CHAPTER-III

THE LIFE AND LITERARY CONTRIBUTION OF ŚANKARADEVA

0.3.1 Ancestors and Genealogy of Śańkaradeva:

The tradition of writing and preserving of the genealogy of any family is a good sign of Assamese nationalty. As result of this tradition, the records of ancestors of Śańkradeva have been found in black and white in his litenary creations. Śankaradeva himself has written about his ancestors like this: "Durlavnārāyana (the king of kamatā kingdom) had settled up Devīdās alias candibar at Bardovā. Candibar has a son namely Rājdhar, Rājdhar had a son-Surjyabar by name. The latter had also a son called kusumbar and Śańkaradeva was the son of kusumbar." ¹⁴ Śańkaradeva describes about his forefathers in his Rukminī-Haraņa kāvya, besides in seven occasions in his literary creations. 15 It is to be noted here is that he only narrated about his forefathers starting onwards from Candibar in Rukminī-Haraņa kāvya. In other seven occasions he describes his genealogy downward from Rājdhar. Assamese hagiographies also mention the ancestors of Śańkaradeva. According to one hagiography, Śańkaradeva is the decendent of Atri sect. Pūrnānanda was the first of Śankaradeva's forefathers. Brahmagirī was the son of Pūrnānanda, his son (the former) was Candragirī, Candragirī's son was Kṛṣṇagirī, Kṛṣṇagirī's son was Suvarnagirī, Suvarnagirī's son was Rāmgirī, Rāmgirī's son was Hemagirī, and

¹⁴ Chutia, Sonaram & et.al. (1998). *Mahāpuruṣa Śrīmanta Śaṅkaradeva Vākyāmṛta*. p.885

¹⁵ Ibid, p.819, p.317, p.348, p.409, p.546, pp.666-667, pp.973-974

Hemagirī's son was Harigirī. Harigirī had no boy child, but had a girl child, namely Krsnakanti. Her son was Landābar; *Candibar* was the son of Landābar. ¹⁶

0.3.2 Attraction of Durlavnārāyaņa to Candibar:

According to the description of Guru-Carit-Kathā, Caṇḍibar came to Kāmrupa during the reign of Durlavnārāyaṇa¹⁷ the king of Kamatā Kingdom. The said hagiography narrated that a war took place between the king Dulavnārāyana and Dharmanārāyaṇa the king of gaura (gauḍa) for a boundary of land. Both of them were the ardent devotees of Devī Candī, which ultimately paved the way to appear in a treaty between them and became friends to each other. As a result of this treaty, Durlavnārāyana called for a few Brāhmin and Kāvastha families from Dharmanārāyaṇa, since there were no remarkable families of both the two communities. Following his request Dulavnārāyaṇa sent seven Brāhmin and seven *Kāyastha* families of good morality to the Kamatā Kingdom. The family of Candibar was one of the seven Kāyasthas. Names of seven Kāyastha scholars migrated from gauda were Hari, Śrīhari, Śrīpati, Śrīdhar, Cidānanda, Sadānanda and Candibar. On the other hand, the seven reputed Brahmanas were Puruhit Kṛṣṇa paṇḍit, Raghupati, Rāmbar, Lohār, Bayan, Dharam and Mathurā. At the time of worshiping, Candī, she herself appeared before her devotee Candibar and for that reason, King Durlavanārāyaṇa gave him the name 'Devīdās'. Being satisfied with the knowledge of the scriptures and skill of working, the king appointed Candibar as the head of all Brāhmins and Kāyasthas. Once Candibar defeated in a debate with a Bengalī scholar

¹⁶ Bairagi, Cakrapāni. (Orator) & Neog, Maheśwar. (1987). Guru-Carit-Kathā. pp.3-7

¹⁷ Ibid, p. 7 (According to Adward Gait ... He would seem to have ruled at the end of the thirteenth century over the country between the Bar Nadī and the Karatoyā." *A History of Assam*, p. 44.

(Śāntipur Nadiyā) viz. Candra Kavi, organized by Durlavnārāyaṇa in his courtyard for which Candibar's scholarship attracted Durlavnārāyaṇa. 18

0.3.3 Settlement of Bārabhūñā:

Durlavnārāyaṇa settled the fourteen number of families (both Brāhmiṇ and Kāyastha) in a place called leṅgāmāguri towards north of Hājo and to the upper portion of the river Barnadī and were given them the title 'Bhūñā'. According to the Edward Gait, a British Historian, the Seven Brāhmin families and the chief seven Kāyastha families came to be known as 'Bārabhūñā'. It is to mention here is that the epithet 'Bāra' does not mean twelve. 20

0.3.4 Permanent settlement of Candibar at Tembuvānī:

After a few years of their setteling at Lengāmāguri, the Bhūnā headed by Caṇḍībar went upward in search of their better livelihood. They, there after settled at Bhalukāguri, which they arrived at Bhalukāguri, they had to cross through Kājalimukh. They had to reside six months at Bhalukāguri. There, at Bhalukāguri, they faced hurdles in cultivation and so they marched forwards north and began to settle at Kuthārdubi Phetāśimalu. In their new destination, they faced some of plight and so they left that place and arrived at Rowtā. At Rowtā, Candibar breathing his last in the month of puha. Another hagiography narrates the scene in different way. According to this hagiography, Caṇḍībar could learn the conspiracy of Bhutiyā and this compelled him to meet Durlavnārāyaṇa. There after the king asked Caṇḍībar to search for a new place for settlement. In this new search, the king asked two persons

19 Goswami, Malini & et.al.(2012). *Candrakānta Abhidhān* .p.677. (The word 'Bhuñya' or 'bhūyañ' is originated from the Sanskrit word 'Bhūmi'. The title 'Bhūyañ' implies a master of land; there is no any relation with community.

¹⁸ Op.cit, pp.7-9

²⁰ Gait, Edward. (2011). A History of Assam .pp.40-41

²¹ Bairagi, Cakrapani. (Orator) & Neog, Maheswar .(1987). Guru-Carit-Kathā, p. 13

to join with Chandibar in search of new settlement. At last, Caṇḍībar found Tembuvāni to be a suitable place for settlement. According to Śaṅkaradeva's also Caṇḍībar himself established the Tembuvāni village which is later known as Bordovā. He and his family used Tembuvani for their final home. Caṇḍībar, in a later period, asked other Bhūyañ families to be settled with him and his family at Tembuvāni. After spending a few months at tembuvani, Caṇḍībar met his grave. The area of Tembuvāni was very low land for which the paddy fields were damaged due to flood. So, Rājdhar, the son of caṇḍībar left Tembuvāni and re-settled at Ālipukhurī village.²²

0.3.5 Birth of Kusumbar:

Rājdhar got marry devahūti in his early period. For a considerable period of time, they had no issues. Rājdhar was a stern devotee of god Sūrya and as a result, Rājdhar became the father of a boy child. The baby was nomenclatured by Sūryabar. There after they got birth of three issues and were called Jayanta, Mādhav and Halāyudha. The former two issues were twin brothers. Sūryabar got marry Khersutithe daughter of Rām Choudhury and Jayantī. There after three sisters of Khersuti namely gutimāli, Subhadrā and Subhagā were married to three brothers of Sūryabar. Sūryabar and Khersuti spend a issueless life for a considerable period of time. They began worship deities with a desire to have a child of their own. At last, they got a boy issue which was named by Kusumbar. ²³

0.3.6 Birth of Śańkaradeva and determination of Time:

Kusumbar, the grandson of Caṇḍībar was married Satyasandha, the daughter of Anirudha Bhūñā and Saraswatī. The couple gave birth no child for a long period of

²² Thakur, Ramcaran & Duttabarua, Harinarayan (1985). *Guru Carit*.pp. 47-49 (According to Śańkaradeva's also *Caṇḍibar* himself established the Tembuvānī village which is later known as Bardovā. (Śrīmanta Śańkaradeva Vākyāmṛt, Rukmiṇī Haraṇa Kāvyā, p.889, verse 529)

²³ Op. cit, pp.16-17, 20-21

time; so, Kusumbar got his second marriage Anudṛti-the daughter of Śrīpati. The later also did not give birth any child for a few years. At last, worshipping Lord Siva at gopeswar temple of śingari, Kusumbar got a boy child. And hence, the newly born child was named by Śankara.²⁴ Various hagiographies mentioned the time, date and month of Śańkaradeva's birth in different way. According to guru-carit kathā, Śańkaradeva was born in 1371 śaka, in the month of *Kāti*, Thursday, in Full Bright Moon of mid night, in Śravaṇā Nakṣatra. 25 But the Bardovā guru carit narrates that Śańkaradeva was born in the month of *Kāti*, in Full Dark night.²⁶ Rāmānanda Dwija provides a different picture of Sankaradeva's birth in his 'śrīguru carit'. According to the hagiographer, Śańkaradeva came to this world in the month of Falguna, while it was midnight on the 2nd day of Bright forth night.²⁷ On the otherhand, Rāmcaraṇ Thākur mentioned that Śankaradeva was born on the 10th day of the Bright forth night. While the Ahin month passed its fifth day. 28 Dīnanāth Bezbaroā let to know slightly in a different way. He wrote that Śańkaradeva's date, month and year of birth were 5th Āhin and 1371 śaka.²⁹ Maheśwar Neog, on the basis of the 'Kathā-gurucarit' received from ouguri satra fixed the time of Śankardeva's birth. Maheśwar Neog, let to know that he was born on the middle part of the month of $\bar{A}hin$ - $K\bar{a}ti$ (i.e. on the Kāti Bihu, one of three Bihu's of Assam), Thursday, full black day. 30 Late Harendra Deva Goswāmī collected a few reliable documents, such as 'Śrī Śrī Śaṅkar

24 Bairagi, Cakrapani (Orator) & Neog, Maheswar. (1987). Guru-Carit-Kathā. p.17

²⁵ Ibid, p.14

²⁶ Mahanta, Povarām & Borkakati, Sanjib Kumar. (2009). Bardovā Guru Carit. p.21

²⁷ Dwija, Ramananda & Borkakati, S. K. (2014). Śrīguru Carit. p.25

²⁸ Thakur, R. & Duttabarua, H. (1985). Guru Carit. p.77

²⁹ Bezbaroa, Dinanath. (1987). Barcarit. p.9

^{30 (}a) Neog, M (1987). Śrī Śrī Śaṅkaradeva. pp. 21-25

⁽b) Neog, M (2008). Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement in Assam, Śaṅkaradeva and His Times. pp. 21-25

gurur carit puthi' written by Rāmcaraṇ Thākur and preserved at the Barbari Satra, Morigaon district; genealogies of Śrīmanta Śańkaradeva found at Bardova and Korcung Bhotāi village; three genealogies found at Bālisatra, Nowgaon district and 'Gurulīlā' a hagiography written by Caturbhuj Thākur in tulāpāt. In all the hagiographies mentioned above, it was stated that Śańkaradeva was born on the day of Kāti Bihu. Therefore, this is the acceptable date of birth of Śańkaradeva's date of birth was Kāti Bihu. Therefore, this is the acceptable date of birth of Śańkaradeva. It is marked everybody unanimously accepted the year of his birth as 1371 Saka (1449 A.D). After the birth of Śańkaradeva, his step-mother gave birth a boy child and he was named as Haladhar alias Bangāyagirī.

0.3.7 Death of Kusumbar and Satyasandhā:

Śańkaradeva became an orphan in his childhood and so, his grandmother Khersuti looked him up. According to Rāmcaraṇ Thākur Śańkaradeva lost his father Kusumbar when he was a child of seven years only. Rāmānanda Dwija opines to the same way. Cakrapāni Bairāgī remarked that Śańkaradeva's father Kusumbar left this world during Śańkaradeva's childhood and thereafter Kusumbar's wife also marched in the same path. Since, Śańkaradeva was a child at the time of Kusumbar, he therefore, handed over the responsibility of his son to Jayanta and Mādhava, both were his uncles. Later on Jayanta took the whole charge of the Royal affairs.

31 Q.V. Borkakati, S. K. (2013). Pūrnānga Kathā Guru Carit. p. 24

34 Bairagi, C. (Orator) & Neog, M. (1987). Guru-Carit-Kathā. p. 21

³² Thakur, Ramcaran. & Duttabaruā, Harinarayana. (1985). Guru Carit. p. 249

³³ Op. cit, p.28

0.3.8 Childhood of Śańkaradeva:

Śańkara spent his early days with great delight. He passed his life till upto twelve years of age in plays games with his friends. His friends were Jayram, Bitupan, Canda, Titaram, Vekuri, Ketai, Haribar, Satananda, Sanatan, Ramram, Ramrai etc. Śańkara was deeply attracted to the natural beauty since his early days. He was seemed to be pleased to seize the birds with his friends. Sankara seized more birds than his colleagues. It was the habit of Śańkara that after catching the birds he freed them in the forest without any harm done to the birds. Moreover, Śańkara caught various kinds of forest creatures like deer, tortoise etc and freed all like the birds to move freely. Sankara played various kinds of plays with his friends either in the playground or by the river side. He was mastered with the skills of swimming in his childhood. The³⁵ training of swimming which he learnt during his childhood helped him to cross the river Brahmaputra by swimming and that happened in the month of Bhadra itself. 36 It is to mention here is that, since the river Brahmaputra flows nearby Bardovā -- Ālipukhurī, it was habituated to learn the technique of swimming of the children of that locality. In this field of learning, Sankara was above all among his associates.

0.3.9 Schooling of Śańkara:

The ancestors of Śańkaradeva since Caṇḍibar to Kusumbar were the men of pious, religiosity, possessing good character, famous, learned and paṇḍit. Śaṅkaradeva mentioned all the qualities of his ancestors in brief in his literary creations. The sankara, could realized that Śaṅkara should maintain scholarship heritage and family status of his ancestors. So, Śaṅkara was enlighteen to the family status of Kusumbar. He was also taught by Khersuti that the learned and the hard

³⁵ Thakur, R. & Duttabarua, H. (1985). Guru Carit. p. 246

³⁶ Op.cit, p. 21

³⁷ Chutia, S. & et.al. (1998). Mahāpuruṣa Śrīmanta Śankaradeva Vākyāmṛt. p. 558

works are always respected by all. 38 He believed the advises of his grandmother and so requested Khersuti to give admission into a nearly tol. one day Khersuti took Sankara to the tol of Mahendra Kandali with the intention of getting admission to Śańkara. Although, it took time to adjust Śańkara with the hard and fast rules and regulation of the tol, yet within a short period of time, he became a popular student of the teacher Mahendra Kandali. Kandali being attracted by the enthusiasm of Śankara titled the latter with the epithet 'oza' student. Kandali also ordered his other students in the tol not to address Sankara as such, instead he might be called as 'Sankaradeva'. Kandali also kept Śankaradeva out of cleaning the rooms of the tol.³⁹ The students of the tol except Sankaradeva were unhappy and unpleased to the Kandali's nomination of Śankara as the epithet 'deva', besides debarred him from the activities of floor cleaning of the tol. So, they informed the matter Brāhmin Paṇḍit Rāghavācārya, who happened to the tol inspector of that time, relying in complaint of the students Rāghavācārya came to visit the tol and he protested to such a sympathy of Kandali shown to a Sudra like Śankara⁴⁰. Rāmcharan Thākur describes the consequence of this event in the way that Rāghavācārya being feared by unseen element met Śańkaradeva next day at the tol and requested the latter to initiate him⁴¹. Povārām Mahanta also narrated the sequence in the same language as Rāmcaran Thākur does⁴².

Śaṅkaradeva was a poet par excellence. He started his literary activities inspired by noble thoughts and ideals of Mahendra Kandali. Inspired by his teacher

38 Bairagi, C. (Orator) & Neog, M. (1987). Guru-Carit-Kathā. p.22

^{39 (}a) Bairāgī, C. (Orator) & Neog, M. (1987). Guru-Carit-Kathā. p.20

⁽b) Thakur, R. & Duttabarua, H. (1985). Guru Carit. pp. 298-299

⁽c) Mahanta, Puvaram & Borkakati, S. K. (2009). Bardova Guru Carit. p.26

⁽d) Bezbaroa, D. (1987). Barcarit. p.15

⁴⁰ Bairagi, C. (Orator) & Neog, M. (1987). Guru-Carit-Kathā. pp. 22-23

⁴¹ Thakur, R. & Duttabarua, H. (1985). Guru Carit. pp. 300-303

⁴² Mahanta, P. & Borkakati, S. K. (2009). Bardova Guru Carit. p. 26

Kandali, at the age of twelve, Śańkaradeva composed a poem without using any vowels depicting the beauty and attributions of Lord Biṣṇu. The poem popularly known as soft poem runs as *karatala kamala kamala dala nayana* He was highly praised by Mahendra Kandali for composing such an uncommon peom⁴³. According to Dīnanāth Bezbaroā Śańkara composed the poem at the age of five years⁴⁴. The last lines of the poem found in *Barcarit* are unavailable in the other carit puthis. As in the last two the name Śańkar as the composer of the poem in found, so it is obvious that the very poem was composed by Śańkaradeva. On the other hand, during his schooling Śańakaradeva composed the *Hariścandra upākhyāna* on the basis of the *Mārkandya purāṇa*.⁴⁵

Śańkaradeva went through all the classical Sanskrit scriptures during the period of his schooling at Mahendra Kandali's tol. He well versed in the texts like four *Vedas*, fourteen number of religious texts, eighteen *purāṇas*, the same number of kāvyas and lexicography, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata*, several grammar books etc⁴⁶. It cannot be asserted correctly how many years Śańkara had been a formal student of Kandali. It differs from scholar to scholar, hagiography to hagiography. Cakrapāṇi Bairāgī opines that Śańkaradeva studied under Mahendra Kandali for a period of one year only. A Rāmcaraṇ Thākur informs that Śańkardeva on completion of four years study at Kandalis *tol*, he returned home at the age of sixteen years. However, according to the *Āchārya Sańhati*, Śańkaradeva Studied for a period of ten

⁴³ Bairagi, C. (Orator) & Neog, M. (1987). Guru-Carit-Kathā. p.23

⁴⁴ Bezbaroa, Dinanath (1987). Barcarit. p.9

⁴⁵ Op. cit, p. 24

⁴⁶ Bairagi, C. (Orator) & Neog, M. (1987). Guru-Carit-Kathā. p. 24

⁴⁷ Ibid, p.25

⁴⁸ Thakur, R. & Duttabarua, H. (1985). Guru Carit. p.306

years. ⁴⁹ The opinion of Rāmcaraṇ Thākur that Śaṅkaradeva had studied for one year only cannot be believed, on the other hand, the remark of $\bar{A}ch\bar{a}rya$ Saṅhati also is impossible. Therefore, it can easily be granted that Śaṅkaradeva studied for a period of four years. From the above discussion it leads to come to a conclusion that Śaṅkaradeva returned his resident when he attained at the age of sixteen or Seventeen. (1465-66 A.D.) Śaṅkaradeva, after his return of Kandali's tol started learning and practicing the yoga. He, within a short period became well versed in yoga sutras of pantanjali. After acquiring the skills of yoga, he transformed himself a man of strong physique. After learning the doctrines of Bhakti (devotion), he abandoned the practice of yoga for long. ⁵⁰ It can be notice that during his lifespan, he suffered from no disease.

0.3.10 Establishment of Kīrttanghar at Bardovā:

On completion of his formal education Śańkaradeva happened to settle at Ālipukhurī. Thereafter the villages of that locality, one day, met Śańkaradeva and requested him that they desired to re-settle at Ālipukhuri. On their request, Śańkaradeva took all necessary step to transfer and re-settled them at Tembuvāni. The person of Bardovā, according to Dīnanāth Bezbaroā was the growing population. In this regard Maheswar Neog passed a different opinion. According to him, due to the disgraceful atrocious behaviours of Kacharies, it was difficult to carry out administrative activities from Bardovā. So, this compelled first to the office, shifted from Bardovā to Ālipukhuri then Ālipukhuri to Bardovā. When Śańkaradeva used to settle at Bardovā, he first set-up a *Kirttanghar* with a view to live a religious

⁴⁹ Q.V. Neog, Maheswar. (1986). Śrī Śrī Śaṅkaradeva. p. 30

⁵⁰ Ibid, p.25

⁵¹ Thakur, R. & Duttabarua, H. (1985). Guru Carit. p.306

⁵² Bezbaroa, D. (1987). Barcarit. p. 23

⁵³ Neog, M. (1986). Śrī Śrī Śaṅkaradeva. p. 30-31

life. There seems to dispute among the hagiographers regarding the venue and time of setting up of the first kīrttanghar. The remark of Cakrapāṇi Bairāgī is that Sankaradeva built *Harigrha* at Ālipukhuri after he had returned from his first pilgrim, and that took place in a plot of land of Kusumbar which was known as Kathiātali.⁵⁴ The Bardovā Guru Carit does not mention the definite place of the said Harigrha; however, from the narration of the hagiography, it can be assumed that Śańkaradeva established his first kīrttangrha at Ālipukhuri. The hagiographer also passed the opinion that Śankaradeva setup the kīrttangrha just after his return from the first all India tour. 55 According to a description produced by Maheswar Neog Śańkaradeva built the kīrttanghar at Bardovā before he had undertaken his first itinerary. 56 Dembeswar Neog also stood in the same line as Maheswar Neog. 57 Lakşmināth Bezboroā also passed the similar opinion regarding the establishment of kīrttanghar. According to him Sankaradeva laid the foundation of kirtanghar first at Bardovā before he had undertaken his first pilgrim. 58 It is narrated in the hagiography of Rāmcaran Thākur that many people joined in the construction of building the kīrttanghar. Even the inhabitants of Ālipukhuri also associated Śańkaradeva in constructing the kīrttanghar. Śaṅkaradeva himself used spade to dig land to be used to the foundation of the *Nāmghar*. It is also narrated in Ramcaran Thakur's hagiography that during the diging up the soil for constructing the said Nāmghar, it was strange to discover that there emerged an image of Lord Biṣṇu which was installed in the altar of the new constructed *Nāmghar*. ⁵⁹ The setup of the *Nāmghar* at Bardovā had created an

⁵⁴ Bairagi, C. (Orator) & Neog, M. (1987). Guru-Carit-Kathā. p.29

⁵⁵ Mahanta, P. & Borkakati, S.K. (2009). Bardova Guru Carit. p. 31-32

⁵⁶ Neog, M. (1986). Śrī Śrī Śankaradeva. p.31

⁵⁷ Neog, Dimbeswar. (1977). Yoganāyak Śankaradeva. p.312

⁵⁸ Bezbaroa, Laksminath. (1997). Śrī Śrī Śankaradeva āru Śrī Śrī Mādhavdeva. p.22

⁵⁹ Thakur, R. & Duttabarua, H. (1985). Guru Carit. pp. 344-350.

atmosphere to the study of the scriptures and reciting of $N\bar{a}ma-kirtt\bar{a}na$ in the $N\bar{a}mghar$ premises. After construction of the $k\bar{i}rtanghar$ at Bardovā, Śańkaradeva first celebrated the festival of $ph\bar{a}guv\bar{a}$ with great festivity at the age of twenty one. The festival took place in an altar made by the fellowmen nearby the $k\bar{i}rttanghar$. He also composed seven number of songs for that purpose. ⁶⁰ The celebration of $ph\bar{a}guv\bar{a}$ festival was a landmark means to propagate the $N\bar{a}madharma$.

0.3.11 Formulation of $P\bar{a}ln\bar{a}m$ and Construction of $\bar{A}k\bar{a}s\bar{\imath}$ $Ga\dot{n}g\bar{a}$:

After they had settled at Tembuvāni, Sańkaradeva and other members of his family and followers used to spend their times singing the names of Hari with great rejoice. But due to lack of pure and sufficient water nearby area, they found in difficult to live there. They had to carry water from the ponds far away from their residences which gave them much trouble. So, they have informed Śańkaradeva the prevailing problem of water faced by them. Śańkaradeva then advised the devotees and followers to recite the names of Hari one after another group. By this way God will be pleased to them and fulfill their wants. Following the advice of Śańkaradeva, they have started reciting the names of God one after another group of devotees. On the other hand at mid night. Śańkaradeva went to forest and hit the soil by his right leg and sent an arrow toward the sky from a bow. Suddenly water began to flow from the sky making terrible sound and as a result there formed a pond. Thus Śańkaradeva saved the inhabitants of Tembuvāni from the scarcity of water. ⁶¹ The technique bringing water from the sky by unnatural process is beyond the reality which cannot be believed. Regarding the formulation of pond, the critic's wants to opine that the

⁶⁰ Ibid, pp.352-359

^{61 (}a) Bairagi, C. (Orator) & Neog, M. (1987). Guru-Carit-Kathā. p.30

⁽b) Thakur, R. & Duttabarua, H. (1985). Guru Carit. pp.389-391

⁽c) Mahanta, P. & Borkakati, S. K. (2009). Bardova Guru Carit. p.33

⁽d) Bezbaroa, D. (1987). Barcarit. pp. 38-40

same pond may be a result of earthquake or earlier there might have any pond.⁶² It is certain that due to natural disaster, the said pond came into existence which has a scientific base.

0.3.12 Creation of Cihna Yātrā:

One day the grandfather of Śańkaradeva such as Jayanta and Mādhava and noted Brāhmins met him. Śankaradeva was at that time a young boy of nineteen years. They all requested Sankaradeva to visualize the Vaikuntha through the medium of drama. He then decided to arrange a bhāona with that aim and view. He invited various artists and handed over them the responsibilities to each of them. He deputed Balorām Ātai to inform the blacksmiths of Kapīlimukh to prepare the drum. Ketāikhā was asked to collect cowskin from a cobbler. Thereafter, Sankaradeva himself prepared the scene of seven Vaikunthas. He added there all the dramatic elements, such as the dialogues, dialogues of sutradhar, slokas, Bhatimā etc. Ketāikhā, Rām and seven others were trained up by Śańkaradeva with the art of Bāyan. While Śankaradeva was making the scene of Vaikuntha, he was for a while on the horns of a dilemma as to where to put down the Kalpataru tree in the scene. At that time, Candari, a female servant of Śańkaradeva's family noticed the problem of Śańkaradeva while she had been stretching the boiled paddies in the courtyard and approached him to indicate the position of the said tree in the scene. Sankaradeva expressed his greetings to her for that direction. All the necessary dances were being prepared to perform the drama, all the necessary mask, dresses and vehicles were made by the artists to conduct the drama. He also arranged for lighting the stage. Audience was surprised and delighted when Sankaradeva used to play nine numbers

⁶² Borkakati. S. K. (2003). pūrnānga kathā guru carit. p.52

of drums at a time. Six actors were prepared to be seated in six numbers of Vaikuṇṭhas in the roles of $N\bar{a}r\bar{a}yaṇa$. Śaṅkaradeva himself also took his position as $N\bar{a}r\bar{a}yaṇa$ in the Seventh Vaikuṇṭha. Six male persons were dressed for the role of Lakṣhmī and they took position nearby in each $N\bar{a}r\bar{a}yaṇa$, but in the seventh Vaikuṇṭha which is known as Paṅkaj Vilās Vaikuṇṭha, there were no female consort of $N\bar{a}r\bar{a}yaṇa$; since the said Vaikuṇṭha was free from maya i.e. illusion.

The extra-ordinary performance of the *Cihna-yātrā* was highly satisfied and duly astonished Mahendra Kandali, Rām Rām guru and all other Brāhmiṇ scholars and the audiences. Mahendra Kandali announced before the audience that Śaṅkaradeva is the incarnation of God himself and he should not considered as a *Sudra* rather he is the *Guru* of all the Brāhmiṇs. Thereafter Mahendra Kandali, Rām Rām guru, Caturbhuj, Karṇapur and many other Brāhmin scholars and Bhūñā requested Śaṅkaradeva to initial themselves into his sect. At first Śaṅkaradeva rejected their pray, but finally he agreed to fulfill their desire. Next day, all were initiated to the feet of Bhagavān Śrīkṛṣṇa. That was the first incident of initiation to carry out by Śaṅkaradeva which took place at his nineteen years of age. ⁶³ In this way Rāmcaran Thākur described as to the Cihna Yātrā very broadly. On the other hand Cakrapāni Bairāgī and povārām Mahanta confined the narration very shortly. ⁶⁴ According to powaram Mahanta the performance of the *Cihnayātrā Bhāona* continued for seven days. ⁶⁵ It seems that there is a dispute among the scholars regarding the year of performance. Some opines that the said *Bhāona* was performed

⁶³ Thakur, R. & Duttabarua, H. (1985). Guru Carit. pp. 315-343

^{64 (}a) Bairagi, C. (Orator) & Neog, M. (1987). Guru-Carit-Kathā. pp. 31-32

⁽b) Mahanta, P. & Borkakati, S. K. (2009). Bardova Guru Carit. pp. 35-38

⁶⁵ Ibid (b), p. 37

by Śańkaradeva prior to his first pilgrim, where as another section of scholar wanted to assert the time on completion of his first pilgrim.

0.3.13 Handed over the post of Śiromani Bhūñā and marriage:

Śańkaradeva had been in the post of Śiromaṇi Bhūñā since his return from the tol of Mahendra Kandali. But he had been thinking of giving up that post, which may pave him the way to be engaged himself in business of going through the scriptures and propagating the doctrine of religion. With a view to this, he one day handed over the charge of 'Śiromaṇi Bhūñā' to his grandfathers Jayanta and Mādhava. 66 Thereafter he devoted himself to propagate religion through artistic, cultural and literary activities. When he attained at the age of twenty one, his grandfathers Jayanta and Madhava and other member of the family proposed him for marriage. Sankaradeva agreed to their proposal. He got married to a beautiful girl Suryawatī, the daughter of Harikhā. After one year of their marriage life, Manu was born. But unluckily Suryawatī left this world when Manu was an infant of nine months only. Contrary to this, she met her grave after Manu was married to Hari at the age of thirteen years. 67

0.3.14 Construction of Tembuvāni Dun and Rādhikā Śānti:

The construction of Tembuvāni dun by Śańkaradeva in his life through Rādhikā Śānti is considered as an important event. According to the hagiographies, the paddy fields of cultivators of the locality were damaged each year by the flood flowing through a stream of water near Bardovā. Therefore one day Bāra Bhūñās and other inhabitants of the locality met Śańkaradeva to discuss the matter so that a solution may come out for resisting the dun. Śańkaradeva, after an hour of discussion with them asked all the people of the locality to come out with necessary tools to

(b) Bairagi, C. (Orator) & Neog, M. (1987). Guru-Carit-Kathā. p.25

⁶⁶ Thakur, R. & Duttabarua, H. (1985). Guru Carit. p. 359

^{67 (}a) Ibid, p. 362, pp. 380-381

construct the dun to resist the flow of water. But they failed to resist the flowing of water. Śańkaradeva asked all not to lose their heart and to find out a woman of pure in thought and word. He also warned them that the very chaste must bring water from the river by means of a polo and to pour down the water into the constructed dun. They went home with great thinking that theirs' only would be a chaste. Next day, they informed Sankaradeva about their inability to find out a chaste. At that time, a couple namely Pūrnānanda and Rādhikā were moving by a boat on Loit. They were Kaivarta by caste. Rādhikā somehow could understand their problem and asked her husband to direct the boat towards them. She told her husband that she would be the right woman they have been in search of. She could help in constructing the dun. They met Śańkaradeva and introduced themselves politely their identity. She also pressed her willingness to assist in constructing the dun. Sankaradeva seems to very satisfy and asked her to bring water from the river by polo*. She accordingly brought water and pour down the same in the newly constructed dun. Flowing of water to the paddy fields stopped to flow and thus Śankaradeva upheld the status and dignity of a low-caste woman in the society full of hypocrites. Thereafter, Pūrnānanda and Rādhikā became the followers and disciples of Śańkaradeva and they led a life full of mental peace and tranquility at the feet of Śańkaradeva. ⁶⁸

0.3.15 First pilgrimage:

The tradition of pilgrim in India had been in vogue since time immemorial which still continued to prevail. It is assumed that Śańkaradeva also followed this

* A kind of a bamboo-basket for catching fish

^{68 (}a) Thakur, R. & Duttabarua, H. (1985). Guru Carit. pp.365-372

⁽b) Bairagi, C. (Orator) & Neog, M. (1987). Guru-Carit-Kathā. pp.32-34

⁽c) Mahanta, P. & Borkakati, S. K. (2009). Bardova Guru Carit. pp.32-33

⁽d) Dvija, Dvarikanath & Hazarika, Sujya (2008). Santāvalī. pp.81-89

⁽e) Bezbaroa, D. (1987). Barcarit. pp.34-37

tradition in his life. Of course, his pilgrim cannot be regarded as these of other itinerants in India. He was a completely different in motto and objectives. Moreover, he never visited the holy places in India view to earn some spiritual benefits, rather his visit to the Tirthas as well as sacred places were different. ⁶⁹ Therefore, his pilgrim cannot labelled as general pilgrim; rather it was an all India itinerary. His aim of visiting the Tirthas was not to see them rather to visit the ancient sacred places by himself and to make a deep communication with the scholars of various place of India. Thereafter, during the ripe period of *Bhakti* Movement in India, he visited the tirthas in two times. He also gained of literary and cultured activities of various saints and poets of different parts of India through his extensive all India tour.

His first pilgrim took place in 1481 A.D. when he was a youth of thirty two years of old. ⁷⁰ Of course, Bānīkānta Kākati had passed a opinions that the year of his first pilgrim took place in 1483 A.D. and he was then at the age of thirty four. ⁷¹ According to hagiographer Bhūṣan Dwija, Śaṅkaradeva lost his first wife after had given birth Manu. This incident converts his mind to pilgrim. As a part of his preparation for pilgrim, he first distributed his own three hundred cows to the Brāhmins and one hundred bullocks to the peasants. Moreover, he handover all other unmovable properties to his grandfather Jayanta and Mādhava and kept Bangayāgirī with Hari and Manu. Thereafter, he started his first pilgrim in association with a few of his followers. ⁷² Besides, Śaṅkaradeva handed over the charge of Barbhūñā to Jayanta. ⁷³

^{69 (}a) Chutia, Dharmeswar. (2005). Kirttan-Ghosa. P.27

⁽b) Ibid, p. 53

⁷⁰ Neog, M. (2008). Śaṅkaradeva and his times. p.103

⁷¹ Kakati, Banikanta. (1989). Sankar Deva. p.37

⁷² Dvija, Bhusan & Borkakti Durgadhar (1986). Śrī Śrī Śaṅkaradeva. pp.29-30

⁷³ Bairagi, C. (Orator) & Neog, M. (1987). Guru-Carit-Kathā. P.25

The hagiographers passed different opinions in matters of his companion in pilgrim and their names. Rāmānanda Dwija opines that a few of his companions returned back home after visiting the Jagannāth temple. From Jagannāth only twelve followers were accompanied with Śankaradeva. The hagiographer also mentioned the names of them. 74 According to povārām Mahanta seventeen numbers of followers left with him among which he mentioned the names of only eight persons. ⁷⁵ A different view was provided by Dinanath Bezbaroa. According to him, when Śańkaradeva attained at the age of seventeen, he went to pilgrimage for the first occasion without knowing Khersuti. 76 According to Bezbaroa, only two followers were accompanied with Sankaradeva. However, this is supported by no any hagiographer on the other hand; the exceptional opinion of Bezbaroa cannot be believed to be true. But Cakrapani Bairagi had narrated in this way in his hagiography that Śańkaradeva keeping only eight followers with him, all other itinerants including his teacher Mahendra Kandali were sent back to Bardovā. When Śańkaradeva Started his journey from Jaganñath to the southern pilgrim, only twelve numbers of fellow travellers were with him - they were Rāmrām, Sarvajaya. Paramananda, Baloram, Balabhadra, Gobindra, Narayana, Barsiram, Gopal, Cota Baloram, Mukunda and Murari. 77 But, according to Rāmcaran Thākur, only seven fellow travellers were accompanied with Śańkaradeva.⁷⁸

The description of pilgrim carried out by Śańkaradeva varies from hagiography to hagiography. Daityari Thakur said that Śańkaradeva stayed more days

74 Dwija, Rammananda & Borkakati S.K. (2014). Śrīguru Cari.t p.46

⁷⁵ Mahanta, P. & Borkakati, S. K. (2009). Bardovā Guru Carit p.29

⁷⁶ Bezbaroa, D. (1987). Barcarit. pp.19-20

⁷⁷ Bairagi, C. (Orator) & Neog, M. (1987). Guru-Carit-Kathā. p.23

⁷⁸ Thakur, R. & Duttabarua, H. (1985). Guru -Carit. p.399

in purī Jagannāth. 79 On the otherhand, Bhūṣan Dvija in his hagiography mentions that Śańkaradeva visited most of the holy places in twelve years. Of course, the hagiographer mentioned only a few holly places visited by him, such as Gangā, Gayā and Jagannāth. 80 On the other, his all India pilgrim were extensively narrated by Ramcaran Thakur, upendra Ch. Lekharu, Dinanath Bezbaroa, Ramananda Dwija, Puvaram Mahanta and Cakrapani Bairāgī. 81 Specially the Kathā Carit of Cakrapani Bairagi is full of elaborate narration of his pilgrim. The narration follows such as-Sankaradeva first arrived at Telkupi with his fellow travellers and stayed there for a few days, which followed the visit of Punarbhawā. Bathing at the river kartowā, he gained took his bath Bhagīrathī river. He thereafter arrived at Gayā and returned back to Ganga Ghat. The travellers then marched downward to and arrived at Purī Jagannāth. They again moved to vrndāvan where Śankaradeva came in contact with Rup and Sanatan. From Vrndavan Śankaradeva arrived at Sītākunda with Rup Goswami, his wife and Sanatan. The Group of travellers then started From Sitākuṇḍa to the uttar bāhinī gangā, varāh Ksetra, Puskarinī tīrtha, Mathurā, Dvārakā and returned back to Vrndāvan. There, they used to remain making a hut for themselves by the side of the river Kālindī. After spending a few days at that place, Śaṅkaradeva with his fellow travellers visited Hastināpur, Indraprasta and Kurukşetra. Thereafter they arrived at Badarikāṣram.

⁷⁹ Thakur, D. & Nath, R. (1998). Mahāpurṣa Śrī Śrī Śankaradeva -Mādhavdeva carit. pp. 15-16

⁸⁰ Dvija, Bhusan & Borkataki, Durgadhar. (1986). Śrī Śrī Śańkaradeva. pp. 30-31

^{81 (}a) Thakur, R. & Duttabarua, H. (1985). Guru Carit. pp. 398-456

⁽b) Dwija, Rammananda & Borkakati S.K. (2014). Sriguru Carit. pp.46-50

⁽c) Mahanta, P. & Borkakati, S. K. (2009). Bardova Guru Carit. pp. 29.31

⁽d) Bairagi, C. (Orator) & Neog, M. (1987). Guru-Carit-Kathā. pp. 25-28

⁽e) Bezbaroa, D. (1987). Barcarit. pp.41-46

When Śańkaradeva had been in Badarikāṣram, Mādhavdeva was born. It is narrated in the hagiography as such-met Uddhava at Badarikāṣram, flew of right hand extended, Sarvajaya said something would happen, preceptor says: a bosom friend of mine namely Mādhavdeva was born. Resultant from the hagiography mentioned the date and year of the birth of Mādhavdeva as Sunday, full dark moon, 1411 Saka (1489 A.D.) in the month of Jetha. Bardovā Guru Carit also in the same line. Mādhavdeva was born at Bāligrām – thus mentioned in the hagiography of Rāmanānda. This very place Bāligrām is situated in Nārāyanpur area at Lakhimpur district popularly known as Raṅgājān. Mādhavdeva was born in the residence of Āhom officer Hariśingā uzīr. His residence was at Raṅgājān, in the mouza of Kherājkhāt. But Maheswar Neog mentioned letekupukhurī as the birth place of Mādhavdeva. Of course, he also agrees the dispute prevailed concerning Mādhavdeva's birth place. On the other hand Laksminath Bezbaroa demanded Letekupukhurī to be the birth place of Mādhavdeva.

Thereafter, Śańkaradeva and his fellow travellers visited Betrakuta. From the said holly place, they entered into the holly place such as – Nepāl, Naiṣadh, Kaikayā, - Kaiśalya, Drāvid, Pāñcāl, Śwetadvīp followed by Karmanāsā, Kāverī, Mārgakeśī, Bindukāśī Payosvinī, Kousik tīrtha, Mukundra Āśram, Kapil Āśram, purubhadra, Sonāru, Gaṇḍukī, upadwārakā, Aṅgadīyā Nagar, Candrāwati Grām, Rāmeśwaram, Sītākunda, Subād nagar, birth place of Kousik, Bidiśā nagar, Dandākāraṇya, Citrakut mountain, Godāvarī and Gomatī river, Pāñcāwatī Āśram, Ŗṣyamukh Āsram,

⁸² Bairagi, C. (Orator) & Neog, M. (1987). Guru-Carit-Kathā. p.27

⁸³ Ibid, p.43

⁸⁴ Mahanta, P. & Borkakati, S. K. 2009). Bardovā Guru Carit. p.43

⁸⁵ Dwija, R. & Borkakati, S.K. (2014). Śrīguru Carit. p.68

⁸⁶ Neog, Tarun Ch. (2012). Managing Committee of Sri Sri Madhavdeva's birth

⁸⁷ Neog, M. (1978). Śrī Śrī Śaṅkaradeva. p.38

⁸⁸ Saikia, Nagen. (2010). Bezbaroā Racanāvalī. (Second Part). p.13

Kiṣkindhyā nagar puṣkarāwatī, Bharadwāj, Kṣetra, Haridwār, Jayadwār, Narmadā and Mahānanda river and arrived at kạtak. From kạtak the team of pilgrim arrived at Jagannāth Purī. In purī, they visited Śvetagaṅgā, Mārkendaya sarovba, Candan sarobar, Indradaman, Loknāth, Sindhurāj and Pātālī Gaṅgā and took birth each and every holly places. Śaṅkaradeva and his companions spent one year at Jagannāth. On their return home they arrived at the Kapilmuni Āśram and stayed there for a few days. This followed the bath at the bay of Jāhñavī river. Thereafter, they had taken their bath at karatowā river and they returned back to Bardovā.⁸⁹

The hagiographer describe his starting point of Śańkaradeva's pilgrim was Bardovā; but on complltion of his tour, he arrived at Ālipukhuri. During his long sojourn of twelve years, he happed to come in contact with various saints, scholars and sages in various place. He narrated before them the doctrines of *Eka-Śaraṇa-Harināma-Dharma*. As a result a good number of people were attracted to his scholarly personality and took initiation into his religious faith. They were happy and satisfied to accept him as a preceptor, and spiritual teacher of their lives. At the beginning of his all India sojourn, a family at a place Roumāri (Now Boṅgaigāon District) were deeply influenced by his nobility and took initiation into his feet, while Śańkaradeva and fellow travellers spent one night at the residence of that family. Śańkaradeva, during his stay at the residence of that family composed a *Bargīt* and presented to the head of the family. Thereafter at puskar Tīrtha, a poet namely Gopināth requested Śańkaradeva to initiate him into his religious faith. Śańkaradeva fulfilled the desire of Gopināth. Moreover while he had been at Gokul – Vṛndāban, four persons in each place were baptized by Śańkaradeva. They were saints viz.

⁸⁹ Bairagi, C. (Orator) & Neog, M. (1987). Guru-Carit-Kathā. pp.25-28

⁹⁰ Ibid, pp 25-28

⁹¹ Op. cit, p.412

Radha, Rup (Goswami), Sanatan (Goswami) and vṛndabān Das. 92 During their stay at vrndāban, 93 Rup and sanātan served them with foods. Rup, Sanatan and his wife were accompanied with Śańkaradeva's group while he marched towards ahead of vṛndabān. But while they arrived at Sītākunda, Śaṅkaradeva asked Rup, Sanatan and his wife to return back to vṛndāban. 94 At Upadwārākā a pious man called Ramakanta found his way to saintly life by taking initiation into the religious faith of Śańkaradeva.⁹⁵

During the last period of his tour, Śańkaradeva spent one year at Jagannāth. During his stay at Jagannāth, Sankaradeva narrated the Bhāgavata purāṇa before the pāndās and other people of the temple. There at Jagannāth temple Śańkaradeva was felicited by the $p\bar{a}nd\bar{a}s$, by putting the holly basil and its leafs in his head, a mark of sandal of his forehead and garland in his head. 96 At Jagannath Ksetra, Śańkaradeva initiated several pāndas of the temple into his religious fold, they were namely Bīrūpāksa, Rāghava Māhapātra and Madhujenā and others. 97 Apart from this scholars pāṇḍās and general audience felicited Sankaradeva with the title 'Sarbajñān Śiromani'. 98

One Gobinda Nāyaka, a follower and disciple of Śańkaradeva came to Assam with the latter. Gobinda Nāyaka composed a biography of Śańkaradeva. 99 It is learnt from the hagiography during the long all India tour of twelve years Śańkaradeva discussed with several personalities at various places about the tenets of religion,

92 Bairagi, C. (Orator) & Neog, M. (1987). Guru-Carit-Kathā. p.26

⁹³ Ibid, p.26

⁹⁴ Thakur, R. & Duttabarua, H. (1985). Guru Carit. pp.436-442

⁹⁵ Bairagi, C. (Orator) & Neog, M. (1987). Guru-Carit-Kathā. p.27

⁹⁶ Nayaka, Gobinda. & Goswami, Narayan Ch. (2012). Śankar Gosñāi Carit. p.52

⁹⁷ Ibid, pp.53-54

⁹⁸ Op. cit, p.54

⁹⁹ Nayaka, G. & Goswami, N. C. (2012). Śankar Gosñāi Carit. p.56

spirituality and other religious matters and as a result of this discussion and narration many people willingly took their initiation into the fold of his *Eka-Śaraṇa-Harināma-Dharma*.

0.3.16 Second marriage of Śańkaradeva:

After his return from pilgrim Khersuti the grandmother of Śańkaradeva requested him to get marry for second time. Khersuti, Jayanta and Mādhava requested Śańkaradeva for second marriage with a view to sustain the genealogy of the Bhūñā Family. Śańkaradeva did not show any interest to their request first. Finally, all the senior member of the family such as Jayanta, Madhava, Ketaikha, Ramkha, Rupkha, Gabharukha, Buhakha, Harikha etc requested him for second marriage and he was compelled to agree of their proposal. ¹⁰⁰ He got his second marriage at the age of fifty four with Kalindi a teenager of fifteen years. ¹⁰¹ After the marriage, Śańkaradeva's Grandfather Jayanta, Mādhava and other relatives wanted to handed over the responsibility of Barbhūñā to him again. But Śańkaradeva declined to accept their propasal. Then he was appointed as a *Gomastā*. * He latter on, handover the post of *Gomastā* to his Son-in-law Hari. ¹⁰²

0.2.17 Resettled at Bardovā:

After the second marriage, Śaṅkaradeva found Ālipukhurī uncomfortable for dwelling. So, Śaṅkaradeva and his family returned back to Bardovā. He had been at Ālipukhurī for five years only. Here at Bardovā, in consultation with Rāmrāi and

^{100 (}a) Bairagi, C. (Orator) & Neog, M. (1987). Guru-Carit-Kathā. p.29

⁽b) Thakur, R. & Duttabarua, H. (1985). *Guru Carit.* p.457 – 458

¹⁰¹ Ibid (a), p.29

^{*} An agent or a subordinate man of a merchant.

¹⁰² Dvija, Bh. & Borkataki, D. (1986). Śrī Śrī Śańkaradeva. p.35-36

^{*} Colony of devotee

^{*} Holly companion

others established *Kīrttanghar*, *Maṇikuṭ* and four *Hāṭīs** (colony) to make the Bardovā Thān full-fledged. After this, he engaged himself in the service of propogating religion and studying the Sanskrit scriptures. He formulated the doctrine of his faith extracting the 'satsaṅg'* from the *Bhāgavata*, *Nāma* from the *Sahasra Nāma Bṛtānta* and '*Ekaśaraṇa*' from the *Gītā*. He composed '*Bhakti Pradīpa*' on The basis of *garud purāṇa* and *Rukminī-Haraṇa kāvya* on the basis of *Haribaṅśa* during his stay at Bardovā. ¹⁰³

0.3.18 Obtaining the Bhāgavata Purāṇa with commentary from Jagadīś Miśra:

Their after Śańkaradeva desired to make a lucid translation of the twelve canto of the Sanskrit *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* into Assamese Language. But he was hesitating to take the task of translating the same for fear of criticism, Since, he had no commentary with him. ¹⁰⁴ of course, it is described in the hagiography that Śańkaradeva went through the Sanskrit *Bhāgavata* during his schooling at Mahendra Kandali *tol.* ¹⁰⁵ In that situation, a Brāhman viz. Jagadīś Miśra disciple of Viṣṇupurī of Tirhut* come to Bardovā and gave the Sanskrit *Bhāgavata* with Śrīdhar Swāmīs commentary to Sankaradeva at Bardovā. Jagadīś Miśra recited the Sanskrit *Bhāgavata* to Śańkaradeva for a period of one year. Of course, Śańkaradeva composed the '*Gopī Uddhav Sambāda*' Long before, he had received the original *Bhāgavata*. He besides, translated the 8th canto of the *Bhāgavata* into Assamese. After receiving the complete twelve canto *Bhāgavata*, he started the same in full length into the Assamese. Thereafter he translated the twenty one *kīrtanas* of *ureṣā varṇan* describing the merits of Jagannāth. Jagadīś Miśra on completion of the *Bhāgavata* recitation in a period of

103 Bairagi, C. (Orator) & Neog, M. (1987). Guru-Carit-Kathā. P.29

105 Op. cit, p.24

¹⁰⁴ Ibid, p.30

^{*} A place of modern Bihar

one year met his grave. Sankaradeva performed all the rituals of the departed soul in association with Rāmrām guru and other followers. 106 According to Bhūsan Dwija, Śankaradeva composed songs and dramas on the basis of the same from Jagadīś Miśra. He even performed the 'ozāpāli' – Which was a *Bhāgavata* formulation to see and enjoy Miśra. Moreover, he dramatized the 'Mahanāt' in the kīrttanghar for the same purpose. Śankaradeva made Miśra to be surprised that creation of several songs, dramas had been placed in the *Bhāgavata*. ¹⁰⁷

0.3.19 Relationship of Śańkaradeva with Ananta Kandali:

There arose a dispute between Śākta paṇḍit Ananta Kandali an inhabitant of nanai area (present day Nowgaon district) and his wife relation to religious doctrine. So, Ananta Kandali met Śankaradeva at Bardovā. Kandali, was deeply attracted by the scholarship and nobleness of Śańkaradeva which paved the way to Kandali to take initiation into the religious fold of Śańkaradeva. Therefore Kandali used to visit Sankaradeva frequently to join the gospels of religion. In his latter period Kandali translated the middle and last part of the tenth canto of the Bhāgavata. In the hagiography this act of translation of the said portion of the *Bhāgavata* is described as the incident of 'Feeding of left-overs'. 108 It is to be mentioned here is that Ananta Kandali presented the translated part of the *Bhāgavata* by him to Śaṅkaradeva while he had been at pātbāusī. 109

0.3.20 Left Bardovā for Āhom Kingdom:

During his stay at Bardowā a frequent battle took place between the Bhūñā with the kachārī on account of cultivation and land. Once the Bhūñās made a friendly but wicked play with kachārīs, which were united for a feast arranged by the side of

¹⁰⁶ Bairagi, C. (Orator) & Neog, M. (1987). Guru-Carit-Kathā. pp.30-31

¹⁰⁷ Dvija, Bh. & Borkataki, D. (1986). Śrī Śrī Śankaradeva. pp.45-46

¹⁰⁸ Op.cit, pp.35-36

¹⁰⁹ Bairagi, C. (Orator) & Neog, M. (1987). Guru-Carit-Kathā. p.174

Deorā lake. While the Kachāris took their seat for feast, the Bhūñā attacked their counterpart and beated them severely. The kachāris naturally became very much angry to the Bhūñā and prepared to attack their enemies. When they attacked Bardowā, the Bhūñās made their abscond remaining all movable and unmovable properties. They crossed the Brahmaputra and landed the opposite bank i.e the north bank of the river. Śaṅkaradeva while was swimming accross the river Bhamaputra, suddenly received the *Gītā* flowing in the wave. He Saved himself from the hands of Kachāris making a display of the *Gītā*. 110

Thereafter, Śańkaradeva and relatives spent at śiṅgari and ghilādhārī one night each. Thereafter they arrived at gāṅgmou. They stayed for five years at gāṅgmou which was a place within the Āhom Kingdom, six months at chāṅgani and then they arrived at their final destination, i,e Dhuvāhāt. His elder son Rāmānanda was born at gāṅgmou. Moreover, he initiated Satananda or Devidas at gāṅgmou into his religious fold. It is to be mentioned here is that after spending sixty years at Ālipukhuri and seven years at Bardowā, Śaṅkaradeva came to the north bank. Therefore, it can be concluded that in 1516 A.D when he was a man of 67 years, Śaṅkaradeva left Bardovā for north bank. But cakrapāṇi Bairāgī describes this incident in a slight different way. According to him, Śaṅkaradeva first stayed for a period of six months at Rowtā and then moved to gāṅgmou. Therefore Śaṅkaradeva with his family members stayed five years at gāṅgmou, four months at chāṅgani Komorākatā and two months at Maluā ati and then marched to Belguri Dhuvāhāt.

According to the said hagiographer, Rāmānanda was born when Śańkaradeva had been at Moluā āti. There at Moluā āti Śańkaradeva composed two songs describing the affliction of birth in worldly life. The first part of the two songs was —

110 Bairagi, C. (Orator) & Lekharu, U.C. (2011). Kathā-Guru-Carit. pp.33-34

¹¹¹ Mahanta, P. & Borkakati, S. K. (2009). Bardova Guru Carit. pp.39-40

'pave parihari' And 'gopāle ki gati kaile....' respectively. ¹¹² On the basis of both the two hagiographies it may conclude that the Bhūñās after spending at the place like siṅgari, Ghilādhārī, Komorākatā, Maluā āti and Rowtā – they arrived at dhuvāhāt – Belguri. Thus it can be assumed that after spending a period of six years at various places - Śaṅkaradeva and Bhūñā used to settle at Dhuvāhāt in 1522 A.D. at his 73 years.

The hagiographies narrates two opinion relating to his departure from Gāṅgmou to Dhuvāhāt. Cakrapani Bairagi and povaram Mahanta passed the same opinion that Śaṅkaradeva left Gāṅgmou due to attack by Dafala. But Ramananda Dwija and Ramcaran Thakur mentioned the cause of his departure in different way. According to the two hagiographers, he left Gangmou due to attack of Koch. But it is clear that Śaṅkaradeva did not leave Gangmou for the attack of Koch, rather left the said place for Dafalā attack. On the basis of the Āhom chronicles Edward Gait opines that Koch king Bisva singha came into contact with the Āhom in 1537 A.D.

0.3.21 Left Gāṅgmou and set up of Thān at Dhuvāhāt:

After arrived at Dhuvāhāt, Śaṅkaradeva's followers and Bhūñās made the area deforestation to build homes for themself. There they created a religious environment by establishment of *Nāmghar*, *Maṇikuṭ*, *Hāṭī* etc. After the completion of the religious institution, they performed *Nāma-Kīrttana* to entry into that holly palce. Afterwards that place came to be known as Belguri. According to Ramcaraṇ Thākur the very

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¹¹² Op.cit, pp.34-35

^{113 (}a) Bairagi, C. (Orator) & Lekharu, U.C. (2011). Kathā-Guru-Carit. pp.34-35

⁽b) Mahanta, P. & Borkakati, S. K. (2009). Bardova Guru Carit. p.39

^{114 (}a) Dwija, R. & Borkakati S.K. (2014). Śrīguru Carit. p.65

⁽b) Thakur, R. & Duttabarua, H. (1985). Guru Carit. p.557

¹¹⁵ Gait, Edward. (2011). A History of Assam. p.50

place become known as such for plantation of a kind of the called *Aegle*Marmelous. 116

It is to be mentioned here is that there is no existence of Dhuvāhāt Belguri at present. Due to erosion of the Brahmaputra Dhuvāhāt Belguri disappeared for long. It was Bhūñāhātā— a place where Śaṅkaradeva used to settle, thus remarked Ramcaran Thakur. Śaṅkaradeva's two sons Kamallocan and Haricaran were born during his stay at dhuvāhāt. His daughter Rukmini also born in the same place. ¹¹⁸ Of course, Rukmini came to be known as Visnupriya. ¹¹⁹

0.3.22 Meeting with Mādhavadeva:

There happened an important incident during the period of Śańkaradeva's stay at Dhuvāhāt. That was the meeting with Mādhavadeva. That happened in the year 1522. 120

According to the hagiography this important incident occurred at the age of seventy three and thirty two years of Śańkaradeva and Mādhavdeva respectively. ¹²¹ Although Śańkaradeva was born in 1449 who was at that important juncture a man of seventy three years, Mādhavdeva's age was more than thirty two who came to this world in 1489. The actual age of Mādhavdeva at that time was thirty three years five months. ¹²² Maheswar Neog also fixed the age of Madhavdeva to be thirty two at the time of his communion with Śańkaradeva. ¹²³

118 Bairagi, C. (Orator) & Neog, M. (1987). Guru-Carit-Kathā. p.39

120 Neog, M. (2008). Śankaradeva and His Times. p.110

¹¹⁶ Thakur, R. & Duttabarua, H. (1985). Guru Carit. p.

¹¹⁷ Ibid, p.517

¹¹⁹ Ibid, p.59

¹²¹ Bairagi, C. (Orator) & Neog, M. (1987). Guru-Carit-Kathā. p.186

¹²² Nath, J.K. (2016). Mahāpurusa Mādhavdeva : Jīvan āru krti. p.32

¹²³ Neog, M. (2008). Śańkaradeva and His Times. p.110

It is to be mentioned that the name of Mādhavdeva's Father and Mother were Gobindagirī and Manoramā respectively. The hagiography let to know that one of the ancestors of Mādhavdeva came to kamrupa with caṇḍibar and began to dwell at Bandukā.Mādhavdevas's father Gobindagirī alias Barkaṇāgirī was born in that family. 124 Bandukā was within the boundary of kamrupa at that period of time. Now it is situated in the Raṅgpur district of Bāṅglādeś. The name of first wife of Gobindagirī was Anucitā. She died after giving birth a son namely Dāmodar. Thereafter Dāmodar was married and Gobindagiri handed over the post of Majindar to Damodar and then came to Bardovā for mercentive purpose. According to Cakrapani Bairagi, Kusumbar Bhūñā could recognized Gobinda with his family who got marry a girl called Manorama of his kins. Thereafter Gobindagiri was sent to Routa with his wife and used to live there. 125 Laksminath Bezbaroa describes that - that was not kusumbar, but Śańkaradeva who build house at Routā for Gaovindagiri and marry to Manorama to him. 126 It is true as Laksminath Bezbaroa writes that Śańkaradeva arranged the marriage of Govindagiri and Manorama at Bardovā.

Madhavdeva had spent his childhood in the birth place at Harisinga uzir Bara's house who was an employee of Āhom kings. When Madhav grew old day to day he was accompanied by Harisinga uzir in his service of collecting tax and sometimes Madhav was engaged in the job of collecting taxes. Madhav also engaged himself as a cultivator for a few years. After spending two and half years at Hariśingha's residence or four years by a different opinion, few years in separate house at uzir's complex and another few years by the side of letekupukhurī Raṅgājān, Govindagiri left that place with his family. 127 At that time Govindagiri was severely

¹²⁴ Dwija, R. & Borkakati S.K. (2014). Śriguru Carit. p.66

¹²⁵ Bairagi, C. (Orator) & Neog, M. (1987). Guru-Carit-Kathā. p.42

¹²⁶ Bezbaroa, L. (1997). Śrī Śrī Śaṅkaradeva and Śri Śri Mādhavdevā. p.40

^{127 (}a) Bairagi, C. (Orator) & Neog, M. (1987). Guru-Carit-Kathā. p.43, p.48

⁽b) Thakur, D. & Nath, R. (1998). Mahāpuruṣa Śrī Śrī Śaṅkaradeva-Mādhavdeva cari. p.28-30

suffered from disease for which his family had to face a great distress. In that situation nobody of his kith and kin came out to help the family. At last Govindagiri and his family members took shelter at the residence of Ghagar Mazi of Hābung state (now in the district of Lakhimpur). At his new destination Urvaśī, the sister of Madhav was born. According to Cakrapani, Govindagiri had been in the family of Ghagar Mazi for a long period of fourteen years. But Laksminath Bezbaroa opines that they stayed at Mazi's home for duration of eighteen years. When Madhav and Urvaśī became young, the family left Ghagar Mazi's home in search of good companion for them. At the time of farewell, Govindagirī was given food grains to the family for one year by ghagar Mazi. Moreover, Māzi gave him a few pair of dresses and money in cash.

When Govindagiri could learn from other people that Śańkaradeva had been at that time at Dhuvāhāt, he advanced towards that destination. He came in contact with Gayāpāṇi son of Hokorākusiyā near Bharālidubi. Govindagiri established his residence nereby Gayāpāṇi's home and therefore Uvaśī was married to Gayāpāṇi. 130 After a few couple of year Govindagirī came down to his birth place Banduka leaving his mother Manorama with son-in-law i,e, Gayapāṇi. Govindagiri took Mādhav with him to Bandukā. Madhav was schooling at Bandukā under the tol of Rajendra Adhyapak where Madhav learnt all the classical scriptures such as *Vedas*, *Upanisads*, *Vedanta*, *Mīmānsā*, *Kāvya*, *Vyākaraṇ*, Logic and philosophy, the knowledge of *kāithelī* etc in a period of one year. At Baṇḍukā Madhavdeva helped his elder brother Damodar in the paddy fields. Moreover for a some days he served as Bharali Barua of Koch administration. Govindagiri breathed his last at Baṇḍukā and his two sons Damodar and Madhav performed all his rituals. Thereafter Madhav went towards to

⁽c) Neog, Tarun Ch. (2012). Managing Committee of Sri Sri Madhavdeva's birth

¹²⁸ Bairagi, C. (Orator) & Neog, M. (1987). Guru-Carit-Kathā. pp. 50-51

¹²⁹ Bezbaroa, L. (1997). Śrī Śrī Śankaradeva and Śri Śri Mādhavdeva. p.45

¹³⁰ Op. cit, p. 52

Bharālīdubi. 131 Madhavdeva now earn his livelihood through selling and purchasing battle nut and during this period he performed his ring ceremony with a girl at Negheriting. He then went down for the second time to Bandukā. After spending a few days with Damodar, Madhav again made his upward movement on his way to Bharālīdubi. Madhavdeva could learn the news of his mother's illness. He then promised in the name of Devī Durgā that he would offer pair of white he goat in her name provided his mother got rid of her illness. Of course, in the mean time she was got rid of her suffering. ¹³²

Madhav asked his brother-in-law gayāpāṇi to purchase a pair white he goat to sacrifice in the name of Devī. In the mean time gayāpāni alias Ramdas was initiated into Nāmadharma of Śankaradeva. So as a votary of lord Kṛṣṇa, Gayāpāṇi declined vehemently to purchase a pair of white he-goat for Mādhav and hence there arose a dispute between them. Rāmdās explained the Futility of sacrifies in the name of Devī Durgā. Then Mādhavdeva wanted to meet Śańkaradeva and to arrange a debate with him in matter of sacrifice. Next day Ramdas and Madhabdeva arrived at Belguri where Śańkaradeva had been living. At Belguri *Thān* there started a debate between Śańkaradeva and Mādhavdeva in presence of several followers and disciples. The debate continued for nine hours. At last Śankaradeva recited a sloka from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa which runs as follows:

> yathā tatormūlan śecanena tṛpyanti tatskandhabhujopa ṣākhāh. prānopāhārācca yathendriyāṇān tathaiva sarvārhanamcyutejyā. 4.31.14 133 (Bhāgavata Purāṇa)

¹³¹ Thakur, D. & Nath, R. (1998). Mahāpurusa Śrī Śrī Śaṅkaradeva – Mādhavdeva carit. p. 46-47

¹³² Ibid, pp.48-55

¹³³ Bairagi, C. (Orator) & Neog, M. (1987). Guru-Carit-Kathā. p.58

[as the stem, boughs and leaves and side branches of a tree are nourished by watering its roots and just as all the same organs are nourished by sustaining life through food, so by offering worship to the Immortal Lord all are worshipped and satisfied]

Finally, Madhav took his initiation at the feet of Śańkaradeva. A friendly as well as spiritual relation between the two scholars is formed. Now, Śańkar becomes 'Bāp' (Father) for Mādhavdeva and Mādhavdeva becomes 'Bāndhav Mādhav' (Friend Mādhav) for Śańkaradeva. From that very day Śańkaradeva happened to be considered for Mādhav as an object of veneration and he himself converts as a servant of Śańkaradeva. Prior to that historical contact between Śańkaradeva and Mādhavdeva, the former started his baptization in the name of *Deva* (God), *Nāma* (Personified God) and *Bhakat* (Followers) which were known as 'tini vastu' (Three Reals). On the other hand that was an incomplete theory. Now after the meeting of Śańkaradeva and Mādhavdeva the incomplete theory fulfilled with the addition of the fourth 'Real' i.e. Guru (Preceptor). This very important theory was formulated by Madhavdeva. Since then the act of initiation by Śańkaradeva came to be known as *Guru, Deva, Nāma* and *Bhakat*. Though they are four, actually they are one in form. ¹³⁴

Madhabdeva remained as a bachelor for the whole life. He spent his time propogating *Eka-Śaraṇa-Harināma-Dharma* and looking after Śaṅkaradeva in his every moment. To serve these, he even given up the girl, with whom he already tightened up making ring ceremony. ¹³⁵ In order to serve Śaṅkaradeva Mādhavdeva shifted his residential place Bhararidubi to Belguri. ¹³⁶ His motto be came to server his Guru. He began to supervise in all the necessary activation of Śaṅkaradeva's family

134 Ibid. p.58

135 Thakur, D. & Nath, R. (1998). $Mah\bar{a}puru\bar{s}a$ Śrī Śrī Śaṅkaradeva – $M\bar{a}dhavdeva$ carit. pp.85 – 87

136 Dwija, R. & Borkakati S.K. (2014). Śriguru Carit. pp.93-95

such as making the houses, prepare boiled rice, in agriculture ect.¹³⁷ It is seen that during the period of his stay with Śańkaradeva at Belguri, Mādhavdeva became a part and parcel of all the household activities and thus he became an epitome of service to Guru.

0.3.23 Literary activities and propogating religion at Dhuvāhāt:

After the historic relationship, the hand of Śańkaradeva became strong. So, this encouraged him to accurate his literary and cultural activity. Mādhavdeva Stood as right hand to Śańkaradeva. Some of his followers and disciples used the verses of *Kańsabadha* and *prahlād carit* in singing and dancing as *ozāpāli* and thus the fervour of devotion among the masses began to spread. *Mādhav*, *Rāmrām* guru, Ramdas etc. took major roles in *ozāpāli*. The sound of *Nāmakīrttana*, recitation of holly scriptures make public. In this function Ratnākar kandali and Byāskalāi explained the scriptures. It is said that at Dhuvāhāt Byāskalāi took initiation in the religious fold of Śańkaradeva. ¹³⁸ Besides, an ascetic Brāhmin scholar namely Bhāskar Guru while loitering somewhere heard a *Bargīt* sang by someone and the melody tune of the same attracted the scholar and eventually he became a disciple of Śańkaradeva at Dhuvāhāt. ¹³⁹

0.3.24 Enmity of Brāhmiņs to Śańkaradeva:

The Spreading of *Nāma - Dharma* at Dhuvāhāt and nearby villages through Śaṅkaradeva and Mādhavdeva and their disciples and followers began to accrete day by day. Even some Brāhmins namely Ratnakar Kandali, Byāskalāi, Hari Miśra, Jagannāth etc got their initiation in the religious fold of *Nāma-Dharma* propagated by Śaṅkaradeva. But a section of Brāhmins who were against the *Nāma-Dharma* also

¹³⁷ Bairagi, C. (Orator) & Neog, M. (1987). Guru-Carit-Kathā. pp.63-65

^{138 (}a) Thakur, D. & Nath, R. (1998). Mahāpuruṣa Śrī Śrī Śaṅkaradeva – Mādhavdeva carit. pp.64-

⁽b) Bairagi, C. (Orator) & Neog, M. (1987). *Guru-Carit-Kathā*. pp.62-63 139 Ibid (b), p.63

continued their oppression towards the disciples and Followers of Śańkaradeva. Their Oppression to the devotees of Śańkaradeva increased to such an extent that the evil minded Brāhmins forcefully took the garlands of *Tulasī* from their neck and placed in the tail of dogs. The reason for this abusement of Brāhmins according to Maheswar Neog is – Spreading of *Nāma Dharma* among the masses liberated them from the octopus of Brāhmin and the new faith paved the way for them to approach God without any assistance of the Brāhmins. This directly affected in the livelihood of the Brāhmins. And this made them very angry to Śańkaradeva and his disciples. Another group stood in this line due to their jealousy to Śańkaradeva. Due to the influence of the later section of people, the study of scriptures and scholarship became monopoly to the Brāhmins. The

Some of the Brāhmins one day filed a petition at the Āhom Royal court against Śańkaradeva. Cuhuṅgmuṅg was the king of Āhom kingdom at that time who enthroned on 1497 A.D. after the death of his father chupimphā. He had been ruling the Āhom kingdom from 1497 to 1539 A.D. He was the greatest among *Dihingīā* clan and hence he came to the known as *Dihingīā* king. 142 The petition filed against Śańkaradeva mentioned that a *sūdra* viz. Śańkaradeva misled the subjects by spreading false religion which includes the violation of traditional Śrāddha and other rituals. The king wanted to arrange a trial on Śańkaradeva. So, he Summoned Śańkaradeva to the Royal Court and wanted to judge in front of the Brāhmins. King Chuhuingmung was completely unware of the rituals of Śrādha and so the Duwarī explained the king in details about the functions of Śraddha. The king was informed by the Duvarī that Brāhmins eat all the things offered to a crow, fox, dog etc in the name of the departed soul. Knowing this, the king was very much angry and ordered

¹⁴⁰ Thakur, D. & Nath, R. (1998). Mahāpuruṣa Śrī Śrī Śaṅkaradeva – Mādhavdeva carit. p.69

¹⁴¹ Neog, M. (1987). Śrī Śrī Śankaradeva. p.70

¹⁴² Bobarua, H. (2013). *Āhomar Din.* p.55

his minister to force out expel from the Royal court. In the mean time, for fear of the king the Brāhmins began to come out of the court themselves. In the other hand, Śańkaradeva was highly honoured by the Āhom king. Maheswar Neog remarked on for not understanding about the futility of Śraddha by the Ahom king that they untill that period of time remained outside the boundary of Hinduism. So, they naturally did not get chance to know the various rules and customs of Hinduism.

Although the verdict went against the Brahmins in the Royal Court, they did never retreat from their point of abusing Śańkaradeva and his disciples. Lakhsminath Bezbaroa wrote regarding the evil minded Brāhmins like this – 'being a greedy and violating moral and religious rules Brāhmins degraded from their Brahminhood.' 145

The atrocities of evil minded Brāhmins went growing day by day. Śańkaradeva seems no remedy of their ill behaviours towards him and to his disciples. So, to remedy this situation, one day Śańkaradeva made a plan. He asked Budākhā one of his kinsman to arrange a gathering at his courtyard and to invite the Brāhmins. He accordingly invited the Brāhmins. Śańkaradeva, his disciples and Brāhmins also participated in the gathering. There Śańkaradeva made such a plan that the Brāhmins were compelled to announce *Hari Nāma-Dharma* to be the essence of all the scriptures and no other religion is equal to *Eka Śaraṇa*. Daityāri Thākur narrates that the gathering was held on the day of *Śraddha* of Budākhā's departed father. The atrocities of the Brāhmins influenced Śańkaradeva to compose verses on the basis of *Padma Purāṇa*, *Pātālī khaṇḍa*. Of course, *Mādhavdeva* requested *Śańkaradeva* to

¹⁴³ Thakur, D. & Nath, R. (1998). Mahāpuruṣa Śrī Śrī Śaṅkaradeva – Mādhavdeva carit. pp.97-98

¹⁴⁴ Neog, M. (1987). Śrī Śrī Śaṅkaradeva. p.73

¹⁴⁵ Bezbaroa, L. (1997). Śrī Śrī Śankaradeva and Śri Śri Mādhavdeva. pp.97-98

¹⁴⁶ Thakur, D. & Nath, R. (1998). Mahāpuruṣa Śrī Śrī Śaṅkaradeva – Mādhavdeva carit. p.70

remain away from creating such protested verses in stead should be tolerate to them. 147

0.3.25 Arrest of Mādhavdeva and Hari by Āhom king:

Suklenmung (1539-1552) at that time was Āhom king. 148 To make easy communication and for battles, the king made a plan to catch the wild elephants. In 1539-40 A.D., he appointed one Handique to carry out this job. He was given a group of people to assist in his job. The Bhūñā of Dhuvāhāt were also given that charge. But as ill luck it would have the elephants escaped through the direction of inexperienced Bhūyāñs side. So, the King ordered to arrest the Bhūñā. The kings men failed to arrest the head of the Bhūñā i.e. – Śańkaradeva and so they arrested Mādhav and Hari in stead. Hari was executed by the King and since Madhav was a bachelor and were none to repent, so he was freed. 149 According to Ramananda Dwija, since Madhavdeva was not ordered to return back home, so he remained in a royal serviceman's family known as Handique where Mādhavdeva recited and explained the Ayadhyā Kānda of the Rāmāyana to him. 150 On the other side, Śankaradeva and other kinsmen were waiting with great solicitude for their return. For their safe return Śańkaradeva arranged '*Pālnāma*' (chanting of names by devotees one after another) at Belguri. Just the *Pālnāma* is ended, Madhav appeared with shaggy appearance. ¹⁵¹ Although Hari was executed by the king, Śańkaradeva became very much happy for Madhav's save return.

¹⁴⁷ Bairagi, C. (Orator) & Neog, M. (1987). Guru-Carit-Kathā. p.523

¹⁴⁸ Bobarua, H. (2013). *Āhomar Din.* p.76

¹⁴⁹ Op. cit. pp.525-526

¹⁵⁰ Dwija, R. & Borkakati S.K. (2014). Śriguru Carit. pp.128-130

¹⁵¹ Dvija, D. & Hazarika, S. (2008). Santāvalī. pp.150-154

0.3.26 Left Ahom kingdom and marched down to Koch kingdom:

Now, Śańkaradeva decided to come down to Koch kingdom. The atrocities of the Brāhmins and the illegal verdict of the Āhom king compelled him to take the decision of backward journey. ¹⁵² Moreover, Śańkaradeva was deeply attracted to learned and scholar koch king Naranārāyaṇa and his brother Cilārāya. ¹⁵³ All these factors made Śańkaradeva to take the decision of leaving Āhom kingdom for Kāmrūpa.

The names of the villages and places which Śańkaradeva passed through his journey by boat are mentioned by hagiographers in different manner. The places may be arranged according to present geographical position such: Belguri, Rowrawā suti, cāulkhowā river, Tapābari, Khorā, Sādhanār ghāt, kalākatā, - khāgarikatā, Kaliābar, Hātīmukh, Bardowā, (South bank), Śiṅgari (North bank), Daraṅg, kuwārbhāg gaon, Banbhāg, Barbhāg, Kapalābari etc.

The time span of Śańkaradeva's arrival at kapalābari from Belguri through boat is not mentioned in other hagiographies except that Cakrapani Bairagi. He however mentioned that it took twenty days to Śańkaradeva to arrive at Kapalābari. ¹⁵⁵ On the other hand, Maheswar Neog opines that Śańkaradeva covered that destination in a period of seven months. ¹⁵⁶ The hagiographies let to know that Śańkaradeva did not spend at any place of his journey for a long period. On the other hand, he left Belguri keeping the royal official in total darkness. So, it can be assumed that they did

¹⁵² Neog, M. (1987). Śrī Śrī Śankaradeva. p.74

¹⁵³ Thakur, D. & Nath, R. (1998). Mahāpurusa Śrī Śrī Śańkaradeva – Mādhavdeva carit. p.99

^{154 (}a) Thakur, R. & Duttabarua, H. (1985). Guru Carit. pp 530.534

⁽b) Thakur, D. & Nath, R. (1998). Mahāpuruṣa Śrī Śrī Śaṅkaradeva – Mādhavdeva carit. p.103

⁽c) Bezbaroa, L. (1997). Śrī Śrī Śaṅkaradeva and Śri Śri Mādhavdeva. pp.70-71

⁽d) Neog, M. (1987). Śrī Śrī Śankaradeva, p.77

¹⁵⁵ Bairagi, C. (Orator) & Neog, M. (1987). Guru-Carit-Kathā. p

¹⁵⁶ Neog, Maheswar. (1987). Śri Śri Mādhavdeva., p.37

not spending for a long time at any place which may cause of any danger to their lives by the royal officials. Considering this point, Cakrapani's view is considered to be true. Maheswar Neog's opinion here finds no relevancy.

0.3.27 Śańkaradeva in Koch Kingdom:

Having decided to live permanently there, Sankaradeva got his house constructed in Cunpora. In this place, a disciple named Bhavananda Saud adopted Śańkaradeva's religion. Śańkaradeva bestowed the name Narayan on him. In course of time, he came to be known as Narayan Das Thakur $\bar{A}t\bar{a}$. A deep friendship was growing between Narayan Das and Madhavadeva. After losing his bosom friend Hari Kāyastha in the Āhom Kingdom, Mādhavdeva was immensely pleased to have Nārāyan here. Having settled permanently in a place called Manthai, Narayan dedicated himself in propagating Gurudharma (religion of the master). Himself taking the sarana (initiation to the religion) of Gurudharma, he made all other members of his family get endowed with Śarana near Śankaradeva. Apart from this, Thākur $\bar{A}t\bar{a}$ made many other people get the *Śarana* near Śaṅkaradeva. Among them, Mādhav from Jayanti Village and devī worshiper Gobinda Garamali are worth mentioning. 158 After Cūnporā, Śankaradeva stayed in Gankkuci for three months. This was followed by his stay in Kumārkuci. Before leaving for Kumārkuci, he entrusted his properties to Mādhavdeva. Śańkaradeva lived in Kumārkuci for a year. In that place, his youngest daughter Visnuprivā had breathed her last. 159 Bereaved at her death and due to difficulties of living, Sankaradeva shifted to Pātbāusī from there.

157 Bairagi, C. (Orator) & Neog, M. (1987). Guru-Carit-Kathā. pp.76-77

¹⁵⁸ Ibid, pp.79–82

¹⁵⁹ Op. cit. p.85

0.3.28 Śańkaradeva in Pātbāusī:

Coming to Pātbāusī from Kumārkuci, Śańkaradeva had built Nāmghar and Hāṭī for the disciples on the bank of Dhenukhandā bil (Water body). Like in Dhuvāhāt, in Pātbāusī also the flow of devotion had begun to spill. Countless disciples adopted the religion of Śańkaradeva in pātbāusī. The most remarkable disipiles among all of them were Damodardeva, Sriram $\bar{A}t\bar{a}$, Cakrapāni Dwij, Byas Kalai, Udar Gobinda, Ratikānta Doloi and Gobinda of Garu community. According to Guru-Carit-Kathā, a Brāhmin named Dāmodar used to provide maintenance to three widows by himself getting engaged in agricultural work. Hearing Sankaradeva's religious elucidation everyday while passing by Pātbāusī to the agricultural field, Damodar's heart got filled with admiration for Sankaradeva and consequently he accepted the Eka-Śaraṇa-Harināma-Dharma. Since Damodar was a Brāhmin, Śańkaradeva got him the śarana by the Brāhmin Rāmrām guru. 160 However, as per another Carit, Dāmodar got the śarana only near Śankaradeva. 161 It cannot be assumed that Dāmodar had to get the śaraṇa near Rāmrām Guru for being a Brāhmin. Because, Śańkaradeva himself had already initiated Rāmrām, Mahendra Kandali, Ananta Kandali, Byās Kalāi, Brahmananda Acharya, Ratnakar Kandali, Haridev and many other Brāhmins with śarana. One of the important incidents taking place during Sankaradeva's stay in Pātbāusī was the wedding of Cilārāi with Rāmrāi's daughter Kamalpriyā or Bhuvaneswari. Fascinated by the beauty of Bhuvaneswari, Cilarai picked her up and later married. At first father Rāmrāi was against the marriage. But Śańkaradeva managed to convince him. 162

¹⁶⁰ Bairagi, C. (Orator) & Neog, M. (1987). Guru-Carit-Kathā. pp.218–219

¹⁶¹ Thakur, D. & Nath, R. (1998). Mahāpuruṣa Śrī Śrī Śaṅkaradeva – Mādhavdeva carit. p.191

¹⁶² Op.Cit, P. 92

0.3.29 Śańkaradeva's literary works in Pātbāusī:

It has mention in the Carit that Śańkaradeva lived in Pātbāusī for 14 years. ¹⁶³ However, as per the local beliefs Śańkaradeva lived in Pātbāusī for 18 years and six months and accomplished the major literary works of his life here. ¹⁶⁴ One of the most famous testimony of his life, the *Kīrttan-Ghoṣā* acquired its complete shape here itself. In addition to composing verses on first, second, seventh, eighth, tenth episodes of the Śrīmadbhāgavat. Śańkaradeva went on composing verses on *Balichalan*, *Kurukṣetra*, *Anādi Pātan*, *Nimi Navasiddha* when he was in Pātbāusī. Among the plays, *Rukmiṇī-Haraṇa*, *Pārijāt-Haraṇa*, *Keli-Gopāla* and *Kāliya-Damana* were created in Pātbāusī. During his stay at Pātbāusī, Śańkaradeva suggested Mādhavdev to compose the *Nāma-Ghoṣā*. His *Uttarākāṇḍa Rāmāyaṇa* was another creation of the same period. ¹⁶⁵

0.3.30 Pilgrimage of Śańkaradeva for the second time:

In 1550A.D. along with his bosom friend *Mādhavdeva* and hundred and twenty disciples, Śaṅkaradeva set out for pilgrimage mainly to Vṛndāvana at the age of hunderd years. As per the hagiography, Śaṅkaradeva often used to narrate stories of kṛṣṇa, during his childhood to the disciples performing mischievous activities in Gokul, Mathurā, and Vṛndāvan etc. Hearing these devotional stories about Kṛṣṇa, the disciple along with Rāmrāi Āta had discussed among themselves and requested Śaṅkaradeva to show them the holy shrines like Gokul, Vṛndāvan, Jagannāth etc.Thereafter they all arranged funds and started for the pilgrimage. ¹⁶⁶ When the planning for the pilgrimage was in progress, kālindrī, the wife of Śaṅkaradeva, had an

¹⁶³ Neog, M. (1987). Śrī Śrī Śaṅkaradeva. p.82

¹⁶⁴ Ibid, p.82-87

¹⁶⁵ Op. cit. pp.87-91

¹⁶⁶ Bairagi, C. (Orator) & Neog, M. (1987). Guru-Carit-Kathā. pp.112–113

apprenhension. The fear was that if Śańkaradeva would not come back after reaching Vṛndāvan, Kālindī along with her children would be left deserted. Therefore, she earnestly requested Madhavdeva to persuade Śańkaradeva to cancel the trip. Mādhavdeva explained to Kālindri that it was impossible to cancel the tour since the planning had already been done. Understanding her grief Mādhavdeva promised to kālindī that he would prevent Śańkaradeva in any way from visiting Vṛndavan. Thereafter, they started their journey after consoling Kālindī. 167

0.3.31 Madhavdeva's relentless service to the preceptor during the pilgrimage:

Throughout the sacred tour, Mādhavdeva took care of Śańkaradeva in each of his day to day activities. Mādhavdeva assisted Śańkaradeva to have the meal, go to sleep and always massaged him with oil and sour fruit juice for his relief from the labor of travel. He would have his meal only when Śańkaradeva would fall asleep. Thereafter he would take a bed near Śańkaradeva. He would supply *phyllanthus emblica* (āmlakhi – a kind of sour fruit), *terminalia citrine* (śilikhā - having an astringent taste) etc fruits to Śańkaradeva when he was thirsty, while walking under the scorching sun. Whenever Mādavdeva came to know that Śańkaradeva was having burning sensations in feet while walking under the sun, he would fetch water in a jar and pour on his feet. In this way, since the day of beginning the tour from home till their return after six months, Mādhavdeva never had let Śańkaradeva suffer the slightest trouble. 168

0.3.32 Śańkaradeva's kindness for birds and animals:

During the pilgrimage, Śańkaradeva showed his keen concern for the birds and animals. 169

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¹⁶⁷ Ibid, p.113

¹⁶⁸ Bairagi, C. (Orator) & Neog, M. (1987). Guru-Carit-Kathā. pp. 126-144

¹⁶⁹ Infra, Chapter -V, pp. 131-132

0.3.33 Vṛndāvan visit cancelled:

In course of their pilgrimage, the group reached in a place called Bināiganj. From there they went ahead to reach the crossroads terminus of Nelāihāt. From that point the four places – Vṛndavān, Jagannāth, Setukhaṇḍa and Gaṅgā could be arrived at by taking the four different routes. Looking at the faces Sankaradeva asked to all, "Which way should we move at first?" Rāmrāi stated that when they were destined for Vrndāvan, they should go there. Other disciples also supported Rāmrāi's suggestion. Mādhavdeva did not say anything. Śańkaradeva as well as other disciples asked him where he wanted to go. Utilising the opportunity, Mādhavdeva said that he would not go to Vrndavan. When the disciples asked him why, Mādhavdeva answered that the holy books had described about a beautiful attractive image of the ancient Vrndavan and if the same image was not witnessed there in reality, it may bring in a feeling of disrespect in their minds for the place of Lord Kṛṣṇa's playful activities. Therefore, it would be better not to go there, he said. ¹⁷⁰ Vṛndavan was the principal destination for all the disciples and so, Śankaradeva was also hoping for that. Therefore, in order to put Mādhavdeva down, Śańkaradeva raised a point with reference to religion. He said to Mādhavdeva that Rūp Goswamī in Vṛndavan has accepted Eka-Śarana-Harināma-Dharma; let's go and see whether it is same with that of us or not. Discarding Sankaradeva's proposal, Mādhavdeva, who had given word to Kālindrī, expressed his feelings firmly that he would never move a single step forward in this regard. Mādhavdeva, who had firm belief in Śańkaradeva's religion, was not at all in favour of judging it by means of comparing it with others' religion. Therefore, Mādhavdeva announced with a self-esteem in his tone that those who have doubt over own religious philosophy, who would accept it as reliable only after

170 Bairagi, C. (Orator) & Neog, M. (ed.) (1987). Guru-Carit-Kathā. P. 130

comparing with others and finding it to be matching with others, only they should go to Vṛndavan. Impressed by Mādhavdeva's determination and the clarity in his replay, Śaṅkaradeva withdrew the Vṛndāvan trip. Leaving the idea of Vṛndavan visit there, the disciples proceeded towards Jagannāth on the south.¹⁷¹

0.3.34 Jagannāth visit:

Next, the pilgrims proceeded towards the south from Nelāihāt and at Dolāmārī point they crossed the river Padmā. They took their bath at Jīyāganj and then spent the night in a place called Mukhcuābāj. From there they crossed the Kātuā Gāngā and travelled along the Bay of Bengal coastline to Jagannāth. Spending the night at a place called Tulasīcorā, the next day they arrived at Ātharenalā from where they entered in Purī. In Purī the pilgrims went ahead to visit the Jagannāth temple. All of them assembled at the main entrance of the temple. As per tradition, every devotee was to be hit by a cane before entering the temple. When Śańkaradeva - Mādhavdeva along with the disciples stood at the entry of the temple, a pāṇḍā (Brāhman who performs $p\bar{u}j\bar{a}$ in a temple for the devotee) revealed them about the tradition of caning. Mādhavdeva, in order to get rid of the inauspicious traditional practice of caning and to retain the honour of Śańkaradeva as well as himself, recited a devotional verse. Hearing Mādhavdeva's devotional verse, the pandā went home letting them enter the temple without going through the traditional beating. 172 Thus, using his presence of mind, Mādhavdeva skillfully saved Śańkaradeva as well as himself from being caned.

0.3.35 About interaction between Śańkaradeva and Caitanyadeva:

In the hagiographies of (a) Rāmcaraṇ Thākur, (b) Daityāri Thākur, (c) Bhūṣaṇ Dwija, (d) Cakrapāṇi Bairāgī and (e) Dīnanāth Bezbaruā, there are descriptions about

172 Bazbaroa, D. (1987). Barcarit. p.115

¹⁷¹ Ibid, p.130

Śaṅkaradeva and Caitanyadeva's interaction during Śaṅkaradeva's second pilgrimage. ¹⁷³ However, the descriptions in the hagiographies about Śaṅkaradeva's interaction with Caitanyadeva are just imaginary stories. Caitanyadeva was born in 1486 A.D. and died in 1533 A.D. So, there cannot be any question of Śaṅkaradeva meeting Caitanyadeva during his second pilgrimage that he had made in 1550 A.D. Therefore, the references in the hagiographies about the interaction between the two saints were nothing but fantasies of the authors.

0.3.36 Return from the pilgrimage:

In the return journey, they first arrived at the Kaṭak town. From there they passed through Bāleśwar port and route to Bardhamān on the bank of river Dāmodar. After that the pilgrims camped at several places viz. Kamārpukhurīā, Gopīnāth in Navadvīp, Śāntipur, Kātuā, Tripinī mukh - the river mouth of Gaṅgā and from there at Mocuābāj respectively. While taking shelter in these places their food was managed by the disciples namely, Balorām Ātā, Rāmrām Ātā, Rāmrāi, Kālirām, Paramānanda Ātāi, Daibagya Nārāyaṇ, Balobhadra, Jātirām, Gobinda, Gopāl, Mukunda, Ārhai Ātai, Kaṇiṣṭha Balorām etc. by expending their own funds . One morning, during their camping at Mucovābāj a devotee named Suśarmā, who was heading for Vṛndāvan sang a hymn in praise of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa. Hearing the hymn sung in praise of the couple Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa, Śaṅkaradeva asked Mādhavdeva to sing a song that would signify the

173 (a) Thakur, R. & Duttabarua, H. (1985). Guru Carit .p.697

⁽b) Thakur, D. & Nath, R. (1998). *Mahapurus Śrī Śrī Śaṅkaradeva – Mādhavdeva carit.* pp.124–125

⁽c) Dvija, B. & Borkakti, D. (1986). Śrī Śrī Śankaradeva. p.134

⁽d) Bairagi, C. (Orator) & Neog, M. (1987). Guru-Carit-Kathā. p.127

⁽e) Bazbaroa, D. (1987). Barcarit .p.109

Eka Śaraṇa Nām Dharma. Accordingly, Mādhavdeva sang a bhaṭimā in the morning.¹⁷⁴

From Mucovābāj, they moved to camp at Janginpur on the bank of river Gāngā. From there they travelled through Bhāgangolā, Pukhurīāgani, Silimpur, Bank of Mohanā Gangā, Binājpur and from there they stationed at Gobindaganj. During their camping at Gobindagani, they treated and cured a gluttonous sanyāsī named Śūlapāni with the help of Mādhavdeva. Śūlapāni got *śarana* near Śaṅkaradeva. ¹⁷⁵ From Gobindagani, they went further to reach Ghorāghāt, leaving behind Kistāgangā on the way. From there they crossed the river Gauranga and stopped at Singiagani, a place close to the border of Koch Kingdom. From Singiāgani, the disciples went out in the morning to a place called Khāncipurgani by the side of river Naliya. Seeing the sanyāsīs of Paramhansa there, Rāmrāi expressed his desire to spend the night in their company and asked for Sankaradeva's permission. Allowing Rāmrāi to stay there, Śańkaradeva, accompanied by the other disciples stationed at the house of a person named Beli Mandal, a little away from there. Since Beli Mandal was not a member of the Eka Śaraṇa sect, Mādhavdeva played a trick. He made Śankaradeva sit in front of him and performed Nām-prasanga (ritual prayer) by singing the verses of Śarana. He also made Beli Mandal sit there during the performance. Thus, Beli Mandal got into the śaran. Śańkaradeva highly applauded intelligent Mādhavdeva for applying this tactic. ¹⁷⁶ On the other hand, Rāmrāi who went to sleep in the company of the sanyāsīs of Paramhansa, lost everything to the sanyāsīs as they looted his belongings by threatening him. He was screaming in fear for life. Recognising Rāmrāi's sound, Śańkaradeva informed Madhavdeva through gesticulation. Making a noise by shouting loudly, Mādhavdeva chased the place bravely. The noise was so deafening

¹⁷⁴ Bairagi, C. (Orator) & Neog, M. (1987). Guru-Carit-Kathā. p.139

¹⁷⁵ Infra.Chapter -V, p.151

¹⁷⁶ Op. cit, p.140

that the *sanyāsīs* thought it to be the sound of some two hundred people coming along. Frightened, they fled away from the place. Later, an empty-handed Rāmrāi appeared in front of Śańkaradeva.¹⁷⁷ Next, the disciples camped at Madārganj on the bank of river Sonkos.

Later, from Madargani the devotees arrived in Patbausi. Along with Sankaradeva-Mādhavdeva the disciples after the six-month long tour had just reached Pātbāusī when Mādhavdeva immediately went inside and bowed down to Kālindrī. With a feeling of self-satisfaction Mādhavdeva said, "By the grace of your blessings, the Guru has been escorted homeward, by preventing from going to Vṛndāvan." Kālindri also responded with gratefulness to Mādhavdeva, "Due to your mercy, my lord's face has been visible again." 178 From there, taking leave from Śankaradeva, Mādhavdeva went to Gaṇakkuci with Śrīram Ātā. Getting the information about Mādhavdeva's return from pilgrimage, Nārāyan Dās Thakur Ātā came to Gaṇakkuci with a lot of items for him. After paying reverence to Mādhavdeva, Thākur Ātā asked him about the tour. He spent the night with Mādhavadeva. Mādhavdeva from his experience of the tour described to his friend in detail about the social systems of the people of different places, comprising behaviours, food habits, traditional practices etc. While speaking about the norms followed in different places, Mādhavadeva also stated with a bit of surprise in his face that people on one hand sell out items like coral while on the other hand buy things like cow-dung. He said to Thakur Ata that talks on such diverse practices if started would never end. 179

0.3.37 Obtained Bhakti-Ratnāvalī:

A Brāhman called Kaṇṭhabhūṣaṇ from Māguri near Hājo was suffering from inferiority complex due to Śaṅkaradeva's immense intelligence in explaining

¹⁷⁷ Bairagi, C. (Orator) & Neog, M. (1987). Guru-Carit-Kathā. p.142

¹⁷⁸ Ibid, p.142

¹⁷⁹ Op.cit. p.143

Bhāgawat Purāṇa. He could not tolerate to see Śaṅkaradeva presenting enlightenment on Bhāgawat to the Brāhmaṇas and with an intention to acquire more knowledge to defeat Śańkaradeva in interpreting the sacred books, he had left for Vārānasī. There he was learning Vedanta under the guidance of Brahmananda, who was a disciple of Viṣṇupurī sanyāsī. One day, during the process of learning, Brahmānanda muted for while, unable to explain the meaning of a verse. Taking over the turn, Kanthabhūṣan expressed the meaning in front of Brahmānanda by using Śańkaradeva's straight forward translation of the Bhagawat. Knowing about Sankaradeva's identity from Kanthabhūşan, Brahmānanda remembered that his Guru Visnupuri sanyāsī had left the book Ratnāwalī for Śankaradeva. Referring to Visnūpuri sanyāsī, Brahmānanda handed over the book Bhakti-Ratnāwali to Kanthabhuşan telling him to get it to Sankaradeva. Three months later, Kanthabhūşan arrived at Pātbāusī and after showing honour to Śańkaradeva he described the whole incident and delivered the book Ratnāwalī in the hands of Śańkaradeva. Śańkaradeva got a thagā (raised holder for book), placed the book on that and directed Mādhavdeva to have a check on it. Assuming that in the sacred book, composed by a sanyāsī there might be variations to their principles, Mādhabdeva passed it back to Śańkaradeva without checking by himself. After a careful check Śańkaradeva came to know that it was a summary of Bhāgawat and then he handed over the book to Mādhavdeva again. Śaṅkaradeva said to Mādhavdeva, "This brilliant book bears the same religious ideology like ours. Had it been found earlier, I would not have composed Bhakti-Ratnākara. Therefore, you yourself do the Assamese transformation of its Sanskrt verses." In response to this, Mādhavdev expressed his inability in front of Śańkaradeva to compose verses for such a sacred book with his level of knowledge. However, Śańkaradeva stated that this book would later be done by Mādhavdeva himself and entrusted responsibility of its safe custody with Kālindrī. 180 The story of Brāhmananda sending the sacred book

¹⁸⁰ Bairagi, C. (Orator) & Neog, M. (1987). Guru-Carit-Kathā. pp.145-148

Ratnāwali to Śańkaradeva is found in several other hagiographies with slight changes.¹⁸¹

0.3.38 Complaint to Naranārāyaņa by Brāhmiņs against Śańkaradeva:

As in Dhuvāhāt, ¹⁸² within Koch kingdom too, a section of the practicing Brāhmins felt threatened at the spread and growth of the Nām Dhārma principles. Because, the Brāhmins were nearly losing livelihood as many people had become *Eka Śaranīā Bhakat* (disciple)s. Therefore, by finding out flaws of Śańkaradeva and Ekśaranīā Bhakats, they complained to the king. Their main grievance was that Śańkardeva did not have any reverence for *śrāddha* (death ritual), *tulasī* (basil leaves, considered as sacred), Gaṅgā, *sālagrām* (a stone, considered as sacred), Brāhman etc. He neither performed devī pūjā (worship of the goddess) nor used to greet a Brāhman with a *namaskār* (joined palms). Within the religious sect proliferated by Śańkaradeva, people of all castes Brāhman, Kaivarta, Koch, etc. were allowed to sit together for prayer and have food. They tried to persuade the king by saying that if the religious norms of the holy books like Veda and Bhāgawata were not followed, there would be fear of downfall and also loss of life to the king. Allowing Śańkaradeva to continue his practices would therefore invite famine in the state, cattle and crop loss. Such things have been described in several hagiographies in different amounts. ¹⁸³

181 (a) Thakur, R. & Duttabarua, H. (1985). Guru Carit. pp.783-787

183 (a) Thakur, R. & Duttabarua, H. (1985). Guru Carit. pp.745-746

⁽b) Thakur, D. & Nath, R.(1998). *Mahāpuruṣa Śrī Śrī Śaṅkaradeva – Madhavdeva carit* pp.149-151

¹⁸² Supra, pp. 66-68

⁽b) Dwija, R. & Borkakati S.K. (2014). Sriguru Carit. pp. 201-202

⁽c) Thakur, D. & Nath, R. (1998). *Mahapurus Śrī Śrī Śaṅkaradeva – Mādhavdeva carit.* pp.152-153

⁽d) Bairagi, C. (Orator) & Neog, M. (1987). Guru-Carit-Kathā. p.148

⁽e) Neog, M. (1987). Śrī Śrī Śaṅkaradeva. pp.85-86

0.3.39 Śańkaradeva in the royal assembly of Naranārāyaņa:

The king's officials again came to search Śańkaradeva. But, by the time Cilārāi's messenger had already abducted Śańkaradeva and sheltered him in Cilārāi's place. Naranārāyan directed Cilārāi to send Śańkaradeva to the place of the king. But, Chilārāi had let Śaṅkaradeva to attend the royal assembly only after obtaining the assurance from the king that there would be no harm to Sankaradeva. By appointing messenger on horse, Cilārāi was having frequent watches over Śankaradeva's condition there. While climbing the staircase, Śańkaradeva kept reciting the song "madhu-dānava-dārana-deva-baran" Completing this, he blessed the king through four slokas (verses). When offered a kamali (mat), Śańkaradeva politely sat down and sang the Bargīt (devotional song) in Dhanśrī rāg - "Nārāyan Kāhe Bhakati Karo Terā." Later again he recited the Rājbhatima – "jayajaya malla nrpati rasavān. yākeri guṇagana Nahike sama nāhi." King Naranārāyan himself was a learned person with an admiration for poetry. Naranārāyan showed to Śańkaradeva the prose notes of eight slokas composed by him. The king was impressed when Śańkaradeva presented explaination on the *slokas* with a divine connotation. Later, bidding goodbye with due honour, the king said to Sankaradeva, "Everyday, come to my place in the first half and be at my brother's residence in the second half." ¹⁸⁴

In this way, during his stay in Kochbehār for three months, Śańkaradeva continued frequenting the royal assembly. According to Carit, the songs recited by Śańkaradeva in the royal assembly on his second, third and fourth day of the visits were "Bando Govindā Gopī janānandā", "hāsi sābhasita karo bahu thira, malla

⁽f) Mahanta, P. & Borkakati, S. K. (2009). Bardova Guru Carit .pp. 104-105

⁽g) Bezbaroa, D. (1987). *Barcarit*. pp.120-130

nṛpati sama nāhikaya bīra", "pekhiye cānura sabhā mājhe jāi, sunata rāj ajñā rām gosāi" respectively. On the third day, the practicing Brāhmans while placing the complaint in front of the king had put forward the point that Śankaradeva did not have any respect for the places of pilgrimage. In rejoinder, Śańkaradeva informed the king about his pilgrimages that he had already made twice. In response to the objection placed by the practicing Brāhmans about dishonesty, Śankaradeva informed the king that the Ekśaran Nāmdharma belief had been disseminated by him only after collecting Eka Śaraṇa from Gīta, navabidhā Bhakti from Śrīmadbhagawat and the summary of Ved-Vedanta. 185

0.3.40 Refuge of Cāndsāi:

Once during Śańkaradeva's stay in Bhelā Madhupur, Naranārāyan had advised a Muslim tailor, named Cāndsāi to stitch a dagalā (shirt) for Śankaradeva. Cāndsāi saw Śańkaradeva as a figure having four hands. So he stitched a dagalā with four sleeves on it which he delivered to Śańkaradeva. When Śańkaradeva asked as to why he had sewed that shirt having four sleeves, Cāndsāi replied that it was prepared just to fit the figure he had seen in him. Śańkaradeva told him to remove two sleeves from the shirt and advised not to share the matter with anyone. As per Śankaradeva's advice, Cāndsāi removed the additional sleeves. Later, he ardently requested Śankaradeva and got himself the refuge near him. 186 According to Rāmānanda Dwij, previously Cāndsāi used to spread insulting stories about Śańkaradeva. Later, he left his family and relatives and became one of the beloved disciples of Śańkaradeva. 187

0.3.41 Creation of Guṇamālā and listening by Naranārāyaņ:

Once, king Naranārāyan urged the Brāhmin scholars and Sankaradeva to make arrangements for him to listen to the whole Bhāgawat, while sitting in the court.

185 Op. cit. p.156

¹⁸⁶ Bairagi, C. (Orator) & Neog, M. (1987). Guru-Carit-Kathā p.168

¹⁸⁷ Dwija, R. & Borkakati S.K. (2014). Sriguru Carit. pp. 220-225

The Brāhmins informed the king that such an activity would be impossible to perform. Śańkaradeva compiled the summary of *Bāra Skandha* (twelve episode) *Bhāgawat*. With that he composed *Guṇamāla* overnight and the next day he recited it for the king within thours. Hagiographers have described this incident as trapping a big elephant in a small pot. ¹⁸⁸

This story has been described in many other Carits too. 176 It is important that according to Puwaram Mahanta, Sankaradeva had composed five chapters of the book $Gunam\bar{a}l\bar{a}$ in beforehand. After the order of the king, he composed one more chapter which was enclosed as the first chapter. 177

Śańkaradeva returned to Pātbāusī after spending three months in Kochbehār. Prior to his return to Pātbāusi, Cilārāi got a Saṇskṛit copy of *Janmapurāṇ* and requested Śańkaradeva to translate that into Assamese. Śańkaradeva brought it along, assuming that the task would have to be done in Pātbāusī only. Later, he got it translated into Assamese by Mādhavdeva. And this was the "*Janma Rahasya*" (Birth Secret) volume of Mādhavdeva. ¹⁷⁸

0.3.42 Rukmiņī Haraņa play, Kurukṣetra poetry by Śaṅkaradeva and composing Rājasuya poetry by Mādhavdeva:

Ananta Kandali, handed over to Śaṅkaradeva the two episodes - middle and the end of the *Daśam Skandha* at Pātbāusī, coming all the way from *Ujani* (the upper land). This responsibility was given to Kandali by Śaṅkaradeva way back when he

¹⁸⁸ Op. cit. p.168

^{176 (}a) Thakur, R. & Duttabarua, H. (1985). Guru Carit. pp.779-780

⁽b) Dwija, R. & Borkakati S.K. (2014). Śrīguru Carit, pp. 219-220

⁽c) Mahanta, P. & Borkakati, S. K. 2009). Bardova Guru Carit. pp.109-114

¹⁷⁷ Mahanta, P. & Borkakati, S. K. 2009). Bardova Guru Carit. p.133

¹⁷⁸ Bairagi, C. (Orator) & Neog, M. (1987). Guru-Carit-Kathā. p.169

was in Barduvā and he himself did the Assamese translation of the first episode. 179
Having a check on the work, Śańkaradeva did not find Kandali's translation satisfactory. It carried more description about war and less about devotion. Therefore, picking up legends from the *Daśam Skandha* of *Bhāgawat* and sources from *Harivańsā*, Śańkaradeva created "*Kurukṣetra*" poetry and "*Rukmiṇī Haran*" play himself. He again entrusted Mādhavdeva with the task of composing poetry from *Madhya Daśam*. Thus, Mādhavdeva composed "*Rājasuya*" poetry on the basis of *Madhya Daśam*. 180

0.3.43 Manufacturing the $Vrnd\bar{a}van\bar{\imath}$ Vastra (cloth) and presenting it to Naranārāyaṇa:

On his next visit to Naranārāyaṇ's place for settlement issues, Śańkaradeva was requested by the king to show him Lord Kṛṣṇa's playful activities performed in Vṛndāvan, by illustrating them on clothes. Considering the king's request, Śańkaradeva mobilised 12 expert weavers. Among the 12 weavers, the chief was Budhā Gopal (Mathurā Dās Buḍhā Āta). Śańkaradeva also acquired the necessary yarn. He got the yarn dyed with different colours for weaving. Śańkaradeva supervised the weaving of Vṛndāvānī Vastra by visiting Tātikuci everyday from Pātbāusī. After six months Śańkaradeva got the Vṛndāvanī Vastra completed. Designs of all the pictures of Kṛṣṇa's mischievous activities performed in Vṛndāvan and Māthurā were depicted beautifully in the Vṛndāvanī Vastra. All incidents from Kṛṣṇa's birth till the assassination of Kaṇsa were described in the Vṛndāvanī Vastra. For the Vastra, the measurement for the yarn in length was set as 120 arms. But then it came out to be only 60 arms in length. According to Rāmcaraṇ Thākur, the

¹⁷⁹ Supra, pp. 56-57

¹⁸⁰ Op.cit, p.174

¹⁸¹ Bairagi, C. (Orator) & Neog, M. (1987). Guru-Carit-Kathā. pp.174-176

Vastra was 120 arms in length and 60 arms in width. 182 According to Rāmānanda Dwij the weaving of Vrndavanī Vastra took only three months. 183 According to Puwārām Mahanta, it was Cilārāi who requested Śańkaradeva to weave out the Vrndāvānī Vastra. 184 Thus, in the descriptions of Carit Puthi (book)s, some differences are seen as regards the Vṛndāvānī Vastra. Finally, Śaṅkaradeva went to Kochbehār and delivered the Vastra to Naranārāyaṇa.

0.3.44 Urge to compile *Bargīt* (devotional songs):

During his later years of life in Pātbāusī, Śańkaradeva compiled the Bargīts, composed by himself, in a book form. As per hagiography, he had composed 120 Bargīts in total. Once a music enthusiast disciple called Kamalā Gāyan of Barpetā took away the compilation of songs from Sankaradeva in order to memorise for himself. Unfortunately, a fire spread by pre-spring wind gutted the house of Kamalā Gāyan and the compiled book of songs owned by Śańkaradeva was totally damaged. After the loss of the precious book of songs in fire, Śańkaradeva became reluctant to compose any more songs. Therefore, Śańkaradeva said to Mādhavdeva in grief, "Barāpo, anek sramkai gīt khāni kailu puile,gīt kicu karā, āmi nakaru āru (I had composed the songs with much effort, but fire has taken them away. Now you create a few, I am not going to make any more)." Understanding the sorrow in Śańkaradeva's mind, Mādhavdeva compiled and edited 191 number of songs. 185 However, in today's Bargīt collections differences are visible as regards the number of songs.

¹⁸² Thakur, R. & Duttabarua, H.(1985). Guru Cari. p.782

Dwija, R. & Borkakati S.K. (2014). Śrīguru Carit. p.196 183

Mahanta, P. & Borkakati, S. K. (2009). Bardova Guru Carit. pp.108-109 184

¹⁸⁵ Bairagi, C. (Orator) & Neog, M. (1987). Guru-Carit-Kathā. pp.177-178

0.3.45 Nominating Mādhavdeva as the successor of *Gurudharma* (The religion preachd by Śańkaradeva):

During his last visit to Kochbehar, Śańkaradeva spent a night at Ganakkuci. There in front of all the disciples, Śańkaradeva announced that Mādhavdeva was inseparable from him. On that day, giving advice to Madhavdeva to manage all the disciples, he said that you take care of all. You take them (the disciples) as myself and follow them with love and respect. These were the last words of Śańkaradeva to Mādhavdeva while transferring the responsibility of supervising religious matters.

0.3.46 Suggestion to Mādhavdeva to compose the $N\bar{a}ma$ -Ghoṣā (devotional verses):

Apart from nominating as the supervisor of the Dharmarajya (religious kingdom), Śańkaradeva offered an important suggestion to Mādhavdeva. Śańkaradeva advised Mādhavdeva to bring out a holy book with an objective to produce epoch making religious matters by way of devotional literature creation. Mādhavdeva was advised to produce a book with the name – Ghoṣā, by using ten thousand names of the Almighty, making it applicable to the disciples of all levels like the water in a spacious pond where all kinds of fish from Rou-Barāli (a kind of local big fish) to Darikaṇā (small fish) can live together. ¹⁸⁷ Offering his suggestions in this way, Śańkaradeva went downwards to Kochbehār. Along with Śańkaradeva, his elder son Rāmānanda as well as a few disciples also went to Kochbehār.

187 Op. cit. p.182

¹⁸⁶ Ibid, p.182

¹⁸⁸ Thakur, R. & Duttabarua, H. (1985). Guru Carit. pp.812-815

^{189 (}a) Bairagi, C. (Orator) & Neog, M. (1987). Guru-Carit-Kathā. p.184

⁽b) Mahanta, P. & Borkakati, S. K. 2009). Bardova Guru Carit. p.113

¹⁹⁰ Neog, M. (1987). Śrī Śrī Śaṅkaradeva. p.114

0.3.47 Naranārāyaņ's prayer for śaraņa (refuge):

King Naranārāyaṇ once invited Śaṅkaradeva and urged him to endow him with śaraṇ. But Śaṅkaradeva responded by saying that those who were engaged in earthly and routine activities, could not be given śaraṇ. In addition, the king also used to perform devī pūjā in accordance with sacrifice and other norms. Since the king was not satisfied with the explanation of Śaṅkaradeva and expressed more interest, Śaṅkaradeva told him that ṣaran would be provided to him, once he got an order from Kṛṣṇa. ¹⁸⁸ The above description is also available in the *Carits* of Cakrapāni Bairāgī and Puvārām Mahanta. ¹⁸⁹ Maheswar Neog on reasons for not providing śaraṇa to a king, said, "Seeing the great king Naranārāyaṇ's strong admiration for the śākta religion, Śaṅkaradeva might have no faith in the king's ability to go about with this unpolluted devotional religion. Only two years ago, in 1487 Śaka, as per the king's order the construction of the new structure of the Kāmākhyā temple was completed." ¹⁹⁰

0.3.48 Śańkaradeva's journey for eternal rest:

After deciding not to endow king Naranārāyaṇ with the śaran, Śaṅkaradeva's time for the final exit came closer. Maheswar Neog has written, "It is said that due to eruption of a boil at a joint in the right arm, according to another saying – on the thumb finger, or at the 'jāṅgadāndī' or 'āthān' the Guru had a very high fever which brought his death after three days." According to Carit, Śaṅkaradeva concluded his life theater in the place called Bhelā Kākatkuṭā after the 21st day of Bhādra (July-August) month in 1490 Śaka, Thursday, Śukla Dwitīa tithi (lunar position), after one or half past one noon, around Aādra Nakṣatra. Saran to this unlucky great sinner,

¹⁹¹ Ibid, p.114

¹⁹² Bairagi, C. (Orator) & Neog, M. (1987). Guru-Carit-Kathā. p.186

Śańkaradeva ended his life drama. Getting the news, Cilārāi Dewān became emotional and cried inconsolably referring to the Guru's qualities. After a discussion, Śańkaradeva was cremated in Bhelā Kākatkuṭā where he breathed his last.

0.3.49 Purpose of Śańkaradeva's Literature:

Śaṅkaradeva was a dedicated worker of literature and culture. In the basic of literature and culture he spreaded the *Bhakti* religion. Though he accepted literature as the medium for publication and spreading the religion of Veneration, yet his writing were lurched with all the characteristics of poetry. Of course it is remarkable that Śaṅkaradeva did not create the good literature only for the entertaining the amiable quality of literature.

0.3.50 About his original scripture:

Though Śańkaradeva created the everlasting literature by his versatile genius, yet no trace of book written by his own inscription can be found anywhere. But in the subsequent period Sāñcipāt (a kind of bark of Sāñci tree on which Śańkaradeva wrote in the primitive age before the printing press) or hand written copy of the in-scripter which was preserved in various medium bear the stamp of the books of Śańkaradeva. That is why for the touch of various in-scripter as the time passes out the spelling using of word and structure of language varied. So, sometimes the similarity among the literary creations on Śańkaradeva by various persons and institutions can be hardly found.

0.3.51 Division of literary life:

The literary life of Śańkaradeva is classified into three divisions by Satyendra nāth Śarmā. (a) In the first period he spent at Bardowā. (b) The second period is that

¹⁹³ Sarma, S. N. (2011). Asamīyā Sāhityar Samīkhwātmak Itirtta. p.120.

¹⁹⁴ Supra, pp.38-39

he spent more than twenty years in upper (Assam) at Dhuwāhāt, Belguri etc. (c) In the third period he spent in Lower (Assam) at Pāṭbāusī and Kochbehār. According to him, the exact date, year and regular series of creation of his poetry cannot be orderly prepared yet, his poetry can be categoried as the creation of early middle and last period of his life respectively. On the basic of 'Caritputh' (hagiography) it is decided that the Hariścandra upākhyān the first creation of Śaṅkaradeva and on the otherhand "Rām Bijay" drama is the last creation of his life. ¹⁹³ Of course, from the reading of "Caritputhi" it becomes clear that during his staying at the premise of Mahendra Kandali's Tool as a student, he created an amiable poem. ¹⁹⁴

0.3.52 Classification of Śańkaradeva literary works:

The literary creation of Sankaradeva was classified into six divisions –(a) poetry (b) Devotional book (c) Transcreational (d) Ańkiā drama (e) songs and (f) Relating to community prayer. (a) Verse – (i) Hariścandra upākhyān (ii) Rukmiṇī Haraṇ (verse) (iii) Balicalan (iv) Amṛit Manthan (v) Ajāmil Upākhyān (vi) Kurukṣetra. (b) Devotional Book – (i) Bhakti Pradip (ii) Bhakti Ratnakar (Sanskrit) (iii) Nimi-Navasiddha Sambād (iv) Anādipātan. (c) Transcreational – (i) Bhāgavat: First, Second, Sixth (only legend of Ajāmil), Eighth (Balicalan and Amṛit Manthan), Tenth (first part), Eleventh and Twelve part (ii) Uttarā Kāṇḍa Rāmāyaṇa (d) Aṅkīā Nāt (drama) – (i) Patnī Prasāda (ii) Kālia damana(iii) Keligopāla (iv) Rukmiṇī Haraṇa (v) Pārijāt Haraṇa (vi) Rāmbijay. (e) Songs (Hymns) – (i) Bargīt (ii) Bhaṭimā. (f) Community Prayer – (i) Kīrttan Ghoṣā and Guṇamālā. 195 It is remarkable that though Satyendranāth Śarmā divided one sector as a devotional yet in all his creations devotion is the principal theme.

195 Op.cit. P. 119.

195 Op.cit. 1.115

¹⁹⁶ Sarma, S. N. (2011). Asamīyā Sāhityar Samīkhwātmak Itiṛtta. p. 120.

0.3.53 Verse of Sankaradeva:

Verse: (i) Hariścandra Upākhyan – The poet extracted the material from the 7th and 8th chapter of "Mārkaṇḍaya, purāṇa" for the story of Hariścandra. ¹⁹⁶ The story runs as follows: King Hariścandra had to face many hardship and suffering for offering the prayer to Viṣṇu instead of Gaṇeśa. Of course, King Hariścandra obtained the heallen of Viṣṇu the final felicity. The excellence of Viṣṇu is presented in this verse. It is not required to worship other deity if offer have to pray to Viṣṇu. The verse becomes fit to be tabled for the mixture of melancholy and mirth. The pathetic condition is the main sentiment of the verse. The king Hariscandra is presented as the wise, truthful and liberal man. On the otherhand Śaibȳa is portrayed as tolerant and worm hearted towards her son and husband. The poet sketches the character of Biśvamitra as a villain. Śaṅkaradeva uses pada, cabi, dulari and jhumuri (these are Assamese metre) in the verse.

(ii) *Rukmiṇī Haraṇa* (verse): Śaṅkaradeva took the main story of this poetry from "Haribaṅśa" and "Bhāgawata Purāṇaa". According to the poet the reader get taste for the blending of these two verses like the blending of honey and milk. ¹⁹⁷ As per the description of the poetry, Śrīkṛṣṇa married Rukmiṇī, the daughter of king of Bidarva, Bhiṣmak who was a worshiper of Viṣṇu by defeating Śiśupālā, Jarāsandha and Rukmabīra the senior most son of Bhiṣmaka. Though this poetry is important for the heroic sentiment, yet the poet doesnot totally set aside the pathetic sentiment and mirth. The poet use five Assamese remarkable metres like Pada, Dulari, Cabi, Jhunā and Jhumuri. With the help of simile, proverb, phrases and idioms, the poet illuminates the normal ideal status of the character. The poetry reflects the Assamese social and homely atmosphere which normally attracts the reader. The reader gets the

¹⁹⁷ Chutia, Sonaram & et.al. (1998). Mahāpurusa Śrīmanta Śankaradeva Vākyāmrt. p. 846

picture of mental tension of Śasīprabhā for offering her daughter Rukmiṇī at the hand of a eligible bridegroom. The importance on the pre-destined marriage system, murdering of man, woman and cow as a sin work, the indication for the vibration of the major limbs of our body, paying importance on the married woman on auspicious occasion, the showing of respect through veil, the prevalence of re-marriage system are elaborately discussed in the poetical work. According to Maheswar Neog, "Rukminī Haran" is a popular verse among his other poetical works. ¹⁹⁸

(iii) *Balichlana*: The "*Balichlana*" is based upon the last part of the eight chapter of the "*Bhāgavata*". The poet admits that some description from the "*Bāman Purāṇa*" is added here. The chief purpose of this verse is to send *Bali* to the Earth with the help of intrigues. For this reason Viṣṇu take the shape of Bāmana. The discussion between Bali and Bāmana, the upanayan ceremony of Bāmana, the settlement of the three steps of Bāmana, the self-concealment of deities in disguise are the subject matter of the poem. Heroism, emotion of anger and mirth are the principal sentiment of the poem. The poem is enriched with the determination of humble solicitation, importance of inner feelings and emotion.

(iv) Amṛit Manthana: Śaṅkaradeva created "Amṛit Manthana" on the basic of 8th chapter of the 5th-13th parts of Śrīmadbhāgavata Puraṇa. ²⁰⁰ The entrance of the crowd of deities into the palace of Bali, the rise of Lakṣmī from the bottom of sea, acceptance of Viṣṇu as husband, holding of the enchanting shape by Viṣṇu, the expression of lustful behaviour of Mahadeva by observing enchanting shape of Viṣṇu, the churning activity of the deity and devil and taking ambrosia by the deity are the principal subject matter of the poetry. The heroic activity and greatness of Bali are

198 Neog, M. (2015). Asamīyā Sāhityar Rūprekhā. p. 90

200 Sarma, S. N. (2011). Asamīyā Sāhityar Samīkhwātmak Itiṛtta .p.122

¹⁹⁹ Op.cit.P. 382

characterised more vividly than the delineation of Indra. Furthermore the Excellency of Viṣṇu is exhibited clearly through the story of "Amrit Manthan". The poetry become attractive and interesting for the skillful blending of laughing, pathetic and heroic sentiment.

(v) Ajāmil upākhyāna (The legend of Ajāmil): The legend of Ajāmil is created on the basis of the three parts of sixth chapter of Bhāgavata purāṇa.²⁰¹ Śaṅkaradeva also briefly describes this legend in "Kīrttan-Ghosā". In the first part of the poem Śaṅkaradeva describes about the hell. The description of the hell is found in origin the fifth chapter.²⁰² The chief purpose of writing the legend of Ajāmil is to express the dignity of Rāmnām. The co-habitation of Ajāmil with prostitute, the arrival of the Indian Pluto (a messenger of the regent of death) to capture Ajāmil towards hell, the negotiation between the regent of death and regent of Viṣṇu, the revelation of the dignity and significance of Rāmnām through the mouth of regent of Viṣṇu, adoring of the God concentratly by Ajāmil, the rushing of Ajāmil towards Heaven Vaikuṇṭha, the conversation of the Indian pluto with the messenger of the regent of death are described in the poetry by Sankaradeva in a vivid manner.

(vi) *The poem of Kurukṣetra*: During his staying at Pāṭbāusī Śaṅkaradeva created this poeticl work. He was not satisfied with the translation of *Bhāgavata* by Ananta Kandali and consequently he created this poem. On the basis of 82-85 subdivision of the 10th chapter of Bhāgavata this poem is created. The marching of Kṛṣṇa and Jādavs towards Kurukṣetra, the re-union of Nanda, yaśodā and other cowherd, the description of the marriage of the wife of Kṛṣṇa, the performing of sacrificial rite by Basudeva and prayer to Kṛṣṇa, the prayer to kṛṣṇa by Daivakī to bring back the dead

²⁰¹ Ibid, P. 121.

²⁰² Sarma, N. C. (2014). *Mahāpurusa Śrīmanta Śaṅkaradeva*.p.37

²⁰³ Supra, p. 86

son of Daivakī, bringing the son of Daivakī, the pathetic departure of Nanda-yaśodā are vividly descried in the poem.

0.3.54: Devotional Book:

(i) Bhakti Pradīpa: Śanakaradeva on the basis of "Garuda Purāna" created this religious scripture. 204 According to Cakrapāni Bairāgī Śankaradeva, during his staying at Bardovā created this scripture. 205 According to Dīnanāth Bezbaruā, Śanakaradeva created this scripture during his staying at Pāţbāusī. ²⁰⁶ On the otherhand according to Dimbeswar Neog. Śańkaradeva created this scripture before his journey to lower Assam.²⁰⁷ According to Maheswar Neog, "Bhakti Pradīp" is the earlier creation, and he created this scripture when he was staying in the kingdom of Barabhūyañ. 208 Thus various critics opined differently on the creation of this religious scripture. The scripture is divided into nine parts. The events of the scripture are like this: the discussion of the monks in the sacrificial rites of yudhisthira, the conversation of Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna, presentation of the conversation of Suśīl brāhman and Candālinī (a kind of aboriginal tribe of assam), by krsna in fornt of Arjuna, conversation of Nārada and candālinī, the advice of Śrīkrsna to Arjuna, the characteristics of devotee, the significance of Nām, and the religion of the Bhāgavata, Śrikṛṣṇa's description of heaven to the question of Arjuna. In every event of the scriptures, through the discussion between Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna the importance and significant of Eka-Śarana-Harināma-Dharma is revealed.

²⁰⁴ Chutia, Sonaram & et. al. (1998). Mahāpuruṣa Śrīmanta Śaṅkaradeva Vākyāmṛt. p.772

²⁰⁵ Bairagi, C. (Orator) & Neog, M. (1987). Guru-Carit-Kathā. P. 30

²⁰⁶ Bezbarua, D. (1987). Barcarit p. 88

²⁰⁷ Saikia, N. (2015). Dimbeswar Neog Rachanāvali. p. 388

²⁰⁸ Neog, M. (1987). Śrī Śrī Śaṅkaradeva. p. 44

- (ii) Bhakti Ratnākar: "Bhakti Ratnākar" is a collected and only Sanskrit scripture of Srīmanta Śaṅkaradeva. From various religious scripture Śaṅkaradeva extracted the slokaes (verse of poetry) for "Bhakti Ratnākar". The reference scriptures are Bhāgavata, Brhannāradīya Purāṇaa, Gītā, Bhāgavāt Bhāvartha Dīpikā, Subodhinī Tīkā, Vaiṣṇavānanda Laharī, Nara siṅgha Purāṇa, Biṣṇu Purāṇa, Pāṇḍavi Gītā, Matsya Purāṇa, Kurma purāṇa, Biṣṇu Dharmottar, Brahmāṇḍa purāṇa, Bāmaṇ purāṇa, Bhujaṅgaprayatastotra, Prabodh candroday drama, Śāntiśatak, yogasār, Padma Purāṇa etc.²⁰⁹ The scripture which starts with three self-created verse of poetry consists of 564 verses. Abundant number of verses are collected from the Bhāgvata purāṇa. According to the regular series of the subject matter the scripture is divided into thirty eight chapters. "Bhakti Ratnakar" is the first edited and compiled book of Assamese writer. Through this book Śaṅkaradeva created a trend of editing and compiling a book.
- (iii) Nimi-Navasiddhva Sambāda: As per mention of Kathā guru carit Śańkaradeva created Nimi-Navasiddhva Sambāda in the time of settlement in Koch Kingdom. On the basis of 2nd part to 5th part of the 11th chapter of Śrī madvagavad purāṇa Śańkaradeva created this scripture. Through the discussion among Nimi King and nine number of omniscient Śańkaradeva revealed the doctrine of devotion of the king. Nimi questioned to nine omniscient regarding the universe, life and God and he becomes satisfied to the answers of these omniscient. The scripture is divided into eight divisions.
- (iv) Anādi pātan: Śaṅkaradeva created this scripture on the basis of the 3rd chapter of the Bhāgavat and Bāmaṇ Purāna.²¹¹ He describes the doctrine of creation in this book. Accroding to Maheswar Neog Śaṅkaradeva analyse the principal of

²⁰⁹ Sarma, N. C. (2014). Mahāpurusa Śrīmanta Śaṅkaradeva. p. 270

²¹⁰ QV. Ibid, P. 39

creation on the basis of his own thinking and knowledge.²¹² Śaṅkaradeva expressed the very complex and tasteless doctrine regarding the creation of the world in a very simple way.

0.3.55 Transcreational literature:

(1) *Bhāgavat*: Though lots of creative work of Śańkaradeva is transcreational, yet he does not keep himself apart from the main work. Some chapters of *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and *Uttarākāṇḍa Rāmāyaṇa* are remarkable among such type of translation. The chapters of the *Bhāgavat purāṇa* are like this - First chapter, Second chapter, Third chapter (*Anādi Pātan*), Sixth chapter (legend of Ajāmil), Eight chapter (*Amṛit Manthan* and *Balichlana*), Tenth chapter (Ādi bhāg), Eleventh chapter and Twelve chapter.

First part: There are nineteen nos. of chapters and eight hundred sixteen nos. of verses in the first part of Sanskrit *Bhāgavat*. Śaṅkaradeva finished the first chapter with only 422 numbers of metres. But Śaṅkaradeva does not translate the second and third chapters. The message of Sut-Śaunak, the message of Byās-Nārada, the history of the former birth of Nārada, the mystery of the birth of pariksit, the prayer of Kuntī to kṛṣṇa, the act of talking about salvation of Bhīṣma, severe hindrance of Kali and preservation of religion. Falling of parīkṣit in curse of the Supreme Being - are elaborated discussed in the first chapter. The chapter is finished with the Excellency of devotion to Kṛṣṇa.

Second part: The second part is a heap of ten chapters. Śańkaradeva briefly describes the narration of the Supreme Being and creation of the universe. In this chapter Śańkaradeva strictly advices his disciple to abide by the rules of *Eka-Śaraṇa* principle of religion.²¹³

Third part: In the 3^{rd} chapter Śańkaradeva analyse the doctrine of creation in a simple manner.

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²¹¹ Chutia, Sonaram & et. al. (1998). Mahāpuruṣa Śrīmanta Śaṅkaradeva Vākyāmṛt. p. 267

²¹² Neog, M. (1987 7). Śrī Śrī Śaṅkaradeva. p. 121

Sixth part: The biography of a Brāhmiṇ, named Ajāmil and significance of Rāmnām is discussed in this chapter. 215

Eight part: In this chapter Śańkaradeva discussed on the two books like 'Balicalan' and 'Amrit Manthan'. 216

Tenth part: Śaṅkaradeva transcreated only the first part of the tenth chapter of the Bhāgavata, Ananta Kandali translated the last and middle part. There are ninety parts in the tenth chapter of the Sanskrit Bhāgavat. Śaṅkaradeva transcreated only first to forty nine parts. This part is called Daśam (Tenth). According to Satyendra nāth Śarmā though all the translation of tenth chapter is meant by 'Daśam' yet Assamese people regards the part as 'Daśam' by Śaṅkaradeva'. The childhood of Śrīkṛṣṇa is described in the 'Ādya Daśam'. Śaṅkaradeva portrayed the natural beauty of the autumn and summer season in a fascinating and the readers are spell bounded by this description. The description of the "Rāṣakrīdā" and "Gopī udhava Sambād" in the best example of all the acceptable as a work of art. The playful activities of Śrīkṛṣṇa, majesty and deepness of devotion are expressed in a very clear way.

Eleventh part: There are one thousand four hundred fifty nine verses of poetry in Thirty one episodes of eleventh chapter of Sanskrit *Bhāgavat*; Śaṅkaradeva finished the translation of eleventh chapter through the using of 848 Assamese metre of two lines rlyming at the end. Śaṅkaradeva set aside the yoga, dhyāna (concentration), activities of ascetic in the eleventh chapter and prepare this chapter for the readers of Vaiṣṇava. In this chapter a fine blending of devotion of *Bhāgavat* and philosophical views is observed.

214 Supra, p. 73

²¹³ Op. cit. P. 225

²¹⁵ Suprs, p. 73

²¹⁶ Supra, p. 73

²¹⁷ Supra, p. 73

²¹⁸ Sarma, S. N. (2011). Asamīyā Sāhityar Samīkhwātmak Itiṛtta. p. 123

Twelve part: There are three hundred sixty three verses of poetry in thirteenth episodes of twelve nos. of chapter. Śańkaradeva transcreated these verses of poetry in five hundred thirty nine metre. The description of the Candra dynasty, division of Veda, Varṇāsram Dharma, i.e religion of a particular mode of living a family life ordained for each caste and virtues are expressed in a comprehensive way in this chapter.

(2) Uttarākāṇḍa Rāmāyaṇa: As per description of carit puthi (hagiography) Ananta Kandali wanted to establish the Rāmāyana of Mādhay Kandali by his name through adding some new elements. Mādhav Kandali seemed to request to Śańkaradeva in his dream to rescue his *Rāmāyana*. For this reason Śańkaradeva and Mādhabdeva transcreated the 'Uttarākāṇḍa' and 'Ādikāṇḍa' Rāmāyaṇa respectively. ²¹⁹ Śańkaradeva appreciated also the talent of Mādhav Kandali as a poet in *Uttarākāṇḍa Rāmāyaṇa*. ²²⁰ Śaṅkaradeva transcreated only the episodes relating to Rām-Sītā by keeping aside the unnecessary things. That is why Śankaradeva regards it as the main point of issue. 221 The exile of Sīta, Sīta's arrival at the Vālmikī's hermitage, birth of Lava-Kuśa, the Aśvamedh Sacrificial rites of Rām, the Rāmāyani song of Lava-Kuśa in the palace of $Sr\bar{i}$ Rāmcandra, the birth description of Hanuman, arrival of Sītā with Vālmikī, the entrance of Sīta into the hell, the anger of Rām towards the Earth, offering of consolation by Brahma, the coronation of Lava-Kuśa, the searching of Laksmana, the journey of Ramcadra to heaven are described with utmost creation by Śańkaradeva. Śańkaradeva portrayed the separation between Rām and Sītā in a heart touching and pathetic way.

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²¹⁹ Bairagi, C. (Orator) & Neog, M. (1987). Guru-Carit-Kathā. p.101

²²⁰ Chutia, Sonaram & et. al. (1998). Mahāpurusa Śrīmanta Śankaradeva Vākyāmrt. p.974

²²¹ Ibid, p. 950

0.3.56 *Aṅkīya Nāt* :

Śańkaradeva is regarded as the father of Assamese dramatic literature.Before Śańkaradeva there is no proof of creating drama by only dramatist. According to Satyendra nath Śarma for having one 'act' (aṅka) the dramas of Śaṅkaradeva is regarded as Aṅkāyā drama. 222 Of course, Śaṅkaradeva did not use the above mentioned word. Śaṅkaradeva uses only "Nāt" (drama), "Nātak" and "yātrā" (royal drama) in his drama. 223 Before the creation of six dramas he performs 'Cihnayātra', one of his drama. Śaṅkaradeva uses the "Brajāvalī" language in his drama, not Śanskrit or colloquial language. Of course, the verses of poetry are adorned by Sanskrit language. The remarkable six dramas are – (a) Patnī Prasāda (b) Kāliya damana (c) Keli gopāla (d) Rukminī haraṇa(e) Pārijāt haraṇa and (f) Rām bijaya.

(a) *Patnī Prasāda*: According to Satyendra nāth Śarmā "*Patnī-Prasāda*" is the first drama of Śańkaradeva and he created this drama during his staying in Belguri.²²⁴ Maheswar Neog also opined it as the first drama.²²⁵ Śańkaradeva took the material of "*Patnī-Prasād*" from the 13th episode of the 10th chapter of Śrī madbhagavat. The story of the drama is designed on the believer of sacrificial rites, the Brahmin wives who are devoted to Kṛṣṇa and other Brāhmins who are against Kṛṣṇa. The story of this drama in comparison to the other drama is very precise. Satyendranāth Śarmā says that the playful activities are not in abundance. The characters are fractional and quite impersonal. Of course, Śańkaradeva did not concentrate on the conflict and characterization, because it was not his chief purpose

²²² Sarma, S. N. (2011). Asamīyā Sāhityar Samīkhwātmak Itiṛtta. p.126

²²³ Chutia, Sonaram & et. al. (1998). *Mahāpuruṣa Śrīmanta Śaṅkaradeva Vākyāmṛt.* pp.1020, 1011, 1046

²²⁴ Sarma. S. N. (2000). Asamīyā Nātya Sāhitya. p. 44

Neog, M. (2015). Asamīyā Sāhityar Rūprekhā. p. 91

it's create these things.²²⁶ A quiet sentiment encircles the dramatic performance of the *Patnī Prasād*.

- (b) Kāliya damana: From the tenth chapter of the Śrimadbhāgavat, the story of the 'Kāliya daman' is extracted. Cowherd's outgoing with Kṛṣṇa for the grazing of cows, becoming insensible for taking poisonous water of Kāliya lake, the terrific fight between Kṛṣṇa and Kāliya Nāg (snake), the praying of the wives of Nāg, sending for exile of Kāliya Nāg to Ramanak island instead of killing, at last Kṛṣṇa's devouring of wild fire are the subject matter of Kāliya damana. The explanation of the interlocution in each prelude is much than the dialogue of the character. The cruelty, boast of the Kāliya Nāg decline the devotion of Hari.
- (c) *Keligopāla*: Śańkaradeva wrote the "*Keligopāla*" drama on the basis of 29-33 episodes of the tenth chapter of Śrīmadbhāgavat. There five episodes are called altogether as "Rās *Pancādhāya*". The sweet, heart touching flute sound of Śrī Kṛṣṇa by observing the splendour of flower of autumn, the rushing of female cowherd to *Bṛndāvan* as being amorous at the flute sound, the order of Kṛṣṇa to the female cowherd to return home by reminding duty of Kulabadhu(a daughter-in-law of lineage), the disappearing of Śrī Kṛṣṇa with one of the female cowherd, named Rādhā, the seacing of Kṛṣṇa by female cowherd and mourning of then at the absence of Kṛṣṇa, arrival of Kṛṣṇa at last, re-union with the female cowherd and description of the *Rāsa Krīdā* (the playful activities) are described in such a lively manner that it becomes living picture of *Brajadhām*. Afterwards the incident of killing of Śańkhacur is added in the drama. The *Rāsa Krīdā* is interpreted spiritually also. Śrī Kṛṣṇa is the symbol of Supreme Being and female cowherd is the symbol of sentient soul. That is why the activities of the *Rāsa Krīdā* are significant as the assimilation of soul and

²²⁶ Op.cit. P.45

Supreme being. Though the female cowherd at first approach to Kṛṣṇa with amorous feelings but later on this type of feeling is transformed into love. This drama is based on dance and singing.

(d) Rukmini Harana: Śańkaradeva created this drama on the basis of 52-54 episodes of the tenth chapter of Śrīmadbhāgavat. The outline of the story is like this: Kṛṣṇa and Rukmiṇī's growing attraction for each other by hearing the appreciation in the month of migrants, Rukmabīra, the brother of Rukminī invitation to Siśupāl as a bridegroom, the journey of Vedanidhi (one name of Brāhmaṇ) to Dvarakā by taking the news of Rukminī, the arrival of Kṛṣṇa with Vedanidhi at Bidarbha, Rukminī's elopement with Krsna by the returning way from Bhayānī temple, Krsna's fight with the kings and finally defeat the kings, defeat of Rukmabīra at the hand of Kṛṣṇa and beheading of Rukmabīra and finally the marriage of Rukmiņī. The dimension of the "Rukminīharaņa" is the biggest among the dramas of Śankaradeva. Śatyendranāth Sarmā says in respect of Kṛṣṇa's marriage with Rukmiṇī through thrift that the marriage of Krsna and Rukminī is the example of prevalent demon marriage system from the ancient time. 227 The characterization of Rukminī becomes attractive and lively than the other characterization. Rukminī is the serious beloved inhering the all quality of humanity, devotee of Kṛṣṇa and tolerant. Vidanidhi, Hari Dās and Surabhi bhāt are the original creation of the dramatist.

(e) *Pārijāt Haraņ*: Śaṅkaradeva extracted the story of *Pārijāt Haraṇ* from the "*Bhāgavata Purāṇa*" and "*Haribansā*". According to Śatyendranāth Śarmā '*Pārijāt Haraṇ*' is the best drama among the dramas of Śaṅkaradeva.²²⁸ Rāmcaraṇ Thākur opines that Śaṅkaradeva created this drama after his second coming for pilgrimage.²²⁹

²²⁷ Sarma. S. N. (2000). Asamīyā Nātya Sāhitya. p. 56

²²⁸ Ibid, p.51

²²⁹ Thakur, R. & Duttabarua, H. (1985). Guru Carit. pp.739-740

In comparison to the other dramas of Śańkaradeva the dramatic quality of this drama in respect of characterization and dialogue is superior. The portraiture of Rukmiṇī, Satyabhāmā, and Nārada is lively and is attractive. Among all the characters, Nārada is the most attractive. The humorous quality and habit of backbiting are the principal characteristic feature of the characterization of Nārada. Rukmiṇī is taciturn loyal to husband and lower of Kṛṣṇa. On the otherhand Satyabhāma is arrogant, garrulous and jealousful.

(f) Rāmbijay: Śańkaradeva took the materials of Rāmbijay from the Ādikāṇḍa of Rāmāyaṇa. The journey of Rām-Lakṣmaṇ with Biśvamitra to hermitage, the arrival at the sayambar (the selection of a husband by a princess from a numerous princes assembled for the purpose) of Sītā, the daughter of King Janaka. The breaking of Haradhanu (bow of Māhadeva), the acceptance of Sītā as a wife and finally returning of Rām-Lakṣmaṇ with Sītā towards Ayodhyā are the Principal subject matter of the drama. The skill of the dramatist is observed in enlightening the characters with relevant salient features within a very limited circumstances. The affection of king Dāsaratha for sons, the amiable quality of Rām, devotion and love of Sītā to Rām, the boast of Paraśurām are expressed more skillfully by the dramatist. Rām Bijay is the last drama of Śańkaradeva. It is not only last drama but also the last creation of Śańkaradeva. Śańkaradeva folded the writing activity after writing this drama. Śańkaradeva admits that he creates this drama in 1490 Śaka for the inspiration of Cilārāi. 230

0.3.57 Hymnology:

(a) *Bargīt*: According to hagiography Śańkaradeva at first created hymn(*Bargīt*) during his frist pilgrimage. With his devotee Śańkaradeva rested in one

230 Chutia, Sonaram & et. al. (1998). Mahāpuruṣa Śrīmanta Śaṅkaradeva Vākyāmṛt. p.119

of the family of *Raumārī*(now *Baṅgāigaon* district) of Assam. Śaṅkaradeva spent one night there and the family accepted the religion of Śaṅkaradeva and he gifled a hymn, written with spirituality to the family. Later on *Mathurā Dās* rescued this song and bestow it to Mādhavdeva. This is the first *Bargīt* of Śaṅkaradeva. The first part of the hymn is as follows:-

rām meri hṛdaya paṅkaje raise/

bhāi citta cintasa kaise||

Of course, Maheśwar Neog opines that Śaṅkaradeva created *Bargīt* at first during his staying as pilgrim at Badarikāśram. According to him the hymn, "*mana meri Rām caranahi lāgu*" is the first *bargīt* of Śaṅkaradeva.²³² At present, all hymns of Śaṅkaradeva are not available. All *bargeets* are burned in the house of Kamalā gāyan during the wildfire.²³³

It is remarkable that Śańkaradeva regards his hymn as 'gīt'. Nowhere he uses the word 'Bargīt'. In the subsequent time some devoted followers used the word 'Bargīt'. Bāṇīkanta Kākati comments on Bargīt as follows: Bargīt are placed on the pillars of high morality and spiritual feelings. The English poet Herrick also created some spiritual poems and regarded these poems as 'Noble Numbers.' In our literature also Bargīts are Noble Numbers." Like the Ankīyā drama (play based one Act, scene etc) the language of the Bargīt is Brajāvalī. Bargīts has the primay mode of music. Furthermore, bargīts are based on the parental affection, Servitude and tranquility of mind.

234 Kakati, B. K. (2007) . Asamīyā Puraņi Sāhitya . p.57

²³¹ Bairagi, C. (Orator) & Neog, M (1987). Guru-Carit-Katha. p.412

Neog, M. (1987). Śrī Śrī Śaṅkaradeva. p.41

²³³ Supra, pp. 87-88

(b) *Bhaṭimā*: *Bhaṭimā* is one kind of praying hymn. In the Middle Age of India the Bhāt were singing *Bhaṭimā* for livelihood. They were appreciating God, King, emperor and famous man in *Bhaṭimā*. As for example a sentence like '*Capaya padhaya Bhat*' is found in the *Rāmāyaṇa* of *Mādhav Kandali*.²³⁵ During the second journey for pilgrimage Śaṅkaradeva described the singing of *Bhaṭimā* by Bhāt in the hagiography.²³⁶

Śańkaradeva created three kinds of *Bhaţimā*: *Deva Bhaţimā*, *Nāt Bhaţimā* and *Rāj Bhaţimā*. Singing the appreciation of Kṛṣṇa, the God and sacrifice to his feet is the subject matter of the *Deva-Bhaţimā*. The *Deva-Bhaţimā* by Śańkaradeva is classified into three categories. One of these three one *Deva-Bhaţimā* is based on Sanskrit language. The metre '*Toṭak*' of Sanskrit language is called '*Toṭaya*' in Assamese. That is why it is regarded as '*Toṭaya*' in Assamese language by the name of metre. When for the first time Śaṇkaradeva came to the palace of Narānārayaṇa he was singing the *Deva-bhaţimā* '*Madhu dāṇava dāṛana deva baran*' written on the metre of '*Tuṭak*' metre. In the second day he recited the '*Bando gobindā gopī Jaṇamāṇandā*' and some other day he recited another *Bhaṭimā*, "*Jaya Jagadīśa īśa bhayahārī*."²³⁷

The *bhaṭimā* which consists in the drama is called '*Nāṭ bhaṭimā*' (Nāṭ=drama). The *Nāṭ bhaṭimā* is classified into three categories:- primary *bhaṭimā*, middle *bhaṭimā* and last *bhaṭimā*. The last *bhaṭimā* is called *muktimaṅgal bhaṭimā*. Śaṅkaradeva created *bhaṭimā*in his all six plays.

There are two *rāj bhaṭimā* (royal bhaṭimā) by Śaṅkaradeva. When for the first time Śaṅkaradeva went to the palace of king Naranārāyaṇa he created a *bhaṭimā* and

²³⁵ Kandali, Madhav & Sarma, K.C. (2008). Rāmāyaṇa. p.399

Bairagi, C. (Orator) & Neog, M. (1987). Guru-Carit-Kathā. p. 139

²³⁷ Ibid. pp.154-157

in the second day he recited the second $bhațim\bar{a}$ before king. The first royal $bhațim\bar{a}$ is "jaya jaya malla nrpati $rasaj\bar{a}n$ " and the second $bhațim\bar{a}$ is " $h\bar{a}si$ $sabh\bar{a}sada$ karu bahu thira". The heroism, mastery, liberality and capability of Naranārāyaṇa are appreciated in the above two $bhatim\bar{a}s$. Apart from the $bhatim\bar{a}$ the $bhatim\bar{a}$ is $bhatim\bar{a}s$ is $bhatim\bar{a}s$ are also integral part of the drama. The language of the $bhatim\bar{a}s$ is $bhatim\bar$

0.3.58 Relating to *Nāma*: Community prayer:

(1) Kīrttan-Ghoṣā: When Śaṅkaradeva was alive, the Kīrttan -ghoṣā was not found as a copy of book. The various part of the Kīrttan Ghoṣa were scattered in many places where Śaṅkaradeva was staying. Later on as per direction of Mādhavdeva the nephew of Rāmcaraṇ Thākur collected the remnants and edited into book. The Kīrttan Ghoṣā is the cluster of twenty seven parts. Every part is independent. Apart from these 27 parts of Śaṅkaradeva, 'Sahasra Nām Bṛtānta' by Ratnākar Kandali, "Ghunucā Kīrttan" by Śrīdhar Kandali and "Dhyān Barṇan" by Madhavdeva are included in published Kīrttan Ghoṣā. Except the three chapters of Kīrttan Ghoṣā, Śrīmadbhāgavat is the principal basis of another twenty four episodes. Among the nine devotion Śaṅkaradeva emphasized on hearing and singing. "Kīrttan is the best example of practice talent of Śaṅkaradeva and pillar of Vaiṣṇaba literature. Like the appreciation and adoration of 'Rām carit Mānas' by Tulsī Dās in North Indian area where Hindi language is prevalent, the Kīrttan Ghoṣā is also popular and is adored by Assamese people."

²³⁸ Op. cot. pp.155-156

²³⁹ Bairagi, C. (Orator) & Neog, M. (1987). Guru-Carit-Kathā. pp.414-415

²⁴⁰ Chutia, Dharmeswar & et.al. (2005). Kirttan- Ghosa āru Nāmā- Ghoṣā. pp.516-591

Neog, M. (2015). Asamīyā Sāhityar Rūprekhā. pp. 85-86

²⁴² Sarma, S. N. (2011). Asamīyā Sāhityar Samikhwatmak Itibittra, p.124

(2) *Guṇamālā*: During his staying in Kochbihār, Śaṅkaradeva created "*Guṇamālā*" by following the request of Naranārāyana.²⁴³ *Guṇamālā* is created in *Kusummālā* rhyme of six syllables. Four hundred forty one verses are consisting of in the six parts of *Guṇamālā*.²⁴⁴ According to Satyendranath Śarmā there are 337 verses in *Guṇamālā*.²⁴⁵ The first chapter is based on the appreciation of spelandour and quality of God and other parts are the essence of tenth and eleventh chapter of *Bhāgavat*.

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Supra, p. 86

²⁴⁴ Chutia, Sonaram & et. al. (1998). Mahāpuruṣa Śrīmanta Śankaradeva Vākyāmṛt., p.1-15

²⁴⁵ Sarma, S. N. (2011). Asamīyā Sāhityar Samikhwatmak Itibittra, p. 125