

Tracing Raṅganātha's Journey

This chapter examines possible relations between the Raṅganātha temple in Srirangam (Śrīraṅgam) and some other places associated with this temple by exploring the story of the journey of the processional image of Viṣṇu, in the form known as Raṅganātha, from the Srirangam temple to the temple in Tirupati/Tirumala, where Viṣṇu is worshipped in the form known as Veṅkaṭanātha. The journey proceeded in stages, via several other places, among them an influential *divya-deśa*¹ namely Melkote (Melkoṭe) which was renowned for having been visited by the distinguished Vaiṣṇava teachers and, as the tradition has it, was the place of Rāmānuja's years-long stay.

The narratives giving an account of the journey represent, unlike many other stories about connected places that reference mythological events and divine interventions, a specific type of linkages that were impacted, among others, by political circumstances and historical events. In this chapter, we, therefore, ask: How and why were these linkages represented in certain non-historical texts of the Vaiṣṇava tradition that claim to be historical but reference historical facts only partially? Is it correct to suppose that at least some of the mentioned places had earlier, well-established connections, for example, due to the activities of religious teachers or their sacred status? Or could have such an interconnectedness been deliberately constructed and knowingly imposed on the stories by the authors of the narratives which constitute our sources?

The historical facts and the narratives about the journey have already been briefly discussed by other researchers.² The journey took place in the fourteenth

1 108 places/temples of importance for the Vaiṣṇava tradition which ascribes to all of them the visits of the Ālvārs.

2 For example, Spencer (1978), Branfoot (1999), Davis (1999), Hopkins (2002), Aiyangar (1940), Madhavan (2018). Madhavan, in her recent popular publication about Srirangam, presents a slightly different route. Judging from the book's bibliography, she based her description mainly on Hari Rao's two books of 1967 and 1976. She provides a list of places visited by Raṅganātha's image together with a map of their location. Thus, the itinerary provided by Madhavan presents itself as follows: Srirangam → Tirukoshtiyur (near Pudukkotai); Tirukoshtiyur → Jyotishkudi (near Madurai); Jyotishkudi → Tirumaliruncholai (Alagar Koil); Tirumaliruncholai → Calicut; Calicut → Tirukkanambi

century CE, during the Vijayanagara (Saṅgama dynasty) rule, and was undertaken to avoid the desacralization of god's image/s by the invading forces of the Delhi Sultans. The escape from the Srirangam island on the Kaveri (Kāverī) river was just the beginning of a long peregrination that took place between 1323 and 1371. It was initially led by Piḷḷai Lokācārya (eminent Śrīvaiṣṇava teacher and philosopher of the thirteenth-fourteenth century CE) and entailed stops at several places on the way to the final destination, the Tirumala hills. There, the image of Raṅganātha spent almost forty years, before being ultimately taken back and re-installed in the repossessed Śrīraṅgam temple by Kumāra Kampaṇa, the chief and son of king Bukka I of the Vijayanagara dynasty.³ By the fourteenth century CE, both Srirangam and Tirupati temples were already important Vaiṣṇava religious centers of established position and power, where some of the most prominent religious teachers, such as Rāmānuja and Vedānta Deśika, were active. The Srirangam temple premises were built and further rebuilt by successive dynasties beginning with the Pallavas (fourth to ninth century CE), the Coḷas (ninth to thirteenth century CE), and the Pāṇḍyas (c. sixth to fourteenth century CE) and similarly, Tirupati owes its development to the same dynasties.

South Indian sacred sites are often described in connection with each other. Such connections are built by way of mythological stories else are attested to by other tangible links of various kinds. These links can be very creative and quite effective in enhancing processes of developing the places themselves or the pilgrimage routes leading to them. In the case of Raṅganātha's journey, the choice of transit sites mentioned in different narratives is probably the result of a considerate selection, at least in some cases, of places important for the tradition, mainly the Śrīvaiṣṇava tradition, especially in the case of the three locations that are more thoroughly featured in the story, namely Srirangam, Tirupati, and Melkote.

(Terakanambi, in-between Calicut and Mysore); Terakanambi → Malkote; Melkote → Tirupati/Tirumala (via Candragiri); Tirupati/Tirumala → Singavaram (Senji/Gingee); Singavaram → Srirangam. Aiyangar (1940: 417–19) mentions yet slightly different places, namely Jyotiṣkudi does not appear at all, but one place on the way from Mysore to Melkote is named: Srirangam, Pudukkotai, Tirukottiyur (Tirukoṣṭhiyur), Tirumalirumśolai, Calicut, Terukanambi (Mysore), Punganur (Chittor), Melkote, Tirupati hills (Candragiri?), Tirupati. It is difficult to assert which sources Aiyangar uses, however judging from the differences in the list, the Srirangam temple chronicle (*Kōyil Oḷuku*) was not his only source.

- 3 While discussing the situation of Śrīvaiṣṇavas at the time of Muslim raids to the South, Viraraghavacharya (1953 [rep. 2003]: 377–78) writes that it was Srirangam which due to its high position among devotees became a vulnerable place but “Tirumala somehow escaped the danger and all the religious minded Sri Vaishnavar counted on the God of the Vengadam Hills for safety of their religion.”

The two texts that are the special focus of this study are the Srirangam temple chronicle (*Kōyil Oḷuku*) and a hagiographical text titled the *Prapannāmṛta* (“The Nectar for Supplicants”), both of which mention the journey. Before moving on, let us reiterate questions to be addressed in the context of these texts: How and why some quite specific historical facts related to the journey were used by the authors of the two texts? How do these narratives view the journey and relationships between the places, be they the starting point, the destination or the stops on the way? Why are some of these places treated more thoroughly than others and what does this tell us about the authors’ motives?⁴

The historicity of the journey is supported by at least one well-known inscription from the Srirangam temple. Parthasarathi (1954), in his English rendition/summary of the Srirangam *Kōyil Oḷuku*, mentions this inscription, dedicated to Gopaṇa, a Brahmin and the Vijayanagara ruler Kumāra Kampaṇa’s general, whose role was crucial in protecting and re-installing the image in Srirangam. The inscription appears on the wall of the Viṣvaksena shrine.⁵

- 4 The process of development of places of worship and the temple cult in South India resulted in the appearance of a body of literature known as *māhātmyas*, *sthalapurāṇas*, and in Tamil *talapurāṇams*, all of which enlarge our knowledge related to the processes of establishing and developing sacred spots. Some of those texts can be useful sources of data that help us to understand the history of the place as well as the evolution of linkages between places, though this particular phenomenon is not always envisaged in the texts. Such seems to be the case of Raṅganātha’s journey, which is not mentioned in the *Śrīraṅgamāhātmya* versions available to us, therefore we have to investigate other types of texts such as temple chronicles or local hagiographies. On *māhātmyas* in other regions of India, see, for example, Feldhaus 2003 and Neuss 2012. The role of this class of texts has been recently acknowledged, for example, by Buchholz (2022) and Nachimuthu (2022). See also Czerniak-Drożdżowicz and Sathyanarayanan 2022, Sathyanarayanan and Czerniak-Drożdżowicz 2023.
- 5 Rendition of Sanskrit text and translation after Parthasarathi (1954: 57):

svasti śrī bandhu priye śakābde (śakābde 1293)
āñyānīṇīla śrīṅgadyutiracita jagad rañjanādañjanādreḥ
ceñcyāmārādhyā kañcit samayam atha nihatyodvanuṣkān tuluṣkān |
lakṣmī kṣmābhyām ubhābhyām saha nija nagare sthāpayan raṅganātham
samyag varyām saparyām punarakṛta yaḥodarpaṇo goppanāryaḥ ||
viśveśam raṅgarājam vṛṣabhagiri taṭāt goppanakṣoṇī devo
nītvā vām rājadhānīm nija bala nihatotsikta tauluṣka sāinyāḥ |
kṛtvā hrīraṅgabhūmīm kṛta yuga sahitām te ca lakṣmī mahībhyām
saṁsthāpyāsyām sarojodbhava iva kurute sādhuṣcaryāsaparyām ||
 “Hail! In the year 1393 (1293) of Śaka [era].

After bringing Sri Ranganatha from Anjanadri (Tirumalai), which delights the world with its peaks covered with dark clouds, and worshipping Him for some time at Chennai with Sri Devi and Bhudevi, Goppanarya, who is like a mirror of fame, vanquished the Muslims, who were expert archers. [By] re-installing the Lord at His own city of Srirangam, [he] restored the traditional system of worship in the temple. Goppanarya,

The second inscription, to be found in Tirupati/Tirumala temple, is mentioned in *Tirupati Devasthanam Epigraphical Report* by Sastry (1930: 131–32). Sastry addresses it as no 485 TT, dated to Kālaka year, which, in his opinion, corresponds to 1290 of the Śaka era (1368 CE). The inscription speaks of a minister of Kumāra Kampaṇa Uḍaiyar, whom Sastry identifies as Somappa or general Gopaṇa, known from the Raṅganātha inscription of 1293 of the Śaka era from Srirangam. In fact, the inscription published in Sastry (1931: 169) is very brief and does not tell the story of Raṅganātha. It only mentions the Pekkaḍai (minister) of Kampaṇa.⁶ Sastry, however, in the *Report* (Sastry 1930), evokes the story and refers to the above-mentioned Srirangam inscription known from *Epigraphia Indica*. At the end of the passage dedicated to this subject (p. 132), he expresses surprise that though the stay in the temple was of prolonged duration, “there occurs no kind of epigraphical or literary notice, except an oral tradition.”

Davis (1999), referring to the *Prapannāmṛta*, writes that the Srirangam inscription is ascribed to Vadānta Deśika (twelfth-thirteenth century CE), prominent Śrīvaiṣṇava teacher and exponent of the Vaṭakalai⁷ branch of the tradition, who was born in Kanchipuram, and who, as we shall see below, also had a role in the

the Brahmin, brought Sri Rangaraja, the Lord of the Universe, from the slope of the Vrishabhagiri (Tirumalai) to his capital and after destroying the Muslim army with his forces, reinstalled Him with Sri and Bhumi at Srirangam and thus introduced the Kṛita Yuga there again. In this deed, which is praised by all righteous men, he acted like the very Lotus-Born (Brahma).”

The inscription is testified to in the SII vol. XXIV, ed. Narasimhaswamy 1982: 303—inscription nr 286—in 1371 Gopana took the image from Tirupati to Ginji and then to Srirangam (II *prakāra*, east wall).

- 6 No. 181 (Nos. 373 and 485-TT.) in Sastry (1931: 169):

line 1 *svasti śrī kīlaka saṁvatsarattu*

line 2 *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara harirāyavibhāta...*

line 3 *kaṇḍa śrī vira kumārakampaṇa uḍaiyār pekkaḍai*

line 4 *...tiruveṅkaṭam-uḍaiyānukku tiruṇantāvilakkukku viṭṭa pacu*

line 5 *28 riṣapam 1 itu candrāditya varai cellakkaṭavatu itu śrī vai-*

line 6 *-ṣṇava rakṣai*

“Hail! In the prosperous year Kīlaka...The charity of 28 cows and 1 bull for seven-eighths of a *nandāvilakku* for Tiruveṅkaṭamuḍaiyān was made by the *Pekkaḍai* (minister) of Śrī Vira-Kumāra-Kampaṇa Uḍaiyar entitled *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara*, *Arirāyavibhāla* and (*Bhāṣhaikuttappuvarāyara*)*gaṇḍa*. This (charity) shall last as long as the moon and the sun endure. May this the Śrīvaiṣṇavas protect!”

Transcript by DR. Sathyanarayanan (EFEO, Pondicherry). Translation by Sastry (1931).

- 7 The two sects of Vaṭakalai and Teṅkalai, appeared at some point in the post-Rāmānuja time. Their earliest exponents were Maṇavāla Māmuṇi dated to the fourteenth-fifteenth century CE, a Teṅkalai, and Vedānta Deśika (the thirteenth-fourteenth century CE)—a Vaṭakalai. The Vaṭakalais, with their center in Kanchipuram, were adherents of Sanskrit sources and followers of the *mārkaṭa-nyāya* (analogy to monkey) theology, while

story.⁸ Thus, it can be surmised that reliable evidence confirms the historicity of Raṅganātha's journey, as well as the role of certain historical personages, in temporarily establishing the image in the Tirumala temple and hosting it also for some time in Senji, before taking the image back to Srirangam.

The sources

The two sources for the present study are the temple chronicle of the Srirangam temple (*Kōyil Oluku*, written in Maṇipravāla) and the seventeenth-century Sanskrit hagiographical work *Prapannāmr̥ta* (hereafter referred as PA), by Anantācārya.⁹ Both treat the story of the image more extensively only in relation to some of the visited places and concentrate mainly on Srirangam itself, Melkote, and Tirupati. Other places are mentioned vaguely or merely their names are given.¹⁰ The *Kōyil*

the Teṅkalais, with their center in Srirangam and the Kaveri region, were followers of Tamil texts and the *mārjāra-nyāya* (analogy to the cat) theology. See, for example, Raman 2007.

- 8 Hultzsck gives a shorter version of the inscription, quoting only two verses: *āṇiyānīlaśṛṅgadyutiracitajagadrañjanād aṇjanādreś ceṇjyamārādhyā kaṁcitsa-mayam atha nihatyoddhanuṣkāms tuluṣkān | lakṣmīkṣmābhyām ubhābhyām saha nijanīlaye sthāpayan raṅganāthaṁ samyagvaryām saparyām kuruta nijayaśodarpaṇo gopānāryaḥ |* (Hultzsck, *Epigraphia Indica* vol.VI, pp. 322–23; 1900–1). Davis' (1999: 131) translation based on the Hultzsck's version reads:

“From Collyrium Mountain [Tirupati] which delights all the world with the lustre of its dark blue peaks, that mirror of fame Gopāṇa brought Lord Ranganatha to Gingee and worshipped him there for some time. He destroyed the Turks who had raised their bows and then installed Ranganatha along with his wives Lakṣmi and Earth in Ranganatha's own city, Sri Rangam, and once again worshipped him in the proper manner. The brahmin Gopāṇa took Ranganatha, Lord of Everything, from Bull Mountain [Tirupati] to his own capital. When he had defeated the proud Turkic army with his own forces, he installed Ranganatha, Lakṣmi, and Earth, and thereby reunited the ground of Sri Rangam with the Golden Age. Like lotus-born Brahman, that virtuous man now dutifully worships Ranganatha.”

The role of Gopāṇa in protecting the image is also mentioned by Srinivasachari (1943: 59–62).

- 9 The two texts in focus cannot be treated as historical sources, yet they have a contextualizing value, which is perceived by scholars as similarly interesting and valuable as the primary sources themselves. See for example Snell 1994, Nowicka 2016, and Nowicka 2017.
- 10 The story of the Sultanate raid and destruction of the temple appears also in some literary sources such as, for example, *Madhurāvijaya* by Gaṅgādevī; however, this poetess refers to the earlier episode of Malik Kafur's military expedition. About Gaṅgādevī's

Oluku (hereafter the Chronicle) is a typical South Indian temple chronicle.¹¹ Hari Rao, the author of several publications concerning Srirangam and of the English summary of the Chronicle, describes it in the following words:

The Koil-Olugu is stated to be the work of ‘Purvacaryas’, i.e., the Acaryas of the past’, in other words, it was not the work of a single writer belonging to a particular period but a temple record written and maintained by successive wardens of the temple or their accountants or writers. Events are narrated, especially in the latter portions of the Olugu, under specific dates, and a perusal of the entire book conveys the idea that it was a diary kept up by successive generations, true to its name, ‘Olugu’.
(Hari Rao and Reddi 1976: 4)¹²

The Chronicle provides a mythological story about the temple’s origins and describes the temple’s administration. In addition, it refers to many historical facts, yet it also contains many inconsistencies.¹³ It describes the involvement of the

work and references to Śrīraṅgam invaded by the Muslims, see Sudyka 2013: 112; 136–37. See also Truschke 2021: 79–80.

- 11 Short translation, or rather recapitulation, with a short introduction is by Hari Rao 1961. Yet another one is by T.S. Parthasarathy 1954.
- 12 The Chronicle’s writing was probably initiated after Rāmānuja (eleventh-twelfth century CE), the great philosopher and Śrīvaiṣṇava religious teacher. His life and especially his contribution to the temple life are treated thoroughly in the Chronicle, while the earlier history before him is only cursorily described. According to Spencer (1978), the Chronicle goes up to 1725 CE, and similarly, according to Orr (1995), it was written between the fourteenth and eighteenth centuries. It reached its present form in 1803 when the British Collector John Wallace asked the priests to put together all manuscripts of the Chronicle. Spencer writes about controversies connected with the dating of this text and that the text, in some portions, has an apocryphal character, nevertheless it is perceived as one of the most reliable temple chronicles. It brings information about the ritual, temple organization, internal discussions, etc., and was probably written periodically by successive generations of *ācāryas*; thus, there are some gaps and also incoherencies within the text. See Sathyanarayanan and Czerniak-Drożdżowicz 2023.
- 13 Hari Rao (1961: 5) writes: “A perusal of the Koil-Olugu shows that the sequence of events adopted is jumbled, e.g., the period of the Acaryas is dealt with after the first Muslim attack on Srirangam. Certain events or names are repeated in a different context; this was perhaps because an accountant recorded certain past events in the diary without inquiring whether the same had been recorded or not by a predecessor of his. The jumbled sequence might have been due to the constant resuscitations of the original due to the vicissitudes of history and the imperfections and shortcomings of scribes. It is also possible that a scribe while making a copy made his own interpolations. The Olugu maintains a fairly correct sequence of events while dealing with the Vijayanagar period and after.”

temple with many local dynasties as well as important Śrīvaiṣṇava personages. Due to these entanglements, the writings of the text could be biased in many ways. While speaking about political influence exerted not only by the Sultanate forces from the North but also some Indian dynasties (such as the Orissan Gaṅgas, and, in later times, the Marathas), Spencer mentions sectarian rivalry and change in affiliation of the temple in the thirteenth century CE, as the temple was run for some time by the Vaikhānasas instead of the Pāñcarātrikas.¹⁴

Our second source, PA, is a typical hagiography, dedicated basically to the life of Rāmānuja presented alongside other distinguished Śrīvaiṣṇavācāryas.¹⁵ The hagiographic genre has an ideological and promotional character, since the authors are often associated with religious institutions such as monastic *maṭhas*, as was frequently the case in the Vijayanagara and post-Vijayanagara times.¹⁶ Yet hagiographies can reveal strategies used to propagate particular ideas and traditions since their authors “variously intend to correct, reinterpret, subsume, authenticate or legitimize the writings of their forebears” (Snell 1994: 3). In the Śrīvaiṣṇava tradition, hagiographies form a part of the canon, for they present the tradition's development as well as historical and cultural continuity, and it was through them that the tradition was transmitted and memorized.¹⁷

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- 14 Spencer (1978: 18) writes: “The Orissan incident also illustrates how easily sectarian religious rivalries could affect court-temple relationships, since royal preferences for Śaivism over Vaiṣṇavism, or vice versa, could have adverse effects upon institutions controlled by the less favored sect.” The ritual system following Rāmānuja's reform was re-introduced in the seventeenth century CE by the Ācārya called Śrīnivāsa Desikar.
- 15 The important and popular Śrīvaiṣṇava hagiographies are, for example, *Guruparamparāprabhāvas*, three texts glorifying the Ālvārs and the Śrīvaiṣṇavācāryas. They are dated to around fourteenth-fifteenth century CE and are known as *Āṇḍīyirappaṭi Guruparamparāprabhāvam*, ascribed to Piṇṇalakiyaperumāl Jiyar; the *Pannīrāyirappaṭi Guruparamparāprabhāvam*, ascribed to Dvitiya Brahmatantrasvatantra Parkālasvāmī Jiyar, and *Mūvāyirappaṭi Guruparamparāprabhāvam* by Tritiya Brahmatantrasvanatra Parkālasvāmī Jiyar; see, e.g., Dutta 2014: 28–29.
- 16 Dutta (2014: 76) writes: “Thus hagiographies served the crucial function of confirming the socio-religious and political contexts in which Śrīvaiṣṇava tradition and identity were constructed and reinforced.”
- 17 For more about the Śrīvaiṣṇava hagiographies and the religious, social, and political context in which they were created see Dutta 2014, especially chapter 3, “Texts, Contexts, and the Śrīvaiṣṇava Community”. On p. 95 she writes: “The Hoysalas also shifted their capital from Dvārasamudra to Kaṇṇanūr near the Kāverī delta in the Tamil region, where the Pāñṭiyas were already making inroads. The tension between these two powers manifested in their competitive patronage extended to the Vaiṣṇava temple of Raṅganāthasvāmī and the Śaiva temple of Jambukeśvaram, situated on the either side of the Kāverī at Śrīraṅgam.”

The PA, ascribed to Anāntācārya, is dated to the seventeenth century CE and thus is much later than the described event.¹⁸ While hagiographies tend to devote much attention to philosophical issues and to praising extraordinary attributes and greatness of the religious teachers they feature, the PA does not stress the glory and distinction of Rāmānuja as a philosopher and presents him more as a mature and ardent devotee, directly communicating with God.¹⁹ In this long text of 126 chapters, some portions are also dedicated to the lives of Yamunācārya and Nāthamuni, and some portions (from the end of chapter 120 to the beginning of chapter 122) to the story of Raṅganātha's journey. This story involves two of the Śrīvaiṣṇavācāryas: Piḷḷai Lokācārya (thirteenth-fourteenth century CE), a representative of the Teṅkalai school, and his contemporary, Vedānta Deśika, a Vaṭakalai proponent. The story also mentions Sudarśanasūri, another contemporary of the two and the commentator of Rāmānuja's *Śrībhāṣya*.

Interestingly, the *Tirumalai Oḷuku*, the chronicle of Tirupati/Tirumala temple, does not evoke the story of the journey. This text is mostly dedicated to mythological events and includes references to Veṅkatanātha from different sources as well as some hymns. Nevertheless, the text's editor mentions the journey in the "Introduction" (Balasundara Nayakar 1953: xvi).²⁰ He writes that when in 1328 Muhammad bin Tughluq was plundering villages around Madurai and ransacking the temples, some Nampis from Srirangam, to save the image of Aḷakiyamaṇavāḷan (Handsome Bridegroom, the processional image of Raṅganātha) from falling into invader's hands, whisked it away with a view of lodging it for safety in Tirumala. It took them approximately two years to reach Tirumala from Srirangam. In 1330, they put Perumāḷ up in a *maṇḍapa* in front of the Tirumala temple's main shrine. The *maṇḍapa* is still called Raṅgamaṇḍapa. Since Aḷakiyamaṇavāḷan was staying there temporarily, as a guest, he was worshipped first and the composition beginning with the words '*kaṅkulum pakalum*'²¹ is still recited in front of Tiruveṅkaṭamuṭaiyān (Viṣṇu Veṅkatanātha in Tirumala temple). After some years, when Gopaṇa, a feudatory of Senji and a subordinate of the Vijayanagara's Kampaṇa II, came to Tirumala, he was told the story of the image and, after obtaining permission from Tirumalai *sabhā* (assembly) and the king Tiruveṅkaṭa Yadavarāya, moved it to Senji in 1363. At that time, the Sultanate forces were still occupying Srirangam, so for the next eight years Gopaṇa kept the image in

18 For the date and content, see Granoff 1985: 459–67, and Ayyangar 1919: 34–40.

19 Granoff (1985: 463) writes: "In fact, of all the texts of major Vedānta philosophers examined to date, the *Prapannāmṛta* is unique in its singular lack of interest in the philosophical debate."

20 I am grateful to Dr. Suganya Anandakichenin for helping me to find this text. I am using the English rendition by Dr. R. Sathyanarayanan.

21 Probably dedicated to Aḷakiyamaṇavāḷan, but we were not able to identify it yet.

Senji. Only after Sultan's forces had left, in 1371, did he bring the image back and establish it in the Srirangam temple. Balasundara Nayakar gives as his source the above-mentioned *TT Epigraphical report* (Sastry 1930: 131–32).

Raṅganātha's journey

The story, as known from some secondary sources that we have mentioned (e.g., Davis 1999, Hopkins 2004), is associated with the military expeditions of Muhammad bin Tughluq to South India, which took place in 1323–28 and resulted in the destruction of the Srirangam temple. A need arose to protect at least the *utsavamūrti* (processional image) of Raṅganātha, which was secretly sent away. The whole journey of the Raṅganātha image outside Srirangam lasted 48 years (1323–71) and on its way it stopped at several places, only to remain for more than 40 years in the Tirupati/Tirumala Veṅkatanātha temple. After that, Raṅganātha was taken back to Srirangam, where, already under the Vijayanagara governance, his image was reinstalled. The Sultanate invasion left lasting traces on the life of the re-established temple. In her article concerning the Vaiṣṇava community of Śrīraṅgam, based on meticulous analysis of the temple's inscriptions, Orr (1995: 110) says:

At the beginning of the fourteenth century, temple life at Śrīraṅgam was disrupted by the depredations of the “Turks”, Muslim armies from the North. In the later part of this century, the newly-established kings of Vijayanagara and their officers and subordinates dedicated themselves to the restoration of worship, and to their own legitimation through temple patronage. In this context, competition among temple authorities and between the emerging Tenkalai and Vaṭakalai divisions of Śrīvaiṣṇava community resulted in a restructuring of relations within the temple and among sectarian leaders, political rulers, and other members of society.

While tracing the story of the journey, we need to consider its merely partial historicity and acknowledge the possibility of there being a mix-up or merging of several narratives or narrative strands describing quite different historical events. Davis (1999 and 2004), referring to the *Kōyil Oluku*, discusses the Chronicle's two accounts of two journeys of the image.²² One story evokes a Muslim

22 Hultzsich discusses briefly the journey of the image and his version is closer to our understanding of the events, namely that there were two journeys and the inscription refers to the second, the 1323–71 one (Hultzsich 1900–1: 322–23). Also, Hopkins refers

princess who fell in love with the processional image of Raṅganātha. Davis mentions two versions of this episode. In one, from the Chronicle, the Sultan attacking Srirangam took the image of Viṣṇu to Delhi, where his daughter fell in love with it. After some time, the Sultan permitted the Raṅganātha's devotees to take the image back to the South. In the second version, the Melkote version of the story, presented in the PA, it is Rāmānuja himself who went to Delhi to retrieve the image. In the Chronicle version the Sultan, having seen the princess heart-broken by the departure of Viṣṇu, sent his troops to Srirangam to get the image back, but the priests of Srirangam had spirited the image away and sent it to Tirupati to hide and protect from desacralization. In the Chronicle version, the princess died of sorrow, but in the Melkote version, the princess accompanied the image back to the South. When they reached Melkote she was mysteriously united with the image and became one with Viṣṇu. Thus, in both temples, the Cheluvānarayana in Melkote and in the Raṅganātha temple in Srirangam, there are shrines of Tulluka Nācciyār—Tughluq Princess. The ambiguity of the story and its lack of consistency might have been caused, as also Davis suspects, by problems with dating the raid of the Sultanate forces. Obviously, while assigning a date to the raid, the Chronicle had in mind the earlier military venture of Malik Kafur, a general of Allauddin Khilji of Delhi, in 1310, but the story of the journey to Tirupati is associated with the later, Muhammad bin Tughluq's (known also as Ulugh Khan, especially before assuming the throne in 1325) raid and destruction of the Srirangam temple in years 1323–28. While referring to the story about the second, later event, Davis mentions also the episode of the temporary hiding of the image in the forest near Tirumala. We assume that the place was close to the Candragiri fort and indeed, as we see later, it is mentioned in our sources.²³

to both stories of wandering icons: the one at the time of Malik Kafur's invasion and the second under Ulugh Khan (Muhammad bin Tughluq) (Hopkins 2002: 68–72).

- 23 Davis 2004, fn 6 writes: "The verses are repeated in *Prapannāmṛta* (Krishnaswami Ayyangar 1919: 40), where they are identified as the composition of Vedantadeśika, the Srivāishnava theologian. Local tradition at Tirupati holds that the Handsome Bridegroom was kept in the Rangamandapa during his sojourn there (Subrahmanya Sastry 1981: 85), while the Koyil Oluku describes a much more inaccessible bivouac in the Tirupati hills. According to the Srirangam temple chronicles, one of the image's Brahman attendants 'tied himself to Viṣṇu with the help of roots and herbs and asked the other two attendants to lower him down into the declivity by means of a creeper fastened to a promontory of the mountain, jutting out like the hood of a serpent' (Hari Rao 1961: 27). The image spent fifty years suspended like this."

The *Kōyil Oluku* version

The version of the temple chronicle, in the edition from 2005–11,²⁴ is detailed and supplemented with useful footnotes by the editor, A. Krishnamacharyar, although he does not state his sources clearly.

The text (in Volume I, p. 463 and after) refers briefly to the family lineage of the priest officiating at the temple, R. Nṛsiṃha Deśikar, who plays an important role in the story.²⁵ It was he, who, during his office, learned that Muslims were approaching Tonḍaimaṇḍalam.²⁶ Resorting to the South Indian method of divination known as *tiruvuḷḷaccīṭṭu*,²⁷ Nṛsiṃha Deśikar addressed Raṅganātha directly, asking Him what should be done to protect Him. Following on the *tiruvuḷḷaccīṭṭu* response, the priests kept the image in the temple itself and began the regular performance of the annual river festival. During the festival, when the Aḷakiyamaṇavāḷan Perumāḷ was in the nearby Panriyālvāṇ [Varāha] temple, temple priests heard the news that Sultanate army had advanced beyond Samayapuram (a town near Srirangam).

Śrīraṅgarājānāthan Vādhūla Deśikar, the father of Nṛsiṃha Deśika, planned to flee before the arrival of the Sultanate forces in Śrīraṅgam and take the images with him. He felt that people of Srirangam would follow Raṅganātha. He ordered the *garbhagrha* (main shrine) to be covered with a curtain, pretending the worship was going on, arranged a palanquin, put Raṅganātha's image together with his consorts in it, and dispatched them to the South. He also sent priests, an *arcaka* and two *paricārakas*, and *śrīpātam tāṅkuvār* (palanquin bearers) with the image. Pillai

24 *Kōyil Oluku* vol.1: 463–69; vol. 2: 175–80. I am presenting the story according to the working English translation by DR. Sathyanarayanan.

25 Interestingly, he belonged to the Vādhūla family. As I was told by S. A. S. Sarma (EFEO, Pondicherry), it is an extremely rare lineage nowadays and there are very particular temple connections in Kerala in the places inhabited by them.

26 The same information is given in the English abbreviated rendition of the Chronicle by Hari Rao (1961: 127). He also mentions the PA which follows the Vaṭakalai tradition and says that Pillai Lokācārya and others fled with the images under the direction of Vedānta Deśika, while Vedānta Deśika himself escaped to Satyamangalam with the single manuscript of the *Śrutaprakāśika* and the two sons of Sudarśanācārya. In the Chronicle itself, the same note (p. 470) reads: “Vaṭakalai *Guruparamparāprabhāvam* declares that “Śrī Nikamānta Mahātecikan saved Sutarcaṇa Bhattar's two sons (Parācara Paṭṭar, Parāṅkuca Paṭṭar) and the *Śrutaprakāśikā*.” Moreover, it mentions that during the revolt, “Śrī Tecikan, [and] Sutarcaṇa Paṭṭar's two sons, escaped after staying two days in the heap of corpses. If the *Śrutaprakāśikā* was not saved on that day we might have lost a great text.” English rendition by R. Sathyanarayanan.

27 Two options were written on two pieces of paper—in this case, should the image remain in the temple or should it be taken out for safety reasons. One of the pieces of paper is picked up at random and it is believed that this is the decision of god. Information provided by R. Sathyanarayanan.

Lokācārya, along with his disciples, was also accompanying them. In addition, he sent a jewel box (*tiruvāparaṇappēṭṭi*) and Raṅganācciyār, namely the goddess image, with some attendants. Then, in front of Periyaperumāḷ (Raṅganātha's main image, *mūlamūrti*), he raised stone wall called *kulaśekaraṇpaṭi* and in front of that wall, he installed a (duplicate) image of Raṅganātha and locked the door. In the same way, he also constructed stone wall in the goddess shrine (and installed a duplicate image of Nācciyār). He closed all secret passages and left the temple. When Sultan's soldiers reached the temple and could not find the image, they damaged the Paṇṇiyālvāṇ (Varāhamūrti) image and several other idols, and killed many inhabitants. Because of these events, the invasion is known as "*paṇṇīrāyiravar muṭitiruttiya paṇṇiyālvāṇ meṭṭukkuṭi*" viz. "the incident of beheading 12,000 inhabitants".²⁸ The story then moves on to some matter connected to the chief of the Sultanate army, who was apparently seduced by a temple dancer-devotee (*dāsī*) and convinced by her to stop damaging the temple.²⁹

Subsequently, the text turns to the account of the Raṅganātha journey, relating a story about looting of the image's jewelry by forest robbers and many other hardships encountered during the journey. In the face of such difficulties, Piḷḷai Lokācārya called a halt to their journey. They stopped for a month in Jyotishkudi near Tirumokur, and there, the text says, he died (attained the highest abode, *paramapatam*).

The next stop of the journey was Tirumaliruncolai (Aḷakarkoyil), where the image and its entourage stayed for a year, and where, in that period, they constructed a water tank named after the image (Aḷakiyamaṇavālan). From there, after journeying from one village to another, they reached Calicut (Kolikkotu; the editor suggests it could be the present-day Kannur, near Calicut). In Kolikottu, other neighbouring (*divyadeśas*) images of god and the image of Nammālvār, which, as the Chronicle claims, found refuge in Calicut at the time of the Sultanate raid, were all brought to Raṅganātha and the image of Nammālvār stayed with him for a year. During that period this image was kept together with Raṅganātha on his throne.³⁰

28 *Kōyil Oḷuku* 467–68. English rendering by R. Sathyanarayanan.

29 Because of several *yantras* installed in the temple by Kūranārāyaṇa Jīyar, the chief of the *maṭha* became ill. It was believed that the illness was the result of the offense caused to the god (*daivakuttam*). Even after the chief had stopped the damage to the temple, he remained ill and so he decided to leave the place and move to another fort/palace in Kannanur (Kaṇṇanūr; present Samayapuram), built with the stones/rocks removed from Srirangam fort. The text also relates that meanwhile, a brahmin called Siṅkapirān, one of those managing the temple lands, recommended by the *dāsī*, met the Sultanate chief, joined him as a servant, and protected the temple from further misfortune.

30 We do not have much knowledge about the Keralan episode of the journey, but recently, in an article published in the Kerala edition of *The Hindu* (May 25, 2024),



Fig. 1 Jyotishkudi.
Photo by Marzenna
Czerniak-Drożdżowicz.



Fig. 2 The cave in which,
according to the local
respondent, the image
of Raṅganātha was kept.
Photo by Marzenna
Czerniak-Drożdżowicz.

Fig. 3 and 4
Pillai Lokācārya's
Sannidhi. Photos by
Marzenna Czerniak-
Drożdżowicz.



The Chronicle then relates a boat voyage by sea. During this journey, the image of Nammālvār, accompanying Raṅganātha, accidentally fell into the water. The priests did not want to continue the journey without it and managed to locate it in the sea with the help of an eagle. After pulling it out of the water, they put Nammālvār's image together with Perumāḷ's and proceeded to Tirukkaṇṇāmpi (Terakanambi in Karnataka), where the image remained for several days. Further (from p. 475 onwards), the Chronicle informs us, that both images, of Raṅganātha and Nammālvār, were at that time kept on the same pedestal, worshipped with the same vessel (*ekapatra*) and some of Raṅganātha's ornaments were given to Nammālvār.³¹

Having given to the image of Nammālvār some of the Raṅganātha's ornaments, the group left Nammālvār there (in Tirukkaṇṇāmpi) and proceeded with Raṅganātha and his 'family' (*parivāra*) to Tirunārāyaṇapuram (Melkote) via Puṅkanūr, and from there, again, after some time, to Tiruveṅkaṭa (Tirupati). At this juncture in the story, the Chronicle employs the term "circumambulation" (*pradakṣiṇa*) in the context of the long and circuitous journey which started in Srirangam and ended in Tirumala. The image remained in Tirumala for a long time, festively celebrated, and established in the Raṅgamaṇḍapa.³² The text claims that the *maṇḍapa* was constructed by Yātavarāya in 1360 CE.

The story has some continuation in vol. 1, part 1 (p. 175 and following) of the Chronicle, however, it seems to be somewhat mixed up with the story about the first journey to Delhi, since at the beginning of the passage it refers to the Muslim princess mentioned above. When the Sultanate forces that were sent to retrieve the image reached Srirangam, they realized the image was still not back, so they could not take it to Delhi. Thus, being separated from her beloved for too long a time, the princess died.

Even with mixing up of the stories, the passage clearly describes the image's stopover in Candragiri, which is supposed to have preceded the long sojourn

A. S. Jayanth speaks about Vaiṣṇava temple in Nellikode, called Azhvar Trikkovil (dedicated to Nammālvār) and hosting a small shrine of Gośāla Kṛṣṇa. In the opinion of C. K. Ramachandran (a member of the Calicut Heritage Forum and former officer of Indian Administrative Service), the image of Nammālvār was kept there together with some other images that were escaping from Madurai. It is the very same temple where the image of Raṅganātha was hosted. I owe this information to S. A. S. Sarma (EFEO, Pondicherry).

31 This event is remembered and recalled in the Melkote temple when, at the completion of worship, the sacred water (*tīrtha*) is given in the Viṣvaksena shrine to the Śrīraṅganārāyaṇa Jīyar and other officials.

32 The Chronicle says: *intappaṭi tirunārāyaṇapurattileyum anekanāl eḷuntaruḷiyiruntu, pradakṣiṇamākat tiruveṅkaṭattuk keḷuntaruḷi tirumalaiyile bahukālam divyotsavatuṭaṇe eḷuntaruḷiyiruntār.*

in Tirumala itself. According to the text, three people (priests: *koṭavars*) of the image's escort took Perumāḷ and ascended the Tirupati hills, while the rest of the people, fifty-seven in number, went back to Srirangam independently, without being seen by the Sultan's forces. The text refers here to the group that came to Delhi to repossess the image from the Sultan, thus it is also a part of the Delhi journey story.

The subsequent passage seems to refer to the later journey. The Sultan, aware that the image was somewhere in the Tirumala foothills, ordered his soldiers to search the place. The oldest of the three priests, wishing to keep the image hidden, covered it with herbs, held it closely, and ascended the cliff which looked like a hood of a snake. Two other priests, who were his brother-in-law and his son, let him down from the edge of the cliff on a creeper used as a rope. On the way down, the priest got injured severely and died. The brother-in-law and the son then came down with the help of a rope, worshipped Perumāḷ, and performed the last rites for the dead priest. They stayed there secretly for a long time. After the priest's brother-in-law also passed away, the son stayed on in hiding, alone with the image, surviving on roots and bulbs.

Meanwhile, in Srirangam, the inhabitants, with the permission of the Coḷa king, opened the temple door and searched for the image of Aḷakiyamaṇavaḷaṇ Perumāḷ (i.e., Raṅganātha) but could find neither the image nor the priest (*koṭavar*). Therefore, they consecrated another image (called Tiruvaraṅgamāḷikaiyār). They also could not find the goddess (Nācciyār) who had been sent away from Srirangam as well but traveled separately from Raṅganātha; they made another image of her, consecrated it there, and continued the festivals as before using the temporary images.

The next passage goes back to the image's journey, but again mixing the two stories of two different journeys. The image, says the text, having departed from the temple (in Srirangam), stayed for two years at the residence of the king of Delhi, and the remaining time, for a period of nearly sixty years, in the forest which is not named in the text but we suppose it to be the Tirumala hills.³³ After some time, two Iruḷars (members of a local tribe known for their snake and rat-catching skills) found the image near the waterfalls in the foothills of Tirumala. They also found an eighty-year-old brahmin with a head of matted hair, a creeper tied to his waist, and his clothes made of plants. He was serving the image. The two Iruḷars approached the old man and asked him to tell them his story which he narrated, beginning with Srirangam and everything that happened since then. He hoped, with their [Iruḷars'] help, to spread the story of the image among the people and return it to its temple.

33 Referring to such a long period, the passage means the second, 1323–71 journey, and not the shorter, 1311 one. However, the given period of time is too long.



Fig. 5 Singavaram. Photo by Marzenna Czerniak-Drożdżowicz.

The Irulārs narrated this story to the chief of Candragiri town, then took him to where the image was kept. The chief worshipped the image and the old man; he was astonished by what he saw and heard, and took the image and the old man with him to the town. Thereafter the old priest resided in Candragiri along with the image, with the support of the chief.

At that time, the Sultanate forces had spread up to Pāṇḍyamaṇḍalam. Local rulers, according to the text, were Vidyāraṇya of the Rāya dynasty in Ānaikkonti Paṭṭaṇam and Harihararāya who ruled territory reaching up to Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. Harihararāya's agent, Gopaṇa Uṭaiyār, came at that time from Senji to Tirumala to worship Venkatanātha. He worshipped the lord's feet and learned about Raṅganātha image residing in Candragiri. The chief of Candragiri, informed that the Gopaṇa had come to Tirupati, invited him to Candragiri and took him to worship at the place where the image was kept. After staying in Candragiri for some days Gopaṇa took the image of Raṅganātha with him to Singapuram/Singavaram nearby Senji and performed all types of festivities.³⁴

34 It was in the Singavaram Raṅganātha temple, not in the Senji fort itself, where the image was kept. The name of the place appears in several variants such as Chenchi, Ginji or Gingee.

Having heard that the image was in Singapuram, the officials from Srirangam asked Gopaṇa to drive Sultanate forces from Srirangam. As the text observes, Gopaṇa, with an immeasurable force, having fought with the Sultan's army, dislodged it from Srirangam. On the seventeenth day of the month Vaikāci (May-June) in the year Parītāpi (i.e. one of the sixty-cyclic years), in the Śaka year 1293 (1371 CE), he brought back Perumāḷ and Nācciyār to Tiruvaraṅgam (i.e. Srirangam), opened the temple doors, consecrated the images along with Periyaperumāḷ (*mūlamūrti*) and made them available for worship. He announced it on the outer face of the eastern wall called Dharmavarman.³⁵

The *Prapannāmṛta* version

The PA version of the story begins at the moment when Piḷḷai Lokācārya receives the news about Yavanas approaching Srirangam:

A spy presented himself to Lokācārya and then immediately told [him] secretly (*karṇe*) about the arrival of the Yavanas. "Now Yavana with all his powers reached the city of Khaṇḍana (?) and this cruel one certainly will quickly come [here] even today." (PA 120.54–55)³⁶

Piḷḷai Lokācārya decided to ask the eminent teacher, Vedānta Deśika, how to protect Raṅganātha. The great teacher advised him to take the processional image of Raṅganātha and his wife out of the temple and proceed towards Goṣṭhipūra (Thirukoshtiyur) near Sivaganga. Then he advised the devotees to return to the temple and he protected the entrance to the *garbhagr̥ha* by walling the doorway with bricks.³⁷

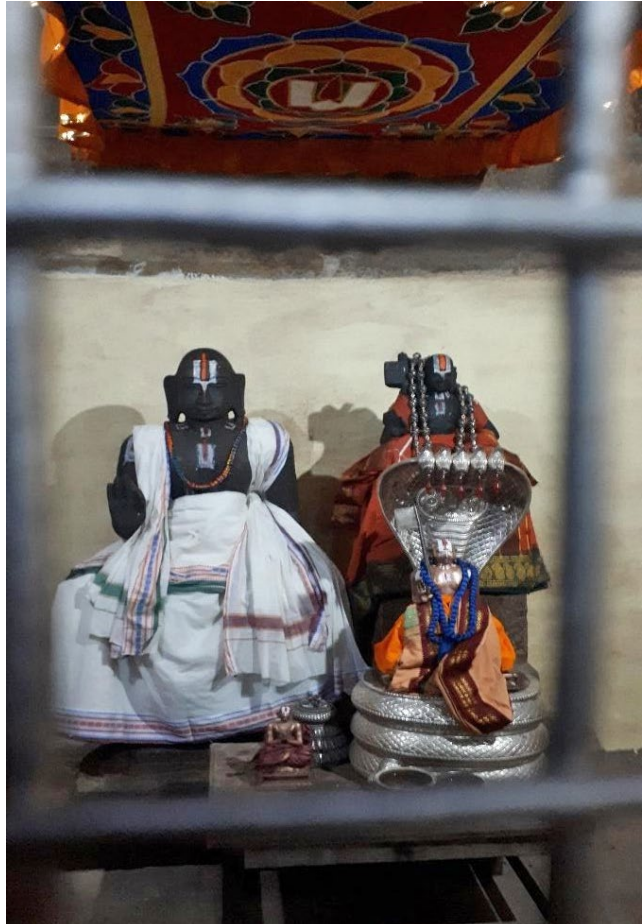
35 *ānīyānilaśṛṅgadyutiracitajagadrañjanādañjanādreh |*
señjyāmārādhyā kañcit samayamatha nihatyotdhanuṣkaan ||
lakṣmīkṣmābhyāmubhābhyām saha nijanīlaye sthāpayan raṅganātham |
samyagvaryām saparyām kuruta nijayaśodarpaṇo kopaṇāryaḥ ||

This is the text known from the above-mentioned Srirangam inscription.

36 For the Sanskrit text of the relevant passage, see Appendix. All translations from PA are mine.

37 PA 120.57–61: "Having heard his words, then, the clever teacher of the world immediately informed [about it] Vedānta Deśika. Then following his [Vedānta Deśika's] order, he took the Lord of Raṅga with His wife, [and] left, following the way to Goṣṭhipūra. Thus things [the situation] slowly improved. Meanwhile, all terrified people quickly took refuge with Raṅga. Having speedily entered [the place of] Raṅga [and] firmly closed the doors, Vedāntārya and others stayed there tormented by fear. So the wise, great Vedānta Deśika, having lighted the whole light in the nearness of the Raṅgaśāyin,

Fig. 6 Tirukoshtiyur. The shrine with figures of Rāmānuja and Pillai Lokācārya. Photo by Marzenna Czerniak-Drożdżowicz.



At the beginning of the next chapter (PA 121.1–5), the Muslim invasion is compared to the mythological story of Kālayavana invading Mathurā.³⁸

The following portion presents an episode connected with the two sons of Sudarśana (i.e. Sudarśanasūri, the famous commentator of the *Śrībhāṣya* and the author of its commentary *Śrutaprakāśikā*/*Śrūtapradīpikā*) who entrusted into the

immediately protected the door of His main shrine by covering [it] with bricks, stayed on [there] with all Śrīvaiṣṇavas.”

The portion of the text (58ab *tadvat taṃ śanakaiḥ samyag abhūt kliṣṭataraṃ tataḥ*) is a bit problematic, thus our translation “Thus things [the situation] slowly improved” is tentative.

38 PA 121.1–5: “Then the Yavana, the enemy of god, speedily set out from Khaṇḍapura to Śrīraṅgam with [his] soldiers. All Yavanas arrived quickly in Śrīraṅgam, just like

hands of Vadānta Deśika (Vedāntārya) his sons and his work, *Śrutaprakāśikā*, to protect them from the invaders. When the Yavanas entered the temple, Vedānta Deśika escaped to Yādavādri (Melkote) together with Sudarśana's two sons and the commentary.³⁹ At that time, the journey of Lokācārya began and the text describes it in the following verses (PA 121.12–21), mentioning the difficulties on the way, such as the looting of god's jewelry by the thieves. When they reached Jyotiṣmatī (Jyotishkudi), Lokācārya, depressed by the news from Srirangam, died. The group proceeded to Sundarācala (Alagar Koil) and after establishing there a well, left for Kerala. There they visited fourteen Vaiṣṇava places and subsequently reached Yādavācala (Melkote), where Raṅganātha was worshipped together with Sampatkumara (processional image of the Melkote temple). Then the Raṅganātha image proceeded to Veṅkatācala (Tirupati/Tirumala) residing there for some time.⁴⁰

Kālayavana in Mathurā, with three hundred thousand [soldiers]. All inhabitants of Śrīraṅgam were stricken with fear of him, in the same way that the inhabitants of Mathurā were afflicted by fear. The inhabitants of Mathurā were thinking of going to Dvārakā as did Lord Kṛṣṇa by the power of yoga. Similarly, imitating this, indeed, the Lord of Raṅga decided for the inhabitants of Śrīraṅgam to go to Vaikuṇṭha." Kālayavana, according to the stories known, for example, from the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* and *Harivaṃśa*, invaded Mathurā with Yavanas against Kṛṣṇa.

39 PA 121.6–11: "Then the learned, old man named Sudarśana, born in the Kūravaṃśa, the wise one, having approached Vedāntārya of great splendour [and saying to him] 'Save [my] two sons', handed the two sons quickly over to him. All-knowing Vedāntārya, having agreed to protect for the good of the world, took the two sons, as well as his [Sudarśana's] work, the *Śrutaprakāśikā*, and guarded [them] out of compassion of Raṅgeśa. Then, having broken the solid doors by force, the mighty Yavanas thrust their way into Raṅga's [place]. All the sinless Vaiṣṇavas were slain by the killers of Brahmins, [but] there was the superiority of those living there [the Vaiṣṇavas] over the Yavanas. Having taken the *Śrībhāṣya* (commentary) and two sons of Sudarśana [given] to Vaṅkateśa, the wise one [namely the said Veṅkateśa] went then to the Yedavādri (Melkote)."

40 PA 121.12–21: "Raṅgeśa, in the company of Lokācārya, moved quickly by a difficult forest path to the region of Pāṇḍyas. There, the whole wealth of Raṅgin was taken away by the thieves. Lokārya, going in front, even after hearing about it, was not afraid. He, the wise one, came quickly [and] with respect gave himself his wealth to these thieves (*corajana*). The Lord of Raṅga, together with Lokārya, reached the town of Jyotiṣmatī. Then, having heard the whole story of the place (*kṣetra*) of Raṅga and Raṅgin, resigned Lokārya reached the highest abode. Raṅgeśa was very unhappy because of separation from Lokācārya. Having left the town of Jyotiṣmatī (Jyotishkudi), Raṅgarāṭ ("the Lord of Raṅga" (Srirangam)) went toward Sundarācala (Alagar Koil). Having established there one well in his name, [he] left the region of Pāṇḍya [and] went to the Kerala country. In no time, having seen fourteen Viṣṇu places in Kerala, Raṅgarāṭ together with his wife took refuge in Yādavācala (Melkote). After residing there for some time with the lord of Yādavācala, Saṃpatputra and his wife, Raṅgeśa, the Lord of the world, Lord Raṅgin quickly came to Veṅkatācala (Tirumala). Raṅgeśa

The above description of the PA does not give many details and does not mention the names of all the places visited by Raṅganātha. Nevertheless, the main locations are briefly referred to. The Keralan episode is very cursorily described and although according to the text, the image visited fourteen places of Viṣṇu worship, none of them is mentioned by name.

The next passage takes us back to Srirangam and brings up the story of saving the temple by a canny devotee named Narasiṃhadeva. The latter, pretending friendship with the chief of Yavanas, saved the rest of Vaiṣṇavas of Srirangam from death. The text proceeds with the story of a devoted woman and her son named Śrīśailanātha. He, being desirous of women (*yuvatī janalolupah*) and not knowing what is good and what is bad (*kṛtyākṛtyena na vedāryaḥ sa dvijo*), approached the teacher from the Kūra family. When the teacher died, Śrīśailanātha who received, due to his devotion, a new name—Satputra (Virtuous Son), went to Melkote. It is there that the *Śrībhāṣya* was created by Rāmānuja (Yatirāja), and then handed down to Satputra, who lived there for some time. Satputra transmitted the commentary to Vedānta Deśika, who introduced it in Śrīraṅgam after the Raṅganātha image returned there.

In the subsequent passage, the text goes back to Raṅganātha's return to Srirangam. It mentions Govana (i.e., Gopaṇa) who was asked in a dream by god himself to conquer Mlecchas (Yavanas) and to bring back the Raṅganātha image. Govana did so and reestablished the image in the temple. Vedānta Deśika, having also come back to Srirangam, created one verse for Govanārya, which was inscribed on the wall of Raṅgaprākara. He also introduced “in the world” the text of Rāmānuja and its commentary, *Śrutaparakāśikā*.⁴¹

was worshipped in the Veṅkaṭala by Śrīnivāsa (Viṣṇu Veṅkatanātha) [and] resided [there] for some time happily, free from the fatigue of the travelling.”

- 41 PA 122.1–13: “At that time, in the city of Nārāyaṇa (Tirupati), a righteous devotee of Viṣṇu, named Govana, was ruling the country in righteousness. In the night dream, the Lord, the ruler of Śrīraṅgam satisfied with the vigorous one called Govana, uttered a pleasing speech: ‘On my order, by conquering with your own strength the whole power of the Mlecchas, bring my lord of Raṅga to the place of Raṅga, O mighty one.’ Then, the one named Govana, filled with amazement, got up from sleep, mounted Veṅkaṭācala, and bowed to Raṅgeśa. Hearing the whole story from the mouth of his priest, he respectfully stood in front of Raṅgeśa, the lord Hari who was accompanied by Lakṣmī and Bhū (Kṣmā). [Then] the mighty one proceeded to the city of Raṅga at the auspicious time. He, the wise Govana, reached the city of Seṇji and learning of the strengths and weaknesses of the Yavana through skillful spies, decided to go there at night together with the lord of Raṅga. In the best time, having conquered the whole enfeebled power of the Mlecchas, he, the one named Govana, of great splendour and great power, established this lord of Raṅga, as previously, in the city of Raṅga and rejoiced. The noble Vedānta Deśika arrived at Śrīraṅgam and created, with respect, the auspicious praise to glorious Raṅgeśa and, invented one *śloka* for Śrī Govanārya.

History in the service of religion

How exactly was Raṅganātha's journey used by the Chronicle's compilers and the author of the hagiography? The content of the two texts I have referred to above is definitely the result of conscious efforts on the part of the authors, as the texts were created in order to strengthen their tradition, to advertise their uniqueness and grandeur, to introduce well-known and distinguished personages into the story, and to show the connections between certain places.

In the case of the Chronicle, the obvious lack of reverence for the precise facts is attested to by the confusion regarding dates and the mixing up of the stories. The same is also visible in the case of the Tirumala chronicle, which gives yet another date for Muhammad bin Tughluq's raid and also claims that the image spent eight years in Senji before reaching Tirumala itself.

The story about the priest saving the image in the Tirumala hills even at the cost of his life (hence, emphasizing the theme of an ardent devotee saving the god at all costs), suites the Chronicle's both stories about two different peregrinations of the image (one connected with Malik Kafur's raid dated 1310 and the second, of Muhammad bin Tughluq's, dated 1323). For the Chronicle, Raṅganātha's journey in the years 1323–71 is an important element of the temple's history in reference to its sacred processional image. Additionally, it is another opportunity to present an example of god's mighty and divine intervention, as well as the interrelation between the god and his devotees cooperating in times of distress. Thus, the story fits into the tasks and specificities required of this type of text.

The Tirumala hills/Candragiri story does not appear in the PA. The reason could be that the PA is more focused on the Śrīvaṣṇava teachers' role not only in saving the image (in deciding how to protect the image) but especially in saving the central text of the tradition, namely, the *Śrībhāṣya* of Rāmānuja and its commentary, the *Śrutaprakāśikā*. The story about its saving by Vedānta Deśika, who travelled with two sons of Sudarśanasūri, creates a kind of frame story for the image's peregrinations. The passages from the PA evoke the involvement, connections, and respectful relations among the Vaiṣṇava *ācāryas* such as Rāmānuja, Veṅkatanātha, Piḷḷai Lokācārya and Sudarśanasūri who were representatives of

Even today this *śloka* is seen in the Raṅgaprākara: 'Having taken [Raṅganātha] from the Añjana mountain which gives colour to the world, embellished with splendour of the dark summit, in Cenji having worshipped [Him] for some time, then having conquered the Turks with raised bows, Govanārya, properly established Raṅganātha together with both Lakṣmī and Kṣmā in the innate place (Srirangam) attaining the glory by the previously unseen conduct and worship.' At that time the great Vedānta Deśika introduced in the world the *Śrutaprakāśika* commentary for Bhagavat, the commentary which was created by Kurukeśa (Rāmānuja; and then collected by Sudarśana Sūri) and greatly renowned. It is known that the son of Veṅkaṭeśa was Varadārya."

both Śrīvaiṣṇava communities of the Teṅkalais and the Vaṭakalais. Thus, it makes sense that in this version the connection of Srirangam with Melkote is also emphasized. This is done not only through the account of the visit of Raṅganātha's image during his escape, but also by referring to Melkote as the location in which Rāmānuja lived for some time and created the texts that are very important for the Srirangam temple tradition. On the whole, the hagiography is concentrated on the role of the teachers and the fate of the important texts of the tradition. In comparison, this element of the story is not at all present in the Chronicle's version (although it was known to the present-day editor, who mentions it in his notes, the Chronicle vol. I: 470).

In both sources, only some stages of the journey are more elaborately described, such as the episode about particular priests' involvement in rescuing the image and some historical personages' role in dislodging the invaders from the temple.

In the Chronicle, which is predominantly connected with the temple life, the priests, especially Śrīraṅgarājanātha Vādhūla Deśikar, presented also as members of the lineage of the temple's officiating priests, were the ones deciding how to protect the temple and the image. Instead of relying on the advice of the religious teachers, they asked the god directly by resorting to the custom of divination called *tiruvuḷḷaccīṭṭu*. As the text states, it was the Lord himself, Śrīraṅgarājanātha, who sent Piḷḷai Lokācārya away with the images, and who protected the main shrines by way of additional walls. Thus, in this version, the role of the priests and temple officials is decisive.

In contrast, the hagiography stresses the role of Vedānta Deśika in deciding the mode of action in the face of the Sultanate forces' attack, which is compared with the mythical story of the oppression of Mathurā by Kālayavana. The Srirangam episode introduces also the concern for the *Śrutaparakāśikā* commentary, which, as we already know, is important for this hagiography.

The Keralan episode is described much more thoroughly in the Chronicle than in the hagiography, which barely mentions it. The former connects the journey with yet another Vaiṣṇava saint, Nammālvār, who, in the form of his image, joins Raṅganātha on his journey. The story about the Nammālvār image falling into the sea brings up once again the theme of supernatural intervention, by its retrieval through the help of an eagle. Nammālvār's image accompanied Viṣṇu up to Tirukkannampī, and, as the Chronicle claims, this has left some traces in the ritualistic practice in the nearby Melkote temple which was the next stage of the journey. The Chronicle highlights the fact that Nammālvār's image was kept together with Raṅganātha's on the same platform. Hence, the role of the Ālvārs for the South Indian Vaiṣṇavas is being reiterated and emphasized.

Melkote is another point of importance for the Chronicle, not only due to our story, but also because it is where, during the first 'journey' (in 1311 CE, to Delhi), the Muslim princess (according to the Melkote version known from PA) was

reunited with the image of god and became one with him, and therefore she has a shrine there. According to the Chronicle's version (of the second journey), Raṅganātha's image stayed there for several years, being honored by the devotees.

In comparison, in the PA, Melkote is mentioned briefly as a stop in Raṅganātha's journey, where he resided for some time with the Melkote processional image (Saṃpatputra). Yet this version emphasizes Melkote's importance as the place where Rāmānuja handed down to the disciples his *Bhāṣya*. The PA dedicates several chapters to Rāmānuja's Melkote episode, thus his stay on the Yādavādri—the Mountain of the Yādavas—is also fully acknowledged in chapters 44–51. In the PA, Melkote is also the place to which Vedānta Deśika and the sons of Sudarśanasūri took the *Śrutaprakāśikā*, the text which was later introduced “all over the world” (*jagatyām bhūri viśrutam*). This element of mentioning previous generations of religious teachers is also typical for hagiographical works.⁴²

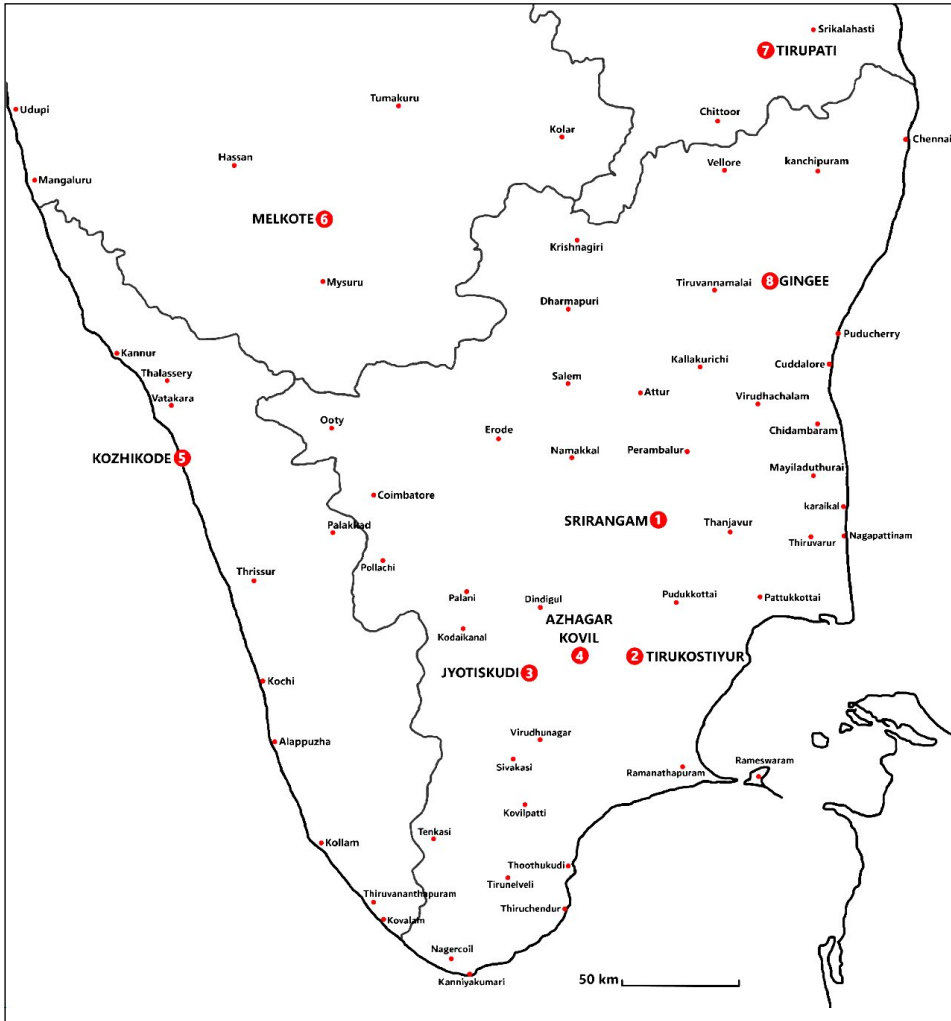
Worth noting is also the usage of the meaningful term *pradakṣiṇa* in the context of the journey. It appears in the Chronicle when the text recounts the travel of the image from Melkote to Tirupati and its “proceeding to Tiruveṅkaṭa (Tirupati) as a circumambulation (*pradakṣiṇa*) and reaching Tirumala”⁴³. The term *pradakṣiṇa* denotes circumambulation and, in the temple context, it refers to the clockwise movement of the devotees around the main shrine. Looking at the map presenting the places mentioned in both our texts, we can see that indeed, the route is more or less circular and covers all cardinal and intermediate directions.

The use of this term locates the journey in the domain of the custom of circumambulating the most holy spot, which from the point of view of the Chronicle is Srirangam. It also can allude to the concept of visiting and, through this, conquering the main four directions and the regions around it—the *digvijaya*. This appellation appears also in the hagiographical works referring to the great kings, religious teachers, and philosophers visiting places located in all directions of the subcontinent and through this extending the domain of their influence.⁴⁴

42 Dutta (2014: 102), while speaking about the mutual profits of the rulers and the Vaiṣṇava temple, writes: “In this context, the notion of a lineage emanating from the Ālvārs, Rāmānuja, and even Rāmānuja's close disciples became significant. The hagiographers through their narratives in addition to delineating Rāmānuja as the most prominent *ācārya* also delineated the disciples of Rāmānuja and prominent *ācāryas* on the basis of their avowed proximity to him. Therefore, associating or attaching to one of the ancestries of these Ālvārs and *ācāryas* on the part of the Śrīvaiṣṇava religious leaders provided a reference point to project themselves as legitimate religious authority and lay claim over the temple resources and honours.”

43 For the quote see fn 32.

44 See, for example, Sax (2000: 43), where he writes: “In literary representations of the practice, the *digvijayi* usually moves through the area he desires to conquer by an auspicious and powerful *parikrama* (circumambulatory movement) (...).” See also Nowicka 2016 and Nowicka 2017.



Map. 1 The map by Mohan Ramesh (EFEO, Pondicherry).

Through the usage of the term *pradakṣiṇa*, often associated with the *digvijaya*, the Chronicle could allude to the strategy used purposefully to underline and reinforce the position of Srirangam but also to present the journey as if it were not an escape but a deliberate expedition of the god in his movable representation. The inclusion of the Kerala episode makes the glory of Srirangam active and effective also in the country where the Tamil-bound tradition was less popular.

To sum up, in the sources we chose to analyze, only some stages of the journey were more thoroughly described. The choice of these places could have been intentional. They could have been chosen for some particular reasons, for

example, in consideration of their remote and safe location, solicitations of local chieftains/priests or local communities who wanted to host the image, or it could have been deliberate decisions of the priests transporting the image. The authors of the texts important for their tradition added value to some of them, dedicating to the chosen locations more space in their narratives.

At least three of these locations, namely, Srirangam, Melkote, and Tirupati were influential, well-established Vaiṣṇava holy spots. By dedicating longer passages to them, the texts of the tradition emphasized their role but also their interconnectedness as well as friendly coexistence, both factors allowing them to consider the locations as appropriate places to host the image. Sectarian affiliations could both facilitate but also impede the relations between the places. We may notice, for example, that Srirangam itself has a Pāñcarātra Teṅkalai affiliation⁴⁵, but the priests belong to both sects, while the Tirupati temple, being of the Vaikhānasa tradition affiliation, is Vāṭakalai in the case of the priests, and Teṅkalai in regard to the Jiyars, the heads of the *maṭha*, who supervise the temple. Thus, both traditions and their sects are present in these places, which could have made the contact between them more complicated.⁴⁶ Viraraghavacharya (2003: 118), very briefly and imprecisely mentioning the visit of Raṅganātha in Tirupati while referring to the Raṅgamaṇḍapa within the Tirupati temple premises, notices the problems of different affiliations. Since only the *utsavamūrti* was brought to Tirupati, he says, the *mūlamūrti* was locally manufactured and installed. This enabled the worship of god according to the Pāñcarātra rules which differ from the Vaikhānasa rules of the Tirumala temple. This event left its impact on the ritual order of the temple and introduced “many festivals which were before foreign to the Vaikhanasas.”

Another connecting element is the role of Rāmānuja and other important Śrīvaiṣṇava personages who visited these places and left their impact on the temple life. For example, one of the crucial inputs of Rāmānuja was the introduction of the Pāñcarātrika mode of temple worship in most of the Vaiṣṇava temples of South India, and in Srirangam; in addition, he structured the administration prescribing different rights and obligations to different groups of temple functionaries. He also spent several years in Melkote where some of his writings were created. Veṅkatanātha/Vedānta Deśika, in turn, was responsible for reintroducing in Srirangam rules created by Rāmānuja after the break caused by the raids of the Sultanate forces. He was also the one to protect the scripture authored by Rāmānuja as well as its commentaries through his escape from Srirangam to Melkote together with Sudarśanasūri's sons.

45 It is through Śrīraṅganārāyaṇa Jiyar Maṭha.

46 The sectarian differences and rivalry as well as takeovers are beyond the scope of the present article.

In addition, the role of the political situation in this process of connecting particular places at the time of the second journey (1323–71) should not be overlooked, for example, the growing power of the Vijayanagara dynasty present in the region. There were relations of different kinds between the rulers and the temple priests and functionaries in different holy spots.⁴⁷ Thus, their supporting each other was a common practice. In the case of the image's journey, it is the presence of the Vijayanagara forces in the Tirupati region, making it a safe place for offering sanctuary to one of the most distinguished forms of Viṣṇu, that established the link and enabled the priests to consider Tirupati/Tirumala as the final destination. It made possible the escape, peregrinations of the image, its long stay in the Vijayanagara-protected Tirupati, and, finally, after the subsequent vanquishing of the Sultanate forces by Vijayanagara in Srirangam, the safe return of the image to Srirangam.

Conclusions

The authors of the Chronicle and the hagiography, in addressing the past events presented above, set different goals for their texts. Their goals are evident in the choice of points of elaboration and emphasis, and the ways of presenting them.

The Chronicle is more detailed in describing the journey. It concentrates more on the role of the priests and the devotion of the people to the extent of even risking their lives, staying in Srirangam, or protecting the image in the wilderness of Candragiri. It also, expectedly, views Srirangam as the central point of reference and attention, even suggesting an interpretation of the image's peregrinations as *pradakṣiṇa*. In mixing the stories of two different journeys, in one of which a Muslim princess falls in love with the image, it even suggests that the Sultan's forces were impressed and affected by the glory of God. Thus, the story exemplifies the ineluctable power of God—the Muslim princess dedicated her life to following the image and staying with it forever.

The PA treats the journey more briefly since Srirangam and its history are not at the center of its attention and the sections dedicated to the journey concentrate

47 Referring to relations between Vijayanagara rulers and the temple (however, in this passage, in the post-journey times), Dutta (2014: 102) speaks about the mutual interests of both groups: "It is worth examining the relationship between the temples' primary benefactors (the Vijayanagar rulers and chiefs) and the sectarian leaders enmeshed in temple politics. On one hand, both needed and took support from each other; on the other hand, sectarian rulers used the temple as a base for building power and were also in a position to make endowments."

more on several Śrīvaiṣṇavācāryas and their role in the protection of the texts of the tradition.

Even if not well known and difficult to trace in detail, the story was creatively and efficiently used by the authors of these two texts to achieve some of their goals.⁴⁸ These goals, such as establishing and highlighting the role of the great teachers or the role of a particular temple and its priests, remind, create, and underline the connections among different Vaiṣṇava spots. The topic of the journey of the image creates an opportunity to evoke the varied relations of these places. Some of the places had already been in contact, being important Vaiṣṇava centres visited by the Ālvārs and then the Śrīvaiṣṇavācāryas. The route of the journey included also some places of lesser visibility in the community, but useful as safe places of rescue. In addition, being dispersed over a bigger region, the very mention of these places could be used to prove the breadth of influence of a particular temple and a particular form of god. These widely scattered spots also enable the authors of the texts to show the route as a circular peregrination of the god exemplifying his might and influence. The connections, be they real or imagined and constructed by the authors of the discussed texts, accentuate relations and nets of connections between holy spots often present in the South Indian religious literature.

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48 At the present stage of our knowledge, we cannot exclude that the local *māhātmyas*, if any, mention this event. If so, it would shed some more light on the reasons for choosing particular places and could speak for special bonds between some of the locations perceived as appropriate and safe while providing additional data about affinities between other Vaiṣṇava sacred spots.

Appendix

Prapannāmṛta chapter 120

lokācāryasya nikaṭaṃ kaścic cāraḥ samāgataḥ || avocat sahasā karṇe yavanāgamanam tadā ||54|| idānīm yavanah prāptaḥ sabalaḥ khaṇḍanam puram || āgamiṣyaty ayaṃ kṣudro hy atraivādyaśu niścayaḥ ||55|| pratigrhya vacas tasya sahasā nipuṇas tadā || vedāntadeśikāyaiva tan nivedya jagadguruḥ ||56|| tacchāsanāt sa raṅgeṣaṃ samādāya sadārakam || tadgoṣṭhīpurapanthānam anusṛtya yayau tadā ||57|| tadvat taṃ śanakaiḥ samyag abhūt kliṣṭataraṃ tataḥ || tenodvignāḥ prajāḥ sarvā raṅgaṃ viviśur añjasā ||58|| praviśya sahasā raṅgaṃ dṛḍham baddhvārāṇi (?) ca || vedāntāyādayas sarve tasthus tatra bhayārditāḥ ||59|| tatas tatrāñjasā dhīmān mahān vedāntadeśikah || akhaṇḍadīpaṃ prajvālya sannidhau raṅgaśāyinaḥ ||60|| tadgarbhāsadanadvāram iṣṭikābhīḥ pidhāya ca || palāyan aparas tasthau sarvāḥ śrīvaiṣṇavais saha ||61|| iti śrīprapannāmṛte śrīraṅgavāsināṃ yavanabādhāprāptir nāma viṃśatyadhikam śatatamo 'dhyāyaḥ ||

Prapannāmṛta chapter 121

yavanah khaṇḍanapūrāt sa tadā devakaṇṭakaḥ || niryayau sainikais sārḍham śrīraṅgaṃ prati satvaram ||1|| yavano yavanais sārḍham agāc chrīraṅgam añjasā || mathurāṃ kālāyavanah koṭibhis tisrbhir yathā ||2|| śrīraṅgavāsinas sarve bhayārtās tena te janāḥ || yathaiva bhayam āpannā mathurāpuravāsinah ||3|| mathurāvāsināṃ teṣāṃ dvārakāprāpaṇe manah || yathā cakāra bhagavān chrikṛṣṇo yogamāyayā ||4|| tataiva raṅgarājo 'pi śrīraṅgapuravāsinām || cakāra tena vyājena vaikuṇṭhaprāpaṇe manah ||5|| tadā sudarśano nāma bhaṭṭāryaḥ kūravaṃśajāḥ || vṛddhaḥ sametya matimān vedāntāryaṃ mahaujasam ||6|| putradvayaṃ ca rakṣeti tasya hasteñjasā [haste 'ñjasā?] dadau || vedāntāryas sa sarvajñas tatputradvayam añjasā ||7|| śrūtaprakāśikāṃ caiva tatkr̥tīm lokarakṣane || amṡikṛtya rarakṣātha raṅgeśakṛpayā tadā ||8|| tato nirbhidyā sahasā kapāṭāni dṛḍhānyapi || viviśuḥ sahasā raṅgaṃ yavanā balavattaraḥ ||9|| brahmaghñair nirhatās sarvaṃ vaiṣṇavā vītakalmaṣāḥ || tatra sthitās tair yavanair viśeṣam abhavat tadā ||10|| śrībhāṃṣyaṃ veṃkaṭeśasya sudarśanasutadvayam || samādāyāñjasā dhīmān yādavādriṃ tadā yayau ||11|| lokācāryasahāyena raṅgeśaḥ pāṇḍyamaṇḍalam || prasthe sahasāraṇyavartmanā durgamena ca ||12|| sarvaṃ ca raṅgiṇas tatra corair apahr̥taṃ dhanam || agrayāi sa lokāryas tac chrutvāpi na vivyathe ||13|| tatra gatvāñjasā dhīmān svakīyaṃ dhanam ādarāt || tasmai corajanāyaiva pradadau svayameva saḥ ||14|| jyotiṣmatīpuraṃ prāpa lokāryeṇa sa raṅgarāt || raṅgakṣetrasya vṛttāntaṃ taṃ sarvaṃ raṅgiṇas tadā ||15|| śrūtvā saviṣṇulokāryaḥ prepede paramaṃ padam || lokācāryaviyogena raṅgeśo bhṛśaduḥkhitaḥ ||16|| jyotiṣmatīpuraṃ hitvā prapede suṃdarācalam || kūpaṃ svanāmnā tattraikaṃ vidhāya ca sa raṅgarāt ||17|| vihāya pāṇḍyakaṭakaṃ keralam deśam abhyagāt || caturdaśa vilokyāśu viṣṇusthānāni keralē ||18|| sadāro raṅgarāt śīghraṃ prapade yādavācalam || yādavācalanāthena saṃpatputreṇa sādaram ||19||

sthitvātha tatra raṅgeśaḥ kañcitkālāṃ jagatpatiḥ || ājāgāmāñjasā raṅgī bhagavān veṃkaṭācalaṃ ||20|| pūjitaḥ śrīnivāseṇa raṅgeśo veṃkaṭāle || nivṛttādhvaśramas tasthau kiñcitkālāṃ yathāsukham ||21||

[...]

devādhipaḥ samāhutaḥ śrīśaileśasamanvitaḥ || yādavācalamāsādyā yatirājasya san-nidhau ||42|| kṛṣṇapādakṛtaṃ bhāṣyaṃ pradadau premapūrvakaṃ || satputradevarā-jādiśiṣyebhyaś ca mahāyaśāḥ ||43||

[...]

tadā raṅgeśvaraḥ śrīmāñ chrīraṅgagamanonmukhaḥ || babhuva bhagavān dṛṣṭvā kalyāt-makam idaṃ jagat ||52||

***Prapannāmṛta* chapter 122**

govano nāma dhatmātmā kaścīd bhāgavatottamaḥ || śaśāsa rājyaṃ dharmeṇa nārāyaṇapūre tadā ||1|| tasya prasanno bhagavān svapne śrīraṅganāyakaḥ || vyājahāra śubhaṃ vākyaṃ govaṇākhyāṃ mahaujasam ||2|| hatvā mlecchabalaṃ sarvaṃ svabalena madāññayā || raṅ-gasthalaṃ prāpayādyā raṅgeśaṃ māṃ mahābala ||3|| tataḥ svapnāt samuthāya govaṇākhyāḥ savismayaḥ || veṃkaṭācalam āruhya śrīraṅgeśaṃ praṇamya ca ||4|| tadaracakamukhāt sarvaṃ jñātvā vṛttāntam ādarāt || raṅgeśam agre samsthāpya lakṣmīkṣmāsahitaṃ harim ||5|| pratasthe raṅganagaraṃ sumuhurte mahābalaḥ || sa sañjīnagaraṃ prāpya prājño gov-aṇabhūmipaḥ ||6|| yavanasyāśu nipuṇaiś corair jñātvā balābale || raṅgeśasahitaṃ tasmān nirgatya niśi niścalaḥ ||7|| sarvaṃ mlecchabalaṃ hatvā niḥśepaṃ samaye vare || raṅgeśaṃ raṅganagare taṃ pratiṣṭhāpya pūrvavat ||8|| tutoṣa sumahātejā govaṇākhyo mahābalaḥ || vedāntadeśikaḥ śrīmāñ chrīraṅgaṃ prāpya sādaram ||9|| maṅgalāsāsanam kṛtvā raṅgeśāya mahaujase || śrīgovaṇāryaviṣayaṃ ślokaṃ ekam akalpayat adyāpi raṅgaprākāre sa ślokaḥ paridrśyate ||10|| āñyānilāśrṅgaddyutiracitajagadrajanād añjanādreś ca jāṃ [Cañji? Gingee] ārādhya kiñcitsamayam atha nihatyoddhanuṣkāṃs turuṣkān || lakṣmīkṣmābhyām ubhābhyām saha nijanilaye sthāpayan raṅganāthaṃ samyak caryāsaparyāpunarakṛtayaśaḥprāpaṇo govaṇāryaḥ ||11|| śrutaprakāśikābhāṣyaṃ bhagavadviṣayaṃ ca yat || kurukeśakṛtaṃ bhāṣyaṃ mahān vedāntadeśikaḥ ||12|| pravartayāmāsa tadā jagatyāṃ bhūri viśrutam || veṃkaṭeśasya putro 'bhūd varadārya iti śrutaḥ ||13||

Abbreviations

PA	<i>Prapannāmṛtam</i>
SII	South Indian Inscriptions
TTD	Tirupati Tirumala Devasthanam

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