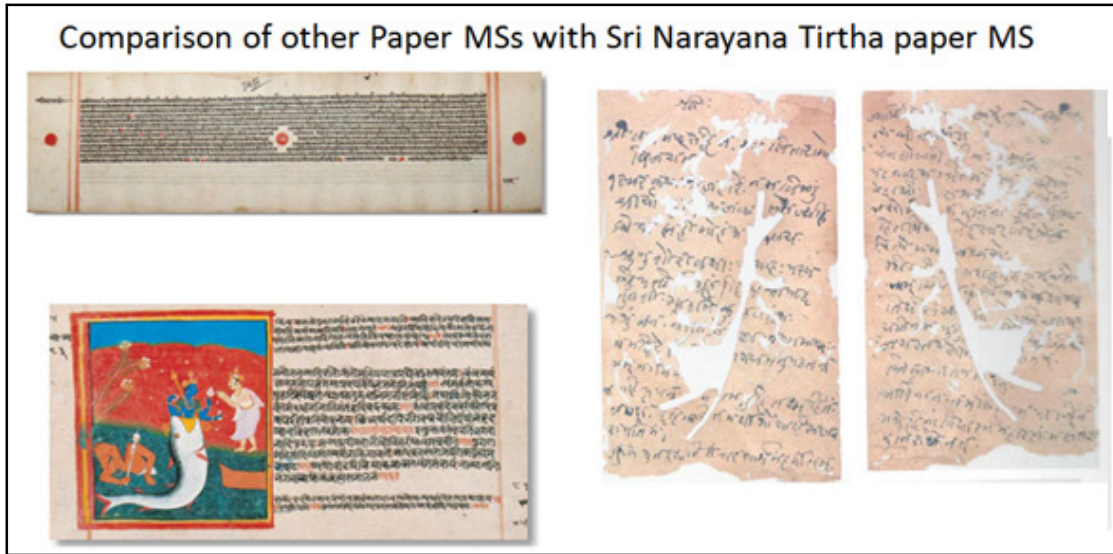


3. Bhagavata Purana – Hand-made Paper – 40.6 x 22.25 cms – 17th Century



In the above examples, we have covered sizes and shapes of paper manuscripts of 14th, 15th & 17th century. It is evident that all the MSs are in the shape of palm-leaf only i.e. horizontally rectangle shape. From this we can conclude that the paper MSs have adopted the traditional palm-leaf design and did not alter it from 14th to 17th century.

Now, let us have an apple-to-apple comparison of these paper MSs with Sri NT’s MS



From the above comparison, it becomes evident that the **paper MS of Sri Narayana Tirtha (16th Century) is of odd shape and size**. This is not commensurate with the standard design of 14th, 15th & 17th centuries i.e. **“horizontally rectangle”**.

I do not think that **16th Century alone would have had adopted a special design i.e. “vertically rectangle” design** on which Sri NT wrote. Even if this letter is a personal and private letter, with the given samples & in the absence of samples of this size & shape, it is becoming difficult to believe this MS as authentic.

This paper MS with its unusual shape and size is not standing its ground when compared to the most prevalent patterns of shape, size & design of other paper MSs. This deviation is giving scope to speculate on its authenticity from historical and scientific perspective.

Sri V.P. can throw more light on this odd shape & size and can give details on its oddity.

TYPE OF SCRIPT & ITS IMPORTANCE

So far we have reviewed the usage of paper in South India and the standards of size and shape that were prevalent in medieval India. Now, we shall focus on another important aspect i.e. the script.

Burnell, in his book Elements of South-Indian Palæography, makes an interesting comment in Footnote 2 of page 42:

1) See the words (from the grant to the Persian Christians), given in pl. xiii.

2) I have been told by a Brahman of the Mādhva sect that the founder (Anandatīrtha, † 1198 A. D.) wrote his works in this character on palm leaves, and that some are still preserved in a brass box and worshipped at Uḍupi. It is probable, but I have not been able to get any corroboration of this story. The MSS. (if still existing) must be reduced by time to the condition of tinder; for the oldest MS. that I have seen in S. India which was of the 15th century, could not be handled without damage to it.

3) The types used in printing the first edition of the Malayālam Gospels (at Bombay in 1806) exactly represent it.

The character that Burnell was referring to is the Tulu characters. In Page 42, this is what he wrote on Tulu script:

— 42 —

assumed its characteristic forms, or about the eighth and ninth centuries A. D.” But it is remarkable that the Tuḷu-Malayālam character preserves older forms which were modified at later times in the Grantha. (cfr. the Grantha ‘mu’ of the 11th century with the modern Grantha ϖ and the Malayālam ϖ etc.)

Up to about 1600 A. D. the Tuḷu⁹⁾ and Malayālam alphabets (as shown by Sanskrit mss.) are identical, and hardly differ from the modern Tuḷu hand given in Pl. xiv. MSS. from Malabar proper are generally written in a very irregular sprawling hand⁹⁾, those from the Tuḷu country are neater. This character was termed in Malabar Ārya-ēḷuttu, and was only applied to write Sanskrit works up to the latter part of the seventeenth century when it commenced to supplant the old Vaṭṭēḷuttu hitherto used for writing Malayālam. In the Tuḷu country it cannot be said ever to have been used for writing the vernacular language—a Dravidian dialect destitute of a written literature.

I wanted to make sure whether the above statement is correct that Sri Madhva’s books were written in Tulu script. This verification is only because I do not have much idea about these manuscripts.

In his book “**History of Dvaita School of Vedanta**”, Sri B.N.K. Sharma confirms that the original manuscripts of Sarva Mula are in Tulu script. Hereunder is what he said:

Rāmacandra Tīrtha and by which it is now generally known.¹ There is no epigraphic or literary evidence of any earlier use of the term.² This disposes of the fanciful and far-fetched connection of the term “Uttara” in “Uttarādi” with उत्तरो गोपतिर्गोप्ता, one of the thousand names of Viṣṇu, attempted by M. S. Katti, in this Kannada booklet entitled ‘Śrī Madhva’s Mūla Samsthāna’ (or *Gurucarite-Vimarse*).³

Till recently, the Mutts at Uḍipi have not been evincing that much of interest in the spread of Dvaita Literature which was expected of them. Vast collections of Sanskrit manuscripts exist in many of them in a neglected condition. Many have been damaged and thrown away from time to time moth-eaten. It is high time that a consolidated catalogue of all the available mss. material, is published by these Mutts and an attempt made to publish the works themselves.⁴ It is some consolation that one or two of these Mutts have established regular Libraries for the care of their manuscript treasures, notably the Pejāvar and the Palimār Mutts. But others lag behind. A definitive edition of the Sarvamūla based on the Taulava readings of Trivikrama, Vādirāja and others and of the Tulu manuscript of the Sarvamūla believed to have been written by Hṛṣīkeśa Tīrtha, must be undertaken if the important variants in this oldest manuscript source (already in a decaying condition) are not to be lost to the world, for ever.

I also wanted to verify as to what has been done on safeguarding the original birch-bark manuscripts of Sarva Mula. On searching the net, I found a website called www.taraprakashana.org which has got details (with photos) that the manuscripts have been digitized and being kept in safe condition. Hereunder is a screen grab of that website:

www.taraprakashana.org/sarvamoola.html

What is Sarvamoola Grantha?

Thirty-six of Shri Achaarya Madhva's seminal and ground-breaking works, including commentaries on various important scriptures such as sUthraprasthAna, gItA prasthAna, upanishad prasthAna, shruthi prasthAna, prakaraNa granthas, ithihAsa prasthAna, purAna prasthAna, AchAra granthas and stOtra granthas are collectively called the Sarvamoola granthas. These works, directly authored by Shri Achaarya Madhva (and transcribed by his disciple, Shri Hrishikeshha Tīrtha) form the foundation of Tattva-vada, or Bimba-Pratibimba-vada school of philosophy. They were inscribed on palm-leaves, and have been carefully maintained at the Palimaru matha for over 700 years.

Current state of manuscripts

Many leaves are cracked and small pieces have been chipped off from many places. In some sections of this bundle, substantial parts of the leaves are missing. To fill the empty space, a white wooden box was placed (a few years ago) around the ends of the leaves to maintain the balance and weight of the bundle. Considerable damage also exists around the binding holes due to friction between the cord and the edge of the hole. The deterioration is due to the age of the manuscript and inappropriate storage that resulted in staining, mechanical damage, splitting and cleavage of the palm leaves. As a result, the manuscript is very brittle and difficult to handle without further damage. The palm leaves also have darkened over time and are now dark brown in color. The text is barely readable in places, as seen in the figure. Further, a part of some leaves crumble into pieces every time the manuscript is opened.

The above said website also says that the Sarva Mula granthas have been written in Tulu script and is believed to be written in the own handwriting of Sri Hrishikesha Tirtha. These ramifications confirm that the statements of Burnell can be believed in their core meaning too.

Now, let us move along with Burnell to see what else he said about Madhvas and their writing habits. Read Paragraph 2:

The S. Indian Nandināgarī alphabet calls for very little remark, as from the earliest examples of the fourteenth century up to 1600 A. D. there is scarcely any development. It is certainly one of the most illegible characters in use in all India.

MSS. in this character are not uncommon, as it is the favorite alphabet of the Madhva sect, which counts an immense number of adherents in S. India, especially in Mysore, the neighbourhood of Conjeveram, and Tanjore. All members of this sect are Brahmans, and all learn more or less of the books on their dogmas written by Anandatirtha (Madhvācārya) and his successors. The Nandināgarī is used nearly exclusively for writing on palm-leaves; for writing on paper, the ordinary Mahraṭha hand of Devanāgarī is used, and the writing is often exceedingly minute. All the inscriptions on copper-plates, and MSS. on palm-leaves that I have seen are numbered with the ordinary Telugu-Canarese numerals. This character was evidently at the beginning of the 16th century the official character of the Vijayanagara kingdom, for in it is written the name of Kṛishṇarāja on the coins which gave rise to the name "pagoda"³.

The modern Nāgarī (or Bālbodh) character was introduced into S. India by the Mahraṭha conquest of Tanjore in the latter part of the seventeenth century⁴, and was

Page56 – Elements of South Indian Paleography from 4th to 17th Century by Arthur Coke Burnell;1878

So, as per Burnell, **Madhva Brahmans of medieval S. India were exclusively using Nandinagari script to write their thoughts, messages** etc.

Here I wish to request the readers to be careful while reading the statement “[...]for writing on paper, the ordinary Maratha hand of Devanagari is used[...]” from the above excerpt as it could be misleading when read in isolation. It should be remembered here that it is Burnell who told in Page 42 that:

6. Paper. The use of paper in India seems to be subsequent to the 11th century A. D., but, up to quite recent times it was unknown in S. India, and is, even now, regarded by rigid Hindus as unclean. In all the dialects of India it is called by more or less corrupt forms of the name 'kāgad' by which it was known to the Arabs³, and its foreign origin is, thus, apparent.

Page42 – Elements of South Indian Paleography from 4th to 17th Century by Arthur Coke Burnell;1878

So, the statement “for writing on paper, the ordinary Maratha hand of Devanagari is used” must be read along with “up to quite recent times it[paper] was unknown in S. India, and is, even now, regarded by rigid Hindus as unclean.”

This clearly tells that the letter writing on paper by using Martha Devanagari has began in 17th or 18th century AD only. This assertion of Burnell should not be misconstrued that in the periods before 17th or 18th centuries, Madhva Brahmins (including Sanyasins) were using Maratha hand of Devanagari script to write on ‘paper.’

Wikipedia, the source quoted throughout the book by Sri VP, too is in conformity with the above assertion. Read what Wikipedia says about Devanagari & its usage:

Devanagari

From Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia

"Nagari" redirects here. For other uses, see Nagari (disambiguation).

This article has multiple issues. Please help [improve it](#) or discuss these issues on the [talk page](#).

- This article has an **unclear citation style**. (January 2014)
- This article needs **additional citations for verification**. (May 2011)

Devanagari (/ˈdeɪvəˈnɑːɡəriː/ *DAY-və-NAH-gər-ee*; Hindustani: [d̪eːʋˈnaːɡɪ]; देवनागरी *devanāgarī* — a compound of "deva" [देव] and "nāgarī" [नागरी]), also called **Nagari** (*Nāgarī*, नागरी, the name of its parent writing system), is an **abugida** alphabet of **India** and **Nepal**. It is written from left to right, does not have distinct letter cases, and is recognisable (along with most other North Indic scripts, with a few exceptions like **Gujarati** and **Oriya**) by a horizontal line that runs along the top of full letters. Since the 19th century, it has been the most commonly used script for writing **Sanskrit**.^[2] Devanagari is used to write **Hindi**, **Nepali**, **Marathi**, **Konkani**, **Bodo** and **Maithili** among other languages and dialects. It was formerly used to



Devanāgarī

From this we can conclude that the Madhva Brahmins of 16th century were using Nandinagari script or Prakrita scripts like Tulu to write their books or letters. It is interesting to note that this Nandinagari script is the official script of Vijayanagara emperors.

Inscriptions with the above said script (Nandinagari) have been published in SJMBG book as well.

SOME IMPORTANT OBSERVATIONS OF 1st MS:

1. Some of the stone and copper inscriptions pertaining to Kangu Matha were quoted by Sri Kasagaru Madhava Rao in his book “**Arya Akshobhya Tirtha Samsthana.**’ All these inscriptions begin with salutations like “ಶ್ರೀ ನಾರಾಯಣಾಯ

ನಮಃ ಶ್ರೀ ರಾಮಾಯೋಂ ನಮಃ ಶ್ರೀ ಗಣಾಧಿಪತಯೇ ನಮಃ”(AR No. B186-1971-72); “ಶ್ರೀ ರಾಮಾಯೋಂ ನಮಃ ಶ್ರೀ ಗಣಾಧಿಪತಯೇ ನಮಃ”(AR No. B189-1971-72); “ಶ್ರೀ ಗಣಾಧಿಪತಯೇ ನಮಃ”(Kudli Arya Matha Copper inscription; Mysore Oriental Research Dept. Report Vol. III Part I).

2. The salutation written on 1st MS of Sri NT reads as “ಶ್ರೀ ಲಕ್ಷ್ಮಣಸಹಿತ ಶ್ರೀ ಸೀತಾರಾಮೋ ವಿಜಯತೇ.” When compared to the salutations of previous inscriptions, this salutation of Sri NT 1st MS is quite different.
3. As I am not well versed with Kangu Matha and Kallu Matha, I humbly request the scholars to throw more light on the above said varying salutations. Do they hint something glaring to us?
4. I have observed that a part of 1st MS reads as – “೨ ಆನೆ, ೧ ಒಂಟೆ ೧೦ ಕುದುರೆ ೩ ಶ್ವೇತಚ್ಚತ್ರಿ, ೧ ಹಗಲ ದೀವಿಟಿ ೧ ಮೇಣೆ, ೧ ಪಲ್ಲಕ್ಕಿ....” – Are ಮೇಣೆ” and ‘ಪಲ್ಲಕ್ಕಿ’ different? For me they appear to be the same! Or has this been written for quantification of assets? Sri V.P. may be able to offer better clarification on the usage of two synonyms to identify same object.

By keeping the aforesaid proven historical facts, I have arrived at following assertions:

- Sri Narayana Tirtha would have not used ‘paper’ which was treated as an ‘unclean’ Mlechcha product by South Indian Brahmans of his times.
- The absence or non-availability of paper manuscripts from the contemporary saints of various Madhva lineages also confirms the fact that ‘paper’ was not part of Madhva’s writing tools.
- If Sri NT had used paper then it could have become a big revolution against the common belief of his period.
- Sri NT would have sent out enough communiqués to Vijayanagara Empires in their favourite script (Nandinagari) but uses Devanagari in his personal & private letter.
- What would have prompted Sri NT to use Devanagari script that came in to vogue since 17th century as against the widely used & favourite script of Vijayanagara Empire i.e. Nandinagari?

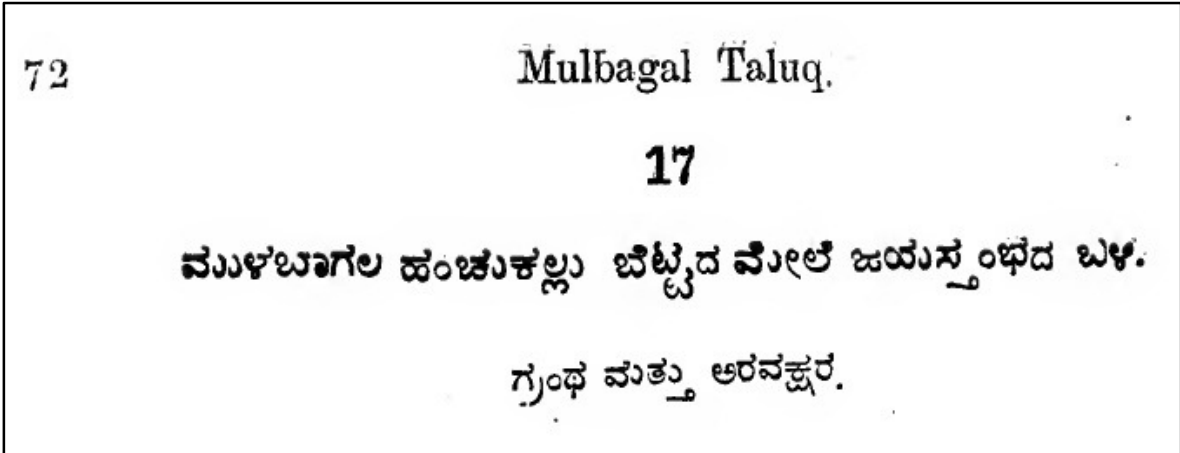
Sri V.P. may furnish authentic proofs to support his claim of paper being used by Sri NT which is going against the tradition adhered to by the then Madhva Brahmins and Peethadhipatis.

1st & 2nd Paper MSs (ಶ್ರೀನಾರಾಯಣತೀರ್ಥರ ಪತ್ರ) – THEIR TRIVIALITY

1. When the 2nd manuscript has been unearthed in 1982, how Sri V.P. declared in 1980 that the handwriting in 1st MS is that of Sri NT? Ideally & in all probabilities it should have been the other way round!
2. Before 1980, did Sri VP see any other MS having Sri NT's handwriting elsewhere? If so in which place it was sighted? If he has not seen any other MS having Sri NT's handwriting before 1980 then the question no. 1 becomes a moot point!
3. Sri VP's latest assumption in his rejoinder's Page 81 - "ಆರಂಭದಲ್ಲಿ ಶ್ರೀ ನಾರಾಯಣಸ್ವರಣೆಗಳು ಎಂಬ ಮಾತು ಇರುವುದರಿಂದ ಯತಿಗಳ ಕೈಬರಹ ಎಂದು ತಿಳಿಯುವುದು ಸಾಧ್ಯವಿದೆ" seems to be far-fetched. He had made similar announcement on the same MS back in 1980s and that too without having another MS of Sri NT on hand. The debatable item of this assumption is *whether someone can decide about "handwriting" of a person by simply "reading" the text?*
4. What if a personal assistant or a scribe had written that letter while Sri NT dictated it? How Sri V.P. can rule out this possibility? On what grounds this assumption can be overruled?
5. In 1st MS, Sri NT prefixed his name with Sreekaara (ಶ್ರೀ ನಾರಾಯಣಯತಿನಾ). Did any Madhva Peethadhipati of his time or in subsequent times prefix his name with "ಶ್ರೀ" in his personal letters?
6. If "ಶ್ರೀ ನಾರಾಯಣಯತಿನಾ ಮುಳುಬಾಗಿಲು ಕ್ಷೇತ್ರೇ ಶ್ರೀಶ್ರೀಶ್ರೀ ಜಯಸ್ತಂಭಸನ್ನಿಧೌ ಲಿಖಿತಮ್" is the sentence that led Sri VP to conclude that the handwriting is that of Sri NT then why the same logic is not being applied to "ಜಯತೀರ್ಥಾಚಾರ್ಯಂ ವರ್ಣಯತಿ ಯಃ ಗಜಗಹ್ವರೇ" to understand Gajagahvara as the place where Sri Rajaru eulogized Sri Jayatirtha as it is the place where the latter's Brindavana is erected?

7. It is well known that the MSs of Sarva Mula that predates Sri NT and Tirtha Prabandha commentary is contemporary to Sri NT and both were of Sanskrit vernacular but written in Tulu script. If this is the trend in Madhva community then how come Sri NT's MS is having Kannada words (೨ ಆನೆ, ೧ ಒಂಟೆ ೧೦ ಕುದುರೆ ೩ ಶ್ವೇತಚ್ಚತ್ರಿ, ೧ ಹಗಲ ದೀವಿಟಿ ೧ ಮೇಣೆ, ೧ ಪಲ್ಲಕ್ಕಿ....) written in Devanagari script?
8. Are there any such personal, handwritten letters/documents available from other Sanyasins of 16th century that can be furnished by Sri VP?
9. “ಶ್ರೀ ನಾರಾಯಣಯತಿನಾ ಮುಳುಬಾಗಿಲು ಕ್ಷೇತ್ರೇ ಶ್ರೀಶ್ರೀಶ್ರೀ ಜಯಸ್ತಂಭಸನ್ನಿಧೌ ಲಿಖಿತಮ್” –

This sentence is enough to render this MS as a dubious one. As per my research, the victory pillar at Mulbagal (Jayasthambha) is a recent development. In c.1894 B.L. Rice the Director of Archeological Researches in Mysore, Bangalore and Kolar districts, mentioned a “ಜಯಸ್ತಂಭ” at Mulbagal but the Jaya shloka supposedly sent by Vedanta Deshika has not been reported to be chisled on it. Hereunder is the screen shot of the excerpt from Epigraphia Carnatica Mysore Vol. 10



10. From the above it becomes clear that there was no shloka found “on the Jayasthambha” but somewhere near to it (assumed to be on a boulder). And the veracity and antiquity of the Jaya shloka becomes doubtful as the shloka was written in Grantha and Tamil character as against the Nandinagari script and Sanskrit or Kannada language.
11. Thus, the reference of Jayasthambha in the statement “ಶ್ರೀ ನಾರಾಯಣಯತಿನಾ ಮುಳುಬಾಗಿಲು ಕ್ಷೇತ್ರೇ ಶ್ರೀಶ್ರೀಶ್ರೀ ಜಯಸ್ತಂಭಸನ್ನಿಧೌ ಲಿಖಿತಮ್” found in the so-called

handwritten MS of NT is undoubtedly a dubious statement. (for further analysis of Akshobhya Tirtha & Vidyaranya debate, readers may visit MadhvaHistory.com)

In the same Page 81, Sri V.P. has provided the content of 2nd MS of Sri NT. The opening lines of this 'personal & private letter' are as under:

“ಚಿ. ನರಸಿಂಹಗೆ ನಾರಾಯಣ ಸ್ಮರಣೆಗಳು. ಇಲ್ಲಿ ಆನಿಗುಂದಿ ಮಹಾರಾಜರು ಶ್ರೀಮಧ್ವಾಚಾರ್ಯ ಭಕ್ತರು. ಶ್ರೀ ಪದ್ಮನಾಭತೀರ್ಥರ ಶಿಷ್ಯರು. ಶ್ರೀಮಧ್ವಾಚಾರ್ಯ ಶಿಷ್ಯರಲ್ಲಿ ಪದ್ಮನಾಭ, ನರಹರಿ ಈ ಇಬ್ಬರೇ ನಮ್ಮ ರಾಜಧಾನಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಇರುವರು. ಮಿಕ್ಕ ಇಬ್ಬರೂ ನಮ್ಮ ರಾಜಧಾನಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಇರಬೇಕು ಎಂದು ನಮ್ಮ ಗುರುವರ್ಯ ವ್ಯಾಸತೀರ್ಥರಲ್ಲಿ ವಿಜ್ಞಾಪಿಸಲಾಗಿ ಆಗಬಹುದೆಂದು ಅಪ್ಪಣೆ ಇತ್ತು ಮಣೂರಿನಿಂದ ಮ(ಳಿ)ಖೇದದಿಂದ ಮೃತ್ತಿಕಾ ತರಲು ಕಳುಸಿದರು. “

Sri VP has assumed that the above 'letter' has been written before c.1539 i.e. before the Brindavana pravesha of Sri Vyasaraja. But the exact period is unknown from the letter.

It is to be noted here that in the 1st MS, Sri NT had put the Shaka year below his signature. But in this 2nd letter which, with its contextual references, actually precedes the 1st MS he (Sri NT) did not put any signature and date/month/year of writing the latter. There is only a “Sreekaara” at the bottom.

Usually in letter writing, signatures and adding few things below it would be typical to every individual and it almost becomes a die-hard habit. Such habits are seldom ignored or omitted by the persons if they write on their own. Had this 2nd MS too was written by Sri NT himself then there should have been a signature & time-stamp. So, **the missing signature and the time stamp from 2nd MS seem to be an inconsistent behavior from a well trained and learned person like Sri NT.** Sri V.P.'s assumption that the 2nd MS is meant for the private & personal usage of Sri NT can't justify the missing signature & time stamp.

While narrating about this MS, Sri V.P. said that “ಈ ದಾಖಲೆ ಮುಂಚಿನ ಕಾಲದ್ದು. ಅಂದರೇ ಶ್ರೀ ವ್ಯಾಸರಾಜರು ವೃಂದಾವನ ಪ್ರವೇಶ ಮಾಡುವ ಮುಂಚಿನ ಕಾಲದ್ದು.” This statement is a fountainhead of some pertinent questions:

1. **The absence of timeline in 2nd MS stretches the period of writing; from the time of Sri NT's first meeting with Sri Vyasaraja and up to the Brindavana pravesha**

of the latter. This is obviously a long span of time to predict the time stamp of this MS. This gap shall remain as a stumbling block in accepting its authenticity.

2. Sri Vyasaraja was the Rajaguru for Krishnadevaraya and Achyutadeva Raya apart from being an advisor and well wisher of Vira Narasimha Raya from his days at Chandragiri as a Governor. Such is being the historical fact, it is unclear as to which of these three Maharajas, Sri NT was referring to in 2nd MS as “ಆನಿಗುಂದಿ ಮಹಾರಾಜರು”?
3. The two sentences “ಶ್ರೀಮಧ್ವಾಚಾರ್ಯ ಭಕ್ತರು” & “ಶ್ರೀ ಪದ್ಮನಾಭತೀರ್ಥರ ಶಿಷ್ಯರು” that follow one another are not making any sense. If the intent of Sri NT is to announce that the king is a firm believer of Dvaita Siddhanta then the 1st sentence would have been sufficient. In view of this, the second one does not make any sense at all.
4. On the other hand the 2nd sentence gives an impression that the said king is a contemporary of Sri Padmanabha which is historically wrong. So, what was the purpose that made Sri NT to make such ambiguous and unclear statement? More importantly can a great scholar like Sri NT commit such silly vagary? Can the justification of “private & personal letter” given by Sri VP nullify such erroneous writing coming from a seasoned saint?
5. In his rejoinder Sri V.P. tried to use Hampi & Anegondi as synonyms for the same place. This has been negated by me with all historical and scriptural evidences (Please refer to Review of Rejoinder Part 2). Interestingly, in this 2nd MS, Sri NT too interchangeably uses Vijayanagara & Anegondi. Refer “ಶ್ರೀವಿಜಯನಗರ ಅರಮನಿಯಲ್ಲಿಯೇ ದೇವತಾರ್ಚನೆ” in 1st MS and “ಇಲ್ಲಿ ಆನಿಗುಂದಿ ಮಹಾರಾಜರು” in 2nd MS. What does this yet-another-vagary indicates to the readers?

The deduction therefore to be warranted here is that the contents of the said paper manuscripts are inconclusive and sometimes contradicting and are written in loose language which actually belittles the persona of a saint like Sri NT.

Concluding Notes for this Chapter:

The usage of paper in South India (as latest as mid 17th century) and its manufacturing methods of medieval India that include prohibited items like cloth rags, soda and rice water have become obstacles in accepting the fact that Madhva Sanyasins were using paper to write their messages.

How can I accept such manuscripts as authentic when on face of it they are filled with confusions, contradictions, erroneous usage of language etc. The inconsistency in signing and putting time stamps etc. also are the other factors that are stopping me from accepting these Mss as authentic.

Nevertheless these are my observations only and hope that Sri V.P. would provide satisfactory answers to all the questions listed in this write-up.

Till such time, I can't consider the so called unique, wonderful paper manuscripts ascribed to Sri NT as serious & authentic artifacts that confirms the presence of 'Mula Brindavana' of Sri Jayatirtha in Malkheda.

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Sri Narayana Thirtha's Hand written Manuscripts - Some Additional Inputs

Manuscripts & Writing Tools

In the previous chapter several crucial aspects like paper, its entry in to Indian subcontinent and its varied usages in different parts of India have been discussed. Also, the fundamental aspects of paper usage by South Indian Brahmans and Madhvaas in particular have been discussed within the framework of the available details and historical accounts.

This chapter is an extension of the same subject i.e. the study of paper manuscripts ascribed to Sri Narayana Tirtha (NT). This chapter also deals with further aspects of the study of manuscript i.e. writing tools.

Some of the pertinent questions that I have posed to myself on this matter are as under:

1. **What are the popular writing materials in ancient and medieval India in general and South India in particular?**
2. **What is the history of ink in medieval India and in South India?**
3. **What were the manufacturing techniques of ink in medieval India?**
4. **Can we find some instances of paper usage within the Madhva community in the centuries succeeding Sri NT's?**
5. **If found what were those instances, who were the people and what inferences we have to draw from them?**
6. **Whether the writing tools used by Sri NT stand the ground when read with the proven historical accounts?**
7. **Are there any scientific methods that could determine the characteristics of a medieval paper MS?**

Let us start our exploration!

Popular Writing Tools of Ancient & Medieval India

In their research paper "**Paper Technology in Medieval India**", Mr. S.A.K. Ghori and Mr. A. Rahman state as under:

of cloth and the inner bark of the Himalayan birch. Giving a description of the province of Orissa Sujan Rai states:

'The people of that province would scribe on palm-leaves by an iron pen which they held in their fists and would sparingly use the birch and ink.'²

The same historian writing about Kashmir states:

'There the people scribe mostly on the inner bark of *bhūrjapatra* which grows in abundance in this country. The ink is so prepared that it cannot be blotted out by washing.'³

The above statement has been made while discussing the 10th century travelogue written by an Arab traveler called Ibn Nadim.

From this we can understand that **though there were other media to write such as silk, stone, metal plates and animal skin etc. Indians have preferred to use palm-leafs and Bhurjapatra to write on and iron pen or reed pen/quill has been used for writing.** By looking at the regions specified in the above text, we can draw an inference that the trend of using palm-leaf and iron pen was common from Kashmir to Orissa.

In the August, 2005 Newsletter brought out by National Mission for Manuscripts, Sri Banamali Biswal – Reader at Rashtriya Sanskrit Sansthan, Allahabad has presented a vital observation on the popular writing tools of South and North India.

Read the following excerpt:

Manuscript Wealth: Creation and Preservation

Banamali Biswal

Introduction

Manuscripts and holographs are invaluable sources for the creation and preservation of the art, history and culture of any land. The term “manuscript” has its origin in two Latin words, namely, *manus* meaning hand and *scribo* or *scriptum* denoting the written character i.e. script etc⁽¹⁾. Thus, the term literally denotes a book or rather a written document, prepared by hand either by the author himself or copied by a competent scribe who is loyal in copying the original writings⁽²⁾.

There are many self-denotative terms in various Indian languages that represent manuscript. They are: *bastalekha*, *pāṇḍulipi*, *māṭṛkā*, *pustaka*, *pustikā*, *pusta*, *pothā*, *pothi*, *pothaka*, *mūlakōṣa*, *ādarśa* and so on. Terms like *pothi*, *pothā*, *pothaka* et al are derived from one of the following Sanskrit words: *pusta*, *pustikā* or *pustaka*. In “Amarakoṣa”, *pustaka* is defined as *pustam lepyadhnikarman*⁽³⁾.

Manuscripts were generally written on materials that were considered safe and durable in a particular region. For writing on different materials naturally different types of writing instruments were used – those that proved suitable for a particular *lipyāsana*.

In the southern and eastern parts of the country where the preferred *lipyāsana-s* are palm leaves, manuscripts were written with an instrument called stylus. On the other hand, in the North where either paper or the bark of bhūrja (bhoja) tree were used, *lipyāsana-s* were written by a quill-pen or any sort of ink-pen. In other words, *khodanavidhi* is adopted in the South and East whereas *lepanavidhi* is used in the North. In *Meghadūta* of Kālidāsa, a reference is made with regard to writing in stone by a red-coloured soil called *dhāturasa*⁽⁶⁾. Moreover, *Kumārasambhava* of the same author also records the existence of a method of writing on the bark of bhūrja tree again by *dhāturasa*⁽⁷⁾.

Here too, we can see that in the southern part of India palm-leaves were the popular *lipyaasanas* (seats for writing) and the writing instrument was the iron pen or stylus.

We can find further evidences on this from the following statement of Arthur Clark Burnell:

— 85 —

S. India, Ceylon, Indo-China, the Malay¹⁾ Archipelago and Burmah²⁾, but even in Bengal and other parts of N. India.

These leaves are used in two ways:

a) The letters are scratched on them with a style, and the lines thus formed are afterwards made clear by being filled with some black matter—powdered charcoal or lamp-black—rubbed in with some juicy vegetable stalk such as that of the yam. This is the most general way of writing on these leaves.

b) The leaves are written on with a pen, and both black and red ink. This way of writing seems peculiar to the N. of India and particularly to Cambay and Gujarat. I have met with some Jain mss. written in this way in S. W. India, but they had been brought from the North.

The use of palm-leaves, as material to write on, is certainly of considerable age in India, and from thence it spread to Ceylon and Indo-China³⁾. This use was probably common from the period of the introduction of writing into Eastern and Southern India,

Here too we can see palm-leaves, Bhurjapatras and stylus being mentioned when the discussion is about writing habits of South India. Burnell goes on to say that **these two (palm-leaf & iron pen/stylus) were in vogue since the period of the introduction of writing into Southern India.** (Read the last sentence of the above excerpt)

From these various authentic sources (from 1878 to 1966 to 2005), we can draw a conclusion that palm-leaves and iron pen were the hallmark features of South Indian writing from ancient to medieval times.

On contrary to this, Sri NT wrote on paper which invariably calls for a reed pen or quill to write with. This is a strange phenomenon and calls for an in-depth analysis by SMEs (Subject Matter Experts)

In order to call in for some support for this unusual paper MS, Sri VP has shown a Jain paper MS as a “*unique evidence*” that supports the usage of paper by Sri NT.

In the ensuing section, the trends & technologies of Jain paper MSs will be discussed. This discussion is based on the inputs provided by the Jains themselves and hence I believe that the facts provided & the conjectures drawn hitherto in the next section are true to the core.

A Brief Note on Jain Paper Manuscripts

As part of my online search I have come across with an interesting website called www.jainpedia.org which has a tagline ‘**The Jain Universe online.**’

This website is a web initiative taken up by the Institute of Jainology and partnered by University of Texas, British Library, Royal Asiatic Society and two other institutions.

Jainpedia.org vividly describes the Jain manuscripts and the writing tools used by the ancient and medieval Jains. See the following screen-grab of the website that talks about writing materials & tools.

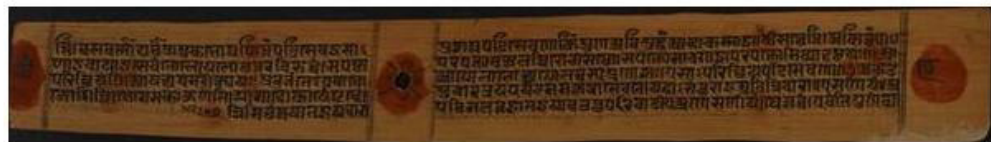
Materials

Two materials are normally used for Jain manuscripts – palm leaf and paper. Cloth was used for items such as large paintings or covers.

Long, slim leaves from palm trees provided a smooth writing surface that was readily available. Early scribes wrote on both sides of the leaf so numbering the pages was important. One or more holes were cut in each leaf so that strings could tie together all the pages of a text in the right order.

As paper became more common in the late medieval period, it tended to replace palm leaf as the favoured material for copying texts. But paper manuscripts kept the style and format developed to work with early materials.

Palm leaf



This is the standard material for manuscripts created in south India, where the trees that provide the leaves are common. These trees are *Corypha umbraculifera* and *Borassus flabellifer*. After they have been treated, the leaves are smooth and can absorb ink.

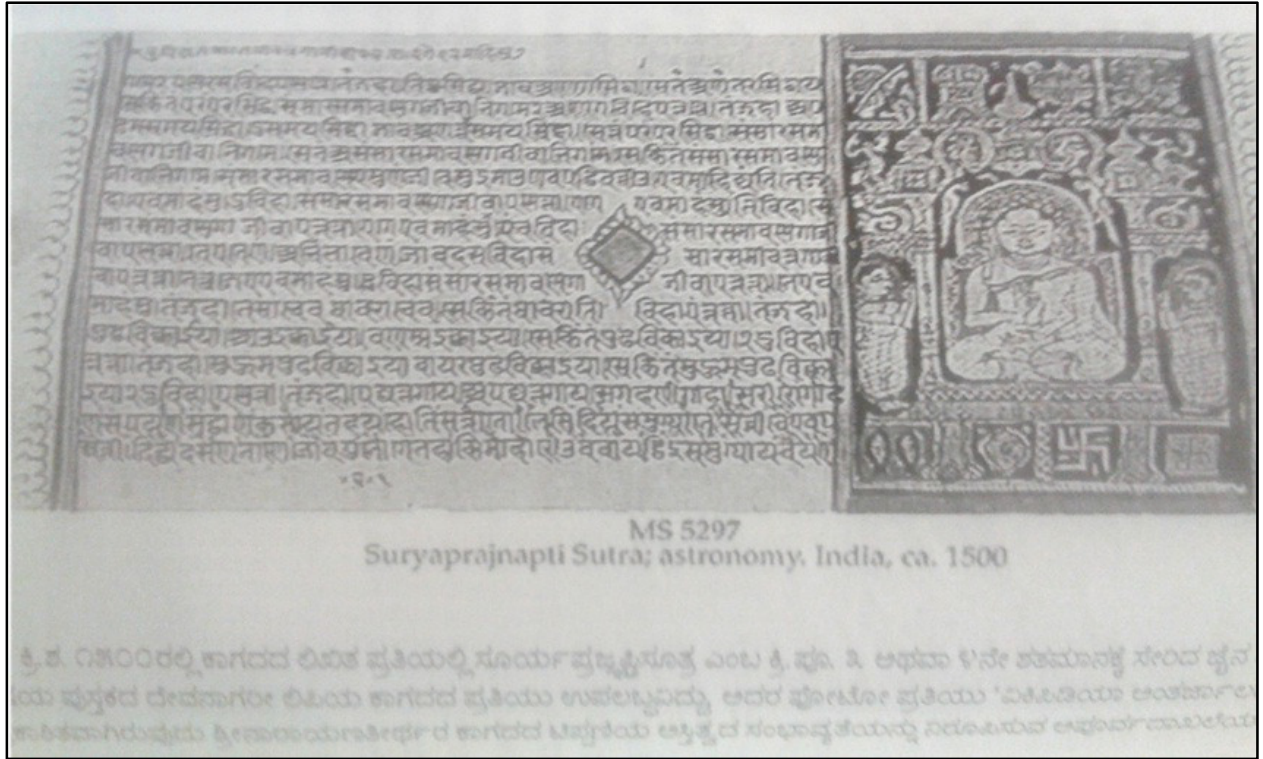
In western India, such as Gujarat and Rajasthan, palm leaf is used in manuscripts dating from the 12th to 14th centuries.

The format of palm-leaf manuscripts is striking. The folios are long and narrow, usually 20 to 50 centimetres long and from 3 to 5 centimetres wide. In the centre there is a hole into which a cord or string is inserted. The cord is used to keep all the folios together.

The remarks made in 3rd & 4th paragraphs are critical to our present exploration. The extrapolation of these statements can be summarized as under:

1. In medieval periods, Jains have favoured Paper for “copying the texts” whose inference is - “not for writing down the original works.”
2. Jain paper manuscripts have maintained the style and format of palm-leaves.
3. South India’s standard writing material was ‘palm-leaf’ which obviously puts the iron pen as the writing tool.

Now let us examine the below Jain paper MS presented by Sri VP in Page 105 of his rejoinder.



Interestingly the Jain paper MS shown in Page 105 by Sri VP is not an original work but a “copy” of an ancient text (Suryaprajnaptisutra). This exactly matches with the statement made in Jainpedia.org (Ref. Sl.No. 1 of my observations).

On the other hand, the paper MS of Sri NT is purportedly to be an original one and not a ‘copy!’


In addition to this glaring error, Jainpedia.org confirms that the style and format of medieval Jain paper MSs are commensurate with that of palm-leaves. The Jain paper MS shown by Sri VP too is in palm-leaf style only! This makes Sri NT’s MSs as mysterious testimonies owing to their odd size and style.

Therefore, the said Jain paper MS furnished by Sri VP with a tagline “ಶ್ರೀ ನಾರಾಯಣತೀರ್ಥರ ಕಾಗದದ ಟಿಪ್ಪಣಿಯ ಅಸ್ತಿತ್ವದ ಸಂಭಾವ್ಯತೆಯನ್ನು ನಿರೂಪಿಸುವ ಅಪೂರ್ವ ದಾಖಲೆಯಾಗಿದೆ” has not really served its intended purpose (ಅಪೂರ್ವ ದಾಖಲೆ) but on contrary has raised many doubts on MSs of Sri NT.

Usage of Paper by Jains – Useful information from Jainpedia.org

The second part of the webpage from Jainpedia.org is equally interesting in terms of its narration w.r.t. paper making. Read the below text:

Paper

Manufactured paper entered India in the 13th century along with the [Muslims](#) . It was made of vegetable fibres from cotton, wood, bamboo and so on.

Paper became the regular material used for [Jain manuscripts](#) from western India from the 14th century onwards. It demonstrates a large range of colours – cream, yellow, ochre, light brown and grey – but not the white of contemporary paper.

Earlier paper manuscripts are sometimes long and narrow like their palm-leaf predecessors, but later on they tended to become broader. The standard size is 26 by 11 centimetres but there are many variations.

The traditional paper is often brittle by now if it has not been preserved properly.

In the 19th and 20th centuries European paper was sometimes used in manuscript copies that were prepared in India at the request of [Western scholars](#).

Jainpedia.org claims that the [paper was being manufactured from vegetable fibres of cotton, wood, bamboo and so on](#).

In this, the fibers of cotton needs to be read as “rags” or used clothes as evidenced in the previous chapter wherein the paper manufacturing technology of medieval times as mentioned in “Paper Technology in Medieval India” report submitted by Mr. S.A.K. Ghori and A. Rahman has clearly shown the usage of used clothes, soda and rice water as ingredients.

It is also important to read the above extract by adding the line from the previous screen-grab i.e. “...[paper became more common in the late medieval period](#)...” (Ref. 1st screen-grab of Jainpedia.org given above.) Here we need to understand [when exactly the medieval period ends and late medieval period starts](#).

As per the **University of Calicut’s text book issued for Graduate students (Distance Learning) ‘late medieval period’** in India is described as below:

UNIT-I

NATURE OF STATE

The Medieval Period of Indian History comprises a long period, spanning from 6th century i.e after the fall of the Gupta Empire to the 18th century, i.e the beginning of colonial domination. Modern historians, for the convenience of studying the state and society of medieval India, usually divide the period into Early Medieval Period and Late Medieval Period. According to them the Early Medieval period refer to the phase of Indian history that stretches from the fall of the Gupta Empire to the beginning of the Sultanate period in the 13th century. The period that comprises mainly that of the reigns of the Sultanate and the Mughal period is generally considered as the late medieval period, of course with regional variations.

For the sake of benchmarking the “late medieval” period I have considered the **establishment of Mughal Empire as the beginning of the late medieval period.**

As per Encyclopedia Britannica, **Mughal Empire was established** in the first half of 16th century i.e. **in c.1526**. From this year onwards and up to c.1799 we can consider as the late medieval period and the subsequent centuries will go under the new heading called ‘modern times’.

Now, let us bring back what Jainpedia.org was saying about paper technology. It says that the **paper usage has begun in late medieval period which perfectly coincides with the establishment of Mughal Empire.** It is worthwhile to recollect that Mughal period has been popularly referred to as “**Kaghaz Raaj**” (Kingdom of Paper). From here onwards the paper making methods must have got diversified due to an evergreen R&D and **newer technologies would have been invented in much later periods like 17th or 18th century.**

In other words, it could be understood that **the improvised manufacturing techniques in concluding centuries of “late medieval period” must have encouraged the usage of paper by orthodox Hindus.** I can muster some confidence on this assertion as I could see the paper MSs written or copied by Brahmans coming into light from mid 17th century only.

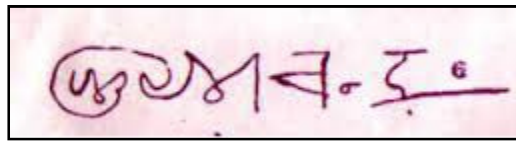
Paper Usage in Madhva community:

Sri NT’s usage of paper is a highly debatable topic owing to its ambiguities, uncertainties and contradictions. But we can be confident of other facts such as:

- No contemporary Madhva saint of Sri NT used paper in personal, professional and official dealings.
- No Madhva saint in the preceding centuries to Sri NT has ever used paper though the paper usage was in vogue since 12th century i.e. a century before Sri Madhvacharya incarnated.

This situation leaves us at a crucial juncture of the intervening or succeeding periods of Sri NT's earthly presence.

As I have probed further on this aspect of finding the paper usage trends in post-Sri NT's timeline, I have come across with **a wonderful paper MS of its class** i.e. the **famous signature of Sri Raghavendra Tirtha** (c.1595-1671) said to be put on a paper.



This is the **only paper MS** that I could get **in the immediately succeeding century of Sri NT's period (i.e. 16th century)**. This is the **only paper MS ever signed by a Madhva saint** of the stature of Sri Raghavendra that I could find within my limited sources.

This MS strongly **suggests two major changes** (1) **improvised paper manufacturing technology** and (2) the **transformed social customs and norms during 17th century**.

There is an **urgent need for an in-depth exploration of this subject** but till then this **MS of Sri RT could be used as strong evidence that suggests a changed technology of paper making and amended social behavior of Madhvaas towards paper usage**. Here the paper making techniques from natural ingredients such as wood or bamboo, as mentioned in Jainpedia.org, can be recalled to find further evidence.

Inferences drawn from the perspective of Madhva Tradition

- It is unanimously accepted by all of Madhva community that Sri Vyasaraaja and Sri Raghavendra are the incarnations of Karmaja Devatha i.e. Shankhukarna.
- It is a fascinating revelation to understand the no usage of paper by Sri Vyasaraaja and the said usage by Sri Raghavendra.
- Within a span of 100 years, the two incarnations of the same angel have shown the changed approach towards a particular object.

- This distinction exemplifies that the angels too shall follow the customs and practices of this mortal world that are in vogue from time to time.
- In a complete contrast to this, Sri NT who was the direct disciple of Sri Vyasaraja used the 'untouchable' paper which goes against the ethics upheld by his Guru.

I don't think we can get better evidence than the deeds shown by Sri Vyasaraja and Sri Raghavendra which are in perfect sync with the times that they lived in. This revelation also enables us to understand the greatness of Madhva saints that being demigods and angels in their *Mula Rupas*, they have adopted themselves to the time of *Kali*!

Paper & the Reasons for the Amended Stance of Madhvaas

The signature of Sri RT on paper has really aroused my interest that caused me to focus on an important supplementary fact i.e. **what are the reasons** that have **influenced the orthodox Brahmans like Maadhvas to touch and use** an object which, as per Burnell and Diringer, is an **"unclean Mlechcha product!"**

This exploration is purely based on the historical perspective only and do not consider the beliefs and traditional feelings.

Let me try to put forward my analysis on this important aspect that is crucial for the present exploration.

- The gap between Sri NT's period and that of Sri RT is close to a century i.e. Sri NT's purported paper MSs were written any time between c.1530s to c.1540s.
- On the other hand the signature of Sri RT could be settled any time between c.1624 (his ascendancy to Peetha) to c.1671 (Brindavana Pravesha).
- During this near-to-a-century span of time the technology of paper making would have certainly progressed better and the Indians too would have got involved in discovering indigenous technologies of manufacturing the paper by using the materials of their choice.

Of course this is my speculation only but not without a support. Read the following statement from Prof. P.K. Gode (first Director of BORI, Pune):

(6) Ancient paper MSS from Kashgar were all of them written in Central Asia. They are covered with a layer of gypsum and it is doubtful if they are of Indian origin.

In his book on *Indian Textual Criticism* published in 1941 Dr. S. M. Katre observes⁶: "So far there has not been any consistent or sustained effort at the study of the material of these (*paper*) MSS as it comes down to us from different centres and through different periods." It will thus be seen that there is much scope for a historical study of the introduction of *paper* into India and its increasing use and manufacture from indigenous materials on Indian soil. To trace the migration⁷ of paper from China to India through different periods of history is a difficult task for a student like myself, not conversant with the first-hand sources of history available in non-Indian languages or literature. I shall, therefore, record in this article only a few references to *paper*, having a bearing on its history with special reference to India, gathered by me during the course of my studies.

(Page 1 of Studies In Indian Cultural History Part 3; Prof. P.K. Gode; 1969)

His words are as recent as 1969 and I still find that not enough material is available on the subject. (*This statement of mine should be read within the limitations of my search for history of indigenous paper manufacturing by the Indians*)

Now turning the focus on to the crucial aspect of **"acceptance" of paper by Brahmins**, I wish to bring in Prof. P.K. Gode for one more time.

In his popular work **"Studies In Indian Cultural History – Part 3"** he **makes an interesting and vital observation on paper usage by orthodox Hindus of medieval period**. Read the underlined text in the below excerpt:

If Taka Kusu's translation of the original Chinese passage corresponding to the above extract is correct we shall not be wrong in inferring that *paper* was known to Indian priests and laymen in the 7th century A.D. but that it was a rare commodity used perhaps for religious purposes occasionally. Possibly on account of the Chinese contact with India some paper was already introduced into India prior to the visit of I-tsing but its wide-spread use in large quantities or even its manufacture on Indian soil was not given attention to owing to the system of using the *bhūrja* and *palm leaves* for writing purposes so common in those days. Speaking of the oral transmission of the *Vedas* I-tsing observes:—(P. 182 of *Record*) "The *Vedas* have been handed down from mouth to mouth not transcribed on *paper* or *leaves*."*

It appears from the above evidence that *paper* was not quite unknown in India in the 7th century A.D. but it failed to oust the *bhūrja* and the *palm-leaf* owing to the orthodox tendency of the Indians generally in not adopting foreign things unless compelled to do so by political powers or by dominant cultural contacts, which saturated the Indian life in an overwhelming degree in any given period of history.

(Page 5 of *Studies In Indian Cultural History Part 3* by Prof. P.K. Gode; Published by BORI, Pune, 1969)

The last paragraph from the above extract gives us a good insight in to the tendencies and dilemmas of Indians during medieval periods in which many foreign tribes have invaded India, established their monarchies and have imposed their customs and practices on Hindus.

Pushed to the corner and ordained to lead submissive life, even the orthodox Hindus alias **Brahmans were forced to accept certain items such as paper which has become an obsession and status symbol for Muslims and British.** It is worth noting here that the Moghul empire was popularly called as "Kaghaz Raaj" i.e. kingdom of paper!

This insight given by Prof P.K. Gode has led me to understand the difference between the social and political conditions of Sri NT's period and that of Sri Raghavendra's. While the former lived in a glorious and victorious regime of Hindu Emperors the latter had to deal with Muslim rulers particularly in Andhra and Karnataka regions more often than not.

At this juncture, I had drawn a conclusion that **the paper usage in South India during 16th century and particularly by Madhva saints is far from reality and the usage by Madhva saints from 17th century onwards is a reality based on the verifiable facts presented by scholars like Prof. P.K. Gode.**

Now, I wish to offer some inputs on the paper manufacturing units in India.

Paper Manufacturing Units in India during Medieval Periods

The reason behind this study is to understand the chronological development of paper making in India and also to know the changed technologies in paper making.

According to Mr. S.A.K. Ghori and A. Rahman, following were the well know manufacturing centers during medieval periods

With the rapid diffusion of its technical know-how and the ever-increasing demand for paper as a writing material, papermaking concerns were soon established in other parts of the country. These centres in medieval India were Sialkot in Punjab; Zafarabad town in Jaunpur district, Oudh; Bihar town in Azimabad (Patna) district and Arwal town in Gaya district in Bihar; Murshidabad and Hooghly in Bengal; Ahmedabad, Khambayat and Patan in Gujarat; Aurangabad and Mysore in the South.

Punjab had its full share in the development of the paper industry. Sialkot alone had a number of papermaking concerns where different varieties of paper of different brands were prepared. Sialkoti paper was white in colour and very stout. It was used throughout Punjab. Sialkot was perhaps the only papermaking centre in Punjab in medieval times.

It is interesting to note that Mysore of South India too found a place in the list of famous paper making centers of India. When I have probed further as to during which period Mysore came into prominence as a paper making center, I understood that it gained this popularity during Tipu Sultan's regime. This statement comes from the same author-duo that narrated the paper manufacturing technology in medieval India. Read the below passage from their report on Mysore's paper making unit:

A papermaking concern was established at Mysore during the reign of Sultan Tipu. Grains of gold leaf were mixed in the pulp and by this device gold became spread over the surface of the paper.¹⁷ This special kind of paper was meant for royal use, as may be seen in the private account books of Peshwa Bajee Rao whose folios are similarly treated.

Here we need to look at the phrase "during the reign of Sultan Tipu." As per the historians the reign Tipu is between c.1782 – 99. So, this said paper making concern must have been established subsequent to c.1782 which takes the indigenous paper making in South India to late 18th century and not before that.

This factor supports the supposition drawn on the paper usage by Sri Raghavendra that he would have sparsely used paper as part of his writing tools and the said MS would have been part of a rare correspondence by him. Here I request the SRS Matha to throw more light on this aspect as they are the custodians and should be having complete wherewithal of the said MS.

Not just Mr. S.A.K. Ghori and A. Rahman but **Prof. P.K. Gode too gives** the similar account of **a paper making unit of late 18th century** this time not in Mysore but **in the town of Harihara.**

In his “**Studies in the Regional History of Indian Paper Industry**” Prof. P.K. Gode presents an account of “**The Paper Manufacturer at Harihar on the Bank of Tungabhadra in A.D. 1790 as described by Capt. Edward Moor.**”

This Captain of British Army had fought against Tipu’s forces during the Siege of Dharwar and during this campaign he made a hurried note on a paper making unit of Harihar. This fact establishes the truth that the indigenous paper making in South India and particularly in Karnataka region has commenced from late 18th century.

At this juncture, I wish to pause a bit and revisit the Vijayanagara times as Prof. P.K. Gode gives out an informative insight in to those times in a footnote of his article on Harihar paper making unit. Hereunder is the excerpt of the footnote:

Association, Maganwadi, Wardha (C. P.), 1944.

2. Ibid, p. 216.

3. Cf. the use of palm-leaf in the Vijayanagar empire Third Dynasty (A.D. 1529 to 1543) by N. V. Ramanayya, Madras, 1935, p. 197. “The measurement of lands and several details pertaining to it were entered in palm-leaf registers called *Kavilas*. Each village had a *Kavile* of its own which was maintained by the *Karṇam* or the village accountant.” “Copies of village *Kavilas* were preserved in the *Cāvaḍies* or offices of the *Sūbān* or Sims. Probably copies were also kept in the *Ajjhavaṇam* or the imperial revenue Secretariat.”

(Page18 of *Studies In Indian Cultural History Part 3* by Prof. P.K. Gode; Published by BORI, Pune, 1969)

The official records of the Empire up to the village level were being maintained on palm-leaves only. So, **during the period of Sri NT writing on the paper was not in vogue.** These facts are negating the very idea of paper usage by Sri NT, even for his personal use.

Now, getting back to the paper making units and the technology deployed by them, we can see the following methodology adopted at the Harihar unit as observed by the ‘scholar-soldier’ Capt. Moor:

that we before mentioned being so observable in eastern artians : a shallow well of eight feet diameter is sunk, we will say four feet and chunamed; in the middle is inserted a block of hard wood; a heavy hammer or wooden beater is placed on the side of the well nearly equipoised so that a man standing on its centre by lifting either leg moves it up and down; its head falling on the wooden block, beats the materials of which the paper is made to a pulp; a second man remains in the well to keep the materials to be beaten in its proper place. Old cloths, old tents and such things are easiest to work, but when they cannot be procured, *the bark of particular shrubs* is substituted being first as well as cloths, well washed and soaked in water for several days. When sufficiently beaten, the pulp is mixed with a little quantity of water in chunamed reservoirs, into which the workmen dip their moulds and the mixture adhering to them when lifted out, instantly becomes paper; other persons remove it, and draw each sheet through a second piece of water, and hang it up to dry. A quantity of gum Arabic is dissolved in the water into which the beaten pulp is put; and that through which the paper is drawn is also a mucilage of that gum with a portion of alum dissolved in it. The moulds or forms of the workmen are made of thin shreds of bamboe. The tree from which the gum called *gum Arabic* exudes grows in abundance in every part of the upper country between Seringapatam and Poona: it was known to us by the name of *babool tree*.”¹

(Page 21 of *Studies In Indian Cultural History Part 3* by Prof. P.K. Gode; Published by BORI, Pune, 1969)

Here too the [process of paper making is not devoid of used clothes and rags](#). The mentioning of “[the bark of particular shrubs](#)” being substituted in the absence of old cloths and tents hints that the paper was being manufactured with natural products as well!

We can recall what Jainpedia.org has said in their article that the **paper in late medieval periods was being manufactured with wood and bamboo**.

With all these inputs I have asserted that the alternative manufacturing methods of paper were invented from 17th century onwards and this perfectly coincides with the paper usage by orthodox Hindus including Brahmans and Madhvas and this trend is sampled by the signature of Sri Raghavendra Tirtha on paper.

Thus we can clearly understand the distinction between the paper usages of 16th century South India which is predominantly Vedic Hindu dominated (particularly in Vijayanagara Empire in which Sri NT lived and breathed last) and the Muslim dominated

dominions of 17th & 18th century (parts of Karnataka and Andhra where Sri Raghavendra traveled quite frequently & finally entered his Brindavana)

Undoubtedly, **lot of research needs to be done in this area** and my present assertions can be subjected to change as the future findings start revealing the actual patterns of paper usage in Madhva community.

A Word about the Script used in Sri NT’s MS:

Though this topic has been dealt with in the previous chapter, I wish to add some more information on the script used in Sri NT’s MS.

I have found **references that confirm “Nandinagari” as the favourite script of Madhvas of medieval times**. See the below excerpt from the **April, 2006 newsletter of National Mission for Manuscripts:**


<u>Consonants</u>					<p>letters could be discerned.</p> <p>The constituents and ligatures in conjunct consonants in Nandinagari are easily identifiable as they are in Devanagari. There are, however, a few exceptions. Though Nandinagari script is no longer in vogue, neither for printing nor for writing, no scholar of Sanskrit language and literature can afford to remain ignorant of this script. For the students of Indian epigraphy and palaeography, learning <u>Nandinagari</u> is a must. It is also proved to be very useful for those who are engaged in in-depth textual study of Virasaiva and <u>Madhya Vaishnava</u> works. Nandinagari is helpful in another way: one who is proficient in it can read or learn Jain Nagari script with less effort.</p> <p style="text-align: right;"><i>Satkari Mukhopadhyaya is the former Coordinator, Kalakosa Division, Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, New Delhi</i></p>
क	ख	ग	घ	ङ	
k(क)	kh(ख)	g(ग)	gh(घ)	ng(ङ)	
च	छ	ज	झ	ञ	
c(च)	ch(छ)	j(ज)	jh(झ)	ñ(ञ)	
ट	ठ	ड	ढ	ण	
t(ट)	th(ठ)	d(ड)	dh(ढ)	n(ण)	
त	थ	द	ध	न	
t(त)	th(थ)	d(द)	dh(ध)	n(न)	
प	फ	ब	भ	म	
p(प)	ph(फ)	b(ब)	bh(भ)	m(म)	
य	र	ल	व		
y(य)	r(र)	l(ल)	v(व)		

Given the importance of Nandinagari in Madhva works, Sri VP is indeed in need of explaining the Devanagari script used in the said MS.

Let me now bring up another crucial aspect i.e. **Ink**.

Ink Usage and Manufacturing in India:

Neeraja Gopi, Conservator, Conservation Section of National Mission for Manuscripts writes that:



The Story of Ink

Neeraja Gopi

Most people, when they look at manuscripts, hardly give a moment's thought to the type of ink that is used to write or illustrate it. However, ink is one of the most important elements of a manuscript and deserves due consideration.

While it is now a common perception to associate ink only with writing, it is actually defined as a liquid containing various pigments and/or dyes used for colouring a surface to render either an image or some text. From a technical aspect, for an ink to fulfill its function it must have certain basic components: a colouring matter (pigments which colour the ink), a solvent (a medium in which the pigment is dissolved or dispersed), a binding agent (which holds the particles of pigment together and binds it to the support) and a mordant (a chemical substance which fixes the ink to the support and which may replace the binding agent). These are fixed components irrespective of whether there also exist within it other elements such as thickeners, fragrances, antiseptics, etc.

The origin of ink follows the invention of writing when the practice of art had advanced beyond the age of stone inscriptions/clay tablet and necessitated the use of some material for marking the reed and the use of brushes. It was not difficult to prepare black/coloured mixtures for this purpose. With the advent of these mixtures, forty centuries or more ago, we may link the genesis of ink. Therefore, even before the birth of Christ, making coloured mixtures from inorganic substances found in the earth and different types of stones was prevalent in India and elsewhere. While indigo had been in common use even before the eighteenth century, the most common type of ink now used – Prussian blue – was only invented around 1700 A.D.

Kriti Rakshana

Regional origins of Ink

If we look closer into the history of ink, we find that blue inks were potentially possible for many years before writing inks of that colour actually appear to be used. The Hebrew word for ink is *Deyo*, so called for its blackness. Primitively prepared for ritualistic purposes and for a continuing period of more than two thousand years, it was a simple mixture of powdered charcoal or soot with water, to which gum was sometimes added.

The Arabian method of making ink (*alchiber*) was more complex. Lampblack was first made by the burning of oil, tar or rosin, which was then commingled with gum and honey and pressed into small wafers or cakes to which water could be added when wanted for use. Charcoal made from the young shoots of grape vines could be used in stick form for drawing or could be ground fine to make ink. Mortars and pestles were used in the first step to break up the large pieces. To grind the particles even finer, the pigment was ground on a stone slab. Egyptian porphyry, granite, and marble were all used in this process. A smaller stone, known as a muller, was used to grind against the slab. The muller was flat on the bottom side, while the top was gently rounded to fit comfortably in the grinder's hand.

In Assam to create white colour, chalk (dhal) was in use for a long time. Lac (sealing wax) was mixed with red and yellow pigments to produce a golden colour. This practice was known as 'Lasoluwa'. The red colour of the '*Bhagavada Gita*', which is preserved at Rampur village in Kamrup, was derived from Puroi (a kind of reddish ripe seed, having a violet colour).

Chemical Composition of Ink

Carbon based inks are among the oldest of inks and were perhaps the first to be used. These were obtained by a process of semi-combustion

(Page 12; Newsletter –October 2005; National Manuscript Mission)

As far as the manufacturing is concerned, ink is not suffering from the drawbacks that paper suffered in its early production trends. So, let us focus on the other characteristic

of the ink i.e. 'color.' The lines put in the red coloured box are of great importance for us.

Hereunder I reproduce the boxed item for better reading

The origin of ink follows the invention of writing when the practice of art had advanced beyond the age of stone inscriptions/clay tablet and necessitated the use of some material for marking the reed and the use of brushes. It was not difficult to prepare black/coloured mixtures for this purpose. With the advent of these mixtures, forty centuries or more ago, we may link the genesis of ink. Therefore, even before the birth of Christ, making coloured mixtures from inorganic substances found in the earth and different types of stones was prevalent in India and elsewhere. While indigo had been in common use even before the eighteenth century, the most common type of ink now used – Prussian blue – was only invented around 1700 A.D.

The above information given by the author confirms a vital historical fact that **the popular colour of ink up to 18th century was "Indigo" and the current popular colour of Prussian Blue has come in to vogue from early 18th century.**

What is Indigo colour?

As I am not an expert in colours, I sought the help of internet and found the 'history of Indigo.' Take a look at this screen-grab from www.theultrabright.com/s' history of Indigo:

History of color: Indigo

HISTORY

At many points in time, indigo was the **most important dye in the world**. The only natural dye that offers clear and fast natural blue, indigo has been used to color textiles and rugs in all parts of the world. The word *indigo* is derived from Greek and means *from India*. Every major cultural area has derived its version of indigo colors – from the frescoes in South America to the kilims of Asia and the Middle East

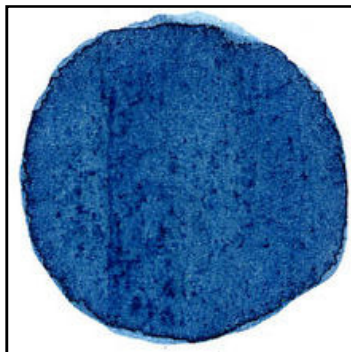


All denim was initially dyed in France with indigo that was grown in some of the country's colonies in the West Indies. However, **today's jeans vary in shade** and color, all product of indigo dyeing. Depending on how many times a garment is dipped in indigo, the final color changes, offering a wide range of blue hues from **stone wash** to **raw**, almost black.

<http://theultrabright.com/history-of-color/indigo>

1/3

So, **the word Indigo actually means "from India"** and now along with its origin we can see how an Indigo colour looks like. In Wikipedia following image has been given for Indigo:



With this, let us try to understand the ink colour of Sri NT's manuscript with that of another manuscript of 16th century having written with the Indigo coloured ink.

Firstly, I wish to offer few details about the 2nd paper MS chosen for comparison:

1. This MS in Arabic is from the present Azerbaijan that was part of Safavid Empire flourished between c.1502-1776.
2. I got this on internet and I could not get any Indian paper MS written with Indigo ink.
3. I understand that this is not an apple to apple comparison but the most important reason to choose this MS is that **the current topic of our discussion is the colour of the ink** and not aspects like region or religion.
4. The alphabets that we can see on the top & bottom rows were written with Indigo ink which qualifies this document for the comparison.
5. Final reason to choose this Arabic MS is to that it too belongs to 16th century i.e. the same century in which Sri NT lived in and serves as an example for the ageing of the colour.

Having explained the reasons for choosing the said MS for comparison let me put forward my points:



(Image courtesy-<http://www.husainiarts.com/blog/category/islamic%20manuscript>)

- Readers should observe the alphabets written on the top and at the bottom of the Arabic MS.
- Those Arabic characters have been written with Indigo coloured ink.
- Now take a look at the purported hand-written letter of Sri NT and closely observe the colour of the ink.
- There is a striking difference between the colours as the ink colour in MS of Sri NT is probably closer to dark blue!


Again, I am not an expert in colours and hence request the scholars having the required skill set and expertise to find out the actual colour of the ink of Sri NT's MS. Prima facie it appears to me that the colour is not an Indigo!

Scientific Methods for determining the colours used in paper MSs


I understand that there are certain methods such as **False Colour Infra Red Photography** available to identify the colours used in any MS.

If a MS is exposed to False Colour Infra Red Photography, **Indigo colour turns to strong Red**. Hereunder is an example found on net for the False Colour Infra Red Photography:


MuSIS has developed this principle and incorporates the qualities of the false colour photography film into a digital format, so that the colour changes can be easily viewed on a screen. Identification can then be made against a chart of known colours.



Visible light



False colour – the blue shifts to a strong red, red to a yellow



Infra red – green foliage absorbs, blue reflects.

The analysis carried out on the NAS manuscripts ultimately identified 2 different reds, namely vermilion and red lead. The deep blue areas, which constitute the main body of each vignette and borderlines, are lapis lazuli. The green was more difficult to identify. The green within the leaves/foilage and borderlines absorbed very strongly in infrared. Malachite, verdigris and indigo/orpiment in combination all strongly absorb so a positive identification could not be made with infrared. Since green in manuscripts 1 and 2 appears blue in false colour. Indigo shifts to a red tone in false colour. Verdigris and malachite both shift to blue in false colour. The appearance of the green in visible light (leaf green) infers verdigris, rather than the opacity and subtlety of malachite.

(Taken from the web link <http://www.nas.gov.uk/documents/newssheet1.pdf> of The National Archives of Scotland)

It would be highly desirable that Sri VP can offer the MS for this test, if available in India and authenticate the MS furnished by him as a unique document. Till such time, the authenticity of the MS remains doubtful.

Another scientific method suggested by Sri NAPS Rao is – ‘**Carbon dating.**’

Carbon Dating is the method used to determine the age of animal and plant fossils. I have made an enquiry with a scientist on the pros and cons of this method and he said that the Carbon dating can only give a hypothetical age which may vary from half-a-century to a century! Given this wide ranged speculation that can alter the truth of our present pursuit I am not sure whether Carbon Dating can really help. It is for the experts to comment on this technical aspect.

Nevertheless, if the technology allows for testing the age of a paper with 90% accuracy then Sri NT’s MSs should be carbon dated for age determination.

I personally recommend for a **combined testing tool** that comprises **of Carbon Dating, False Colour Infra Red Photography & Paleographic study**. Following are the reasons for this recommendation:

1. **Carbon dating** determines the age of the paper (the result should show the age of Sri NT’s MS is >450 years of age)
2. **False Colour Infra Red Phogotrphy** identifies the colour of the ink (the colour of the ink should become strong red in its false colouring)
3. **Paleographic study** confirms the handwriting & type of script (as both the above tests can’t confirm the handwriting style of a human being & the script used therein which can be done by another human only)

On the whole, there shall be concerted efforts by the scholars and scientists from Madhva community to join their hands and mobilize the resources to find a fruitful conclusion for the prolonged dispute of Sri Jayatirtha’s Mula Brindavana.

By subjecting the MS for taking the advantage of modern scanning technology, Sri VP was able to make some critical corrections. Going by his scientific temperament for using modern technologies to discern the truth, he should make his MS to undergo the aforesaid tests.

Some Useful Inputs from Mr. Anish Krishnan Nayar

I am thankful to Mr. Anish for contributing valuable information w.r.t. the manuscript studies. Hereunder I am reproducing his message posted in SVM group.

B.C.Anish Krishnan Nayar

Dec 5 12:40 PM

Gentlemen

I would like to make a few observations regarding the paper mss attributed to Shri NT and the rejoinder to it. At the outset, let me make it clear that I am not a professional manuscriptologist .My interest in manuscripts was a byproduct of that in mantra sastra. I was trained in Linguistics and I am interested in forensic stylistics. With this introduction, I would like to present the following:

1. There was and there is severe Madi restriction to paper manuscripts. Even recently, a pontiff made Anu Bhashya engraved in copper plates to do ritualistic reading. In my area, the prohibition on paper was due to the fact that it cannot be ritually cleansed.

2. The way we hold stylus to write in palm leaf is different from the way we hold pen, especially nibbed pen/brush to write in paper. People who commonly used palm leaves avoided using paper as papers might tear due to the force with which they write. This is the reason why most of the Hindus stuck to palm leaves while Moslems preferred calligraphy in paper, Further writing in paper was a cumbersome job during those days.

3. The penmanship of the controversial folios suggest that the writer is used to writing in papers.

4. Even if this point is not accepted, one has to look at the fact that in old paper mss, people did not write in portrait layout but opted for landscape layout which was similar to palm leaves and which gave more space. Still 1900s most of the tantric/puranic texts were printed/written in landscape. The manuscript in discussion is not so.

5. The mss seems to be written with ink made of kadukkai(sorry I don't know the scientific name).The manuscript might 150 be yrs old and not more than that, according to me.

6. During those days, people were obsessed with saving paper. Hence most of the writings were closely packed. However, when they acted as scribes copying a text, this was often ignored. Most of the scribes rapidly wrote as they read. Due to this reason, they could not concentrate on alignment or spacing in their writing. This quality is also evident in the mss.

7. Certain strokes in the paper make it clear that, it was written by a professional scribe. For example, when you have to dip your pen in ink now and then, you do not make unnecessary strokes. But if you are a scribe those strokes would show that you have

completed a task. Hence the mss in question seems to be the work of a professional nineteenth century scribe.

Finally, I would like to say that Burnel's observation of the fate of palm leaf texts of Acharya turning into powder is unwarranted. There are many palm leaf texts that have survived for a millennium!!!.Sri Pataraja mutt has a text that is in the writing of a direct



disciple of acharya. I have attached a photo

Thank You [Anish Krishnan](#)

From the above message of Mr. Anish, we can extract many pointers which are self explanatory and Sri VP should explain the contradictions

found in Sri NT's MS that are highlighted by Mr. Anish.

@@@@@

Recapitulation of the Review Series

PART 1

- The interchangeable usage of Anegondi & Hampi committed by Sri VP has been negated with the support of historical records.
- The counting of 9 Brindavanas by adding Sri Narahari Tirtha Brindavana done with the help of a Convenient Theory of Interchangeable usage of Anegondi & Hampi has been disproved by presenting scientific details like GPS cords and Satellite images & historical narrations etc.
- Hampi as the actual location of Sri Narahari Tirtha has been proved.

PART 2

- Authentic historical accounts of Anegondi & Hampi were presented and the superfluous use of Yaragola as Gajagahvara has been negated with proofs.
- The assumption of Gajagahvara Kingdom has been disproved and the exclusive usage of the word Gajagahvara by SVM seers has been explained.
- The words like Saamrajya, Rajya, Samsthana etc. have been explained by presenting the inscriptions of Vijayanagara emperors which has negated the Gajagahvara kingdom proposed by Sri VP.
- The assumption put forward by Sri VP that Malkheda & Yaragola were part of Vijayanagara Empire has been rejected with the help of political maps of medieval South India and authentic historical narratives.
- Various aspects of Sri Jayatirtha & Sri Vidyaranya have been discussed.
- In depth analysis of Shloka 17 of Purva Prabandha given with proven historical background.
- The allusion of Gajagahvara as the capital of Madhva Siddhanta has been explained to the ability of the writer.

PART 3

- A drill down of manuscript details have been given as part of the paper manuscripts of Sri Narayana Tirtha put forwarded by Sri VP.
- Many scientific observations were presented that negate the existence of a paper MS of a Madhva saint.
- Various references from authentic sources and authors have been presented for the readers understanding.

- The contradictions and confusions that are evident in the text of Sri NT MS have been presented and discussed.

An Earnest Appeal to All

Any critical observation made with honesty should not to be treated as an 'insult' and neither the constructive criticism is meant to 'defame' someone.

All the observations or objections made by Sri NAPS Rao or by this writer or by enthusiastic explorers like Mr. Anish Krishnan are part of constructive criticism only and none of these have tried to belittle the scholarship of Sri VP.

Our efforts were put in the right direction only and the wholehearted attempts were made to add the scientific angle to the on-going research of mula brindavana of Sri Jayatirtha.

If at all someone wishes to object or demean these efforts, like the recent one from Mr. Narasimhan Namakkal, it shall only mean that such people are committed to conceal a secret that may disturb their position(s). If not then Sri VP may please come forward and subject the MS for scientific evaluations suggested hitherto.

All said and done, **the common prerogative of the faithful Madhvas is to know the truth and truth alone and nothing else. Hence all the stakeholders and leaders of Madhva community shall strive forward by leaving the petty issues behind and embrace the more scientific approach in resolving the conflicts.**

I read in a book that **“Knowing the truth about a phenomenon is the scope of science. Knowing the truth in its eternity is the scope of philosophy”** and today if one wants to impress upon the new generation of Madhvas, **philosophy with science is the only way** to do so.

All of us must **take cognizance of changed times and modified temperaments and welcome the change wholeheartedly like how Sri Raghavendra took up to the paper usage.** What more guiding post we need to realize the need for time-bound amendment in our thought process and outlook. A due diligence in this regard is must for all.

I end my review with a sincere appeal to the Editors of SJMBG and Sri VP and all leaders of various Sri Mathas to join hands only to ensure that the temperament of our future generations will not get dampened with the insincere and unscientific bigotry of our generation. We live on by the merits and not by short term falsified popularity.

Thanks to one and all and my obeisance to Sri Hari, Vayu & Gurus.

--Shaantihi-