Chapter XX

VAISHNAVISM

Shakti was no doubt monotheistic and it developed as a syncretic system. Still, it could not prevent the growth of sectarianism in the land. As Bhandarkar pointed out, in other monotheistic systems, the same god was the object both of love and fear. But in India, they are directed towards two different gods, Visnu and Siva respectively. Around these two gods gradually developed the two major sects of India namely Vaisnavaism and Saivism.

Causes for the growth of sectarianism:

The growth of sectarianism is the result of the concurrence of many and complex historical factors. The roots of the movement are to be traced to the very heterogenous character of the Indian population. It is already noted that Siva was essentially a non-Aryan or Dravidian god whereas Visnu was Vedic or Aryan. In the Rigveda, we find the Aryan sages making indelicate and indecent remarks about Pasupati, the prototype of Siva. He was spoken of in derisive language as Sisnadevá and the non-Aryans were castigated as Purataš and Apavartas. Such a hostile attitude would naturally produce in the insulted party a violent reaction, leading to a rigid attachment to his own system. Attempts were started very early to reconcile the two. But the orthodox sections among the Aryans such as Daksa resisted the

3. Ibid. P. 54.
5. Ibid. I, 178, 8; V, 42, 9.
admission of Siva into the Aryan pantheon. Such attempts further estrange the feelings of the people. The epic and puranic literature contains many legends about the conflict between Siva and Visnu. The Mahabharata records a fight between Siva and Visnu which was brought to a close by the timely intervention of Brahma who effected a compromise between the two. According to it, Siva acknowledged the superiority of Visnu and the latter declared that there was no difference between himself and Siva. In several of the Mahabharata passages "Krsna is made to worship Siva as the Supreme Spirit and in others vice versa Siva celebrates the glory of Krsna." The conflict thus ended in a compromise and in the recognition by both the value of co-existence. Herein lies the reason for the perpetuation of Siva and Visnu as gods of equal importance. In the Gita, Sri Krsna declares that worship, to whomsoever it is intended, reaches him only. Such catholicity and spirit of tolerance are no doubt commendable, but it is an allowance given to sectarianism.

The sectarianism thus originated was nourished by the systems of Yoga and Bhakti. Yoga insists on the fixing of mind on a particular object and hence each Yogi made his own favourite deity his object of veneration to the exclusion of other gods. In the same way a Bhakta would select that god who is dear to him for his devotion. The natural corollary of Bhakti was image worship and

1. Vide Supra, p. 52.
5. Yepyanya dovata bhakta Yajanye sraddhayanvitah Tepinameya Kaunteya! Yajantya Vidhipurvakam. \( \text{Skt.} \) G., IX, 23.
images and symbols developed. Patanjali tells us that iron lance was the symbol of Siva-Bhadra. The Vaisnavites might have developed similar symbols. These only added strength to sectarianism.

Erandaraar classifies the worshippers of any deity into three categories: (1) clerics or ascetics; (ii) their lay followers, and (iii) non-sectarian devotees. Generally the common people would not attach sectarian importance to the worship of any god. They might show fairly equal reverence to different gods like the Calukyas, with the probably hope of winning the favour of all the gods. But it is the religious leader or the Acarya that is responsible for the spread of sectarianism, through his teachings. He is the author of the sectarian literature, which extols this or that god. It is said that Kamalajna was an uncompromising Vaisnava and the rigid sectarianism which he preached continued till modern times. The famous Saivite poet in Telugu, Palkuriki Somanatha took the pious vow that he would neither see nor touch nor talk to a Vaisnava.

1. K.A.N. Sastri, Religions, P. 53.
3. Conch and disc might have become very early the symbols of the Vaisnavas. At Nagarjunakonda two conches were discovered with the inscription of Astabhuja-Narayana. They were probably dedicated or gifted to that god.
4. Ibid., P. 118.
6. He declared:
   Bhavijana darsana sparsana lapa
   Vividha dandana visaya duraguda.
   panditaradhyaaritra, I, P. 15.
The most important of the sects that once existed are: Saiva, Vaisnava, Sakti, Saura, Skanda and Ganapatya. Tantras, Agamas and Puranas were composed celebrating the greatness and glory of each of these deities. Gradually, Vaisnavism and Saivism emerged as the most outstanding. The other deities came to be associated in some way with the one or the other. In the Smarta system, all the five deities—Siva, Vismu, Asnika, Aditya and Ganapati were brought into harmony and the worship of the five—Pancayatanas—was insisted upon.

**Origin of Vaisnavism**

Vaisnavism is the worship of Visnu as the Supreme god and his numerous manifestations. Visnu is no doubt a Vedic god. But in the Rig Veda, he was not the Supreme God, being only one aspect of the Sun. In the Brahmanas he was associated more with sacrifice than with devotion and grace. Vaisnavism with Visnu as the greatest god is only a later and gradual development.

The epics and puranas refer to Visnu, Narayana, Visnudeva, Krishna as almost one and his devotees are called either as Vaisnavas.

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1. R.V., I, 155, 6.
or Bhagavatas or Sattvatas or Ekantikas or Pancaratras but these are found to be three different cults fused into one during the post-Upanisadic period. Vaisnavism thus developed step by step as a syncretic religion, meeting the social and ethical requirements of the times.

**Vasudeva Cult:**

The first important step in the evolution of Vaisnavism is the Vasudeva cult, developed around Vasudeva-Krsna, the leader of the famous epic race, the Yadus with its branches, the Sattvatas and Vrnis. Vasudeva-Krsna was the disciple of Chora Angiras of the Candogya Upanishad, who laid the foundations of a monotheistic religion, independent of Vedic tradition, with emphasis on ethical requirements such as dama, arjya and ahimsa.

1. They are called Bhagavatas because they worshipped Bhagavat Vasudeva-Krsna, the Vrsni hero.
2. They are called Sattvatas because Vasudeva-Krsna was a Sattvata hero and the religion was first prevalent among the Sattvatas.
   B.C. Bhandarkar, op. cit.
3. It is Ekantika because it is exclusive devotion to a particular deity. According to the Mahabharata it was coined by the followers of Narayana.
4. Different meanings are suggested to this word: It was called so either because it was based upon five knowledges namely, latya, muhitrada, bhaktiprada, yoga and Vaisesika or it was taught by five sages namely Sandilya, Apagayana, Maunjayana, Kausika and Bharadwaja or it depended on the worship of the five Vrsni heroes, Sankarasa, Vasudeva, Aniruddha, Pradyumna, Sanbas or because it destroys (much) ignorance (ratri) or because Narayana performed the Pancaratra Sattra. Ibid. pp. 42-44.
6. III, 17, 6.
This system is believed to have its roots in an older system of sun-worship. It is generally agreed that Vasudeva-Irshana played a prominent part in the events recorded by the Mahabharata. Having been influenced by the widespread speculative reaction of the Upanisads against the ever grown sacerdotism, Krishna might have developed the teachings of Agnirasa in the Bhagavad Gita as a system of religion and delivered it to his followers -- the Vranis and the Sattvatias. In a short time, Vasudeva-Irshana was deified and was called Bhagavat. Bunchor thinks that the worship of Irshana "dates from the time long anterior to the rise of the Vaisnavas". By the time of Panini (5th century B.C.), the Vasudeva cult became an established religion among the Sattvatias and the Vranis.

**Vasudeva-Narayana-Vishnu:**

The general tendency of a devotee is to identify his own god with the highest known around him. As a consequence, Vasudeva-Krisha came to be identified with Narayana and Vishnu, who were held supreme among the Brahmanists. Narayana was Yogisvara and became supreme through the Pancaratra Sattwa. Slowly Vasudeva was identified with him and the Vasudevakas and the Pancaratras got mixed up and came to be known as the Bhagavatas. Soon afterwards, the god of the Bhagavatas was identified with Vishnu as a result of

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5. A. Chandra, Archaeology and Vaishnava Tradition, p. 16.
a double pronged move. The Bhagavatas claimed their god to be identical with the Vedic Solar deity, Visnu and declared that their system Sattvatavidhi or Sattvastayoga was originally laid down by the Sun. It may be recalled that Yoga was associated with both Sun and Narayana. On the other hand, the Brahmanists found in the popular Bhagavata cult an effective means of checking the progress of the atheistic Buddhism. Therefore, "Brahmanism claimed as its own this popular and powerful representation of the deity (Krsna), and transformed it into an incarnation of Visnu. In this way Brahmanism succeeded in gaining over the entire community of the Bhagavatas and the latter (a still existing sect) were merged in Brahmanism. Thus by the time the Mahabharata and the Bhagavadgita were composed "three streams of religious thought, the one flowing from Visnu, the Vedic god at its source, another from Narayana, the cosmic and philosophic god, and the third from Vasudeva, the historical god mingled together decisively and thus formed the later Vaisnavism".

At a later stage, as a result of the identification of Vasudeve-Krsna of the Sattvatas with some youthful god of their neighbours, the Abhiras, the Gopala aspect was added to the Bhagavat system and from it sprang the dalliances of Krsna with Gopikas. These erotic elements in the Krsna saga, especially his amorous adventures with Gopikas and Radha have been idolised in the Bhagavata Purana into a craving of the individual spirit and the

condescension of the Supreme Soul.

2. Ibid supra; Section on Decline of Buddhism.
5. Ibid. PP. 30-36.
Concepts of Vyuhas & Avataras

In course of time, the theory of the Vyuhas and the concept of Avataras have been developed, probably with a view to justify the above syncretism. Scholars think that this development was influenced by the concept of Dhyani Buddhas and the Jataka Tales that were current among the Buddhists from the time of the Mauryas.

Vyuhas:

Vasudeva is worshipped in five forms: Para, Vyaha, Vibheva, Antaryamin and Arca. In his highest (or Para) aspect he possesses six great qualities: Jnana, Dala, Virya, Alvarya, Sakti and Tejas.

In the Vyaha or the second aspect, Sankarsana, Pradyumna, and Aniruddha emanate from Vasudeva and each of them possesses only two of the above divine qualities.

However, it appears that all the above namely, Vasudeva, Sankarsana, Pradyumna and Aniruddha were the heroes of the Vrsni clan and for some time each of them enjoyed independent worship.

The Bhagavadgita whose compilation is placed in the 2nd century B.C. does not contain any references to the Vyaha theory. Patanjali who belongs to the same period gives Vasudeva a place.

References:

next to Sankara and this evidently proves that the theory did not develop by his time. The Hanaghat inscription of Vajrakila also gives them the same positions. The Chausundi stone inscription which was almost of the same time as the Hanaghat inscription calls Vasudova, Sarveswara the god of gods. It appears therefore that though Vasudova was recognised as Supreme god, the Vyuha theory did not fully develop by the time of the Hanaghat inscription.

The Theory of Avataras:

As the worship of Vyuhas declined the theory of avataras came into the field. The origin of the theory is traced to the Rgveda and the Bhagavadgita gave currency to it. By the time of the Guptas the theory became popular and the Matsyapura whose composition is placed about the 3rd century A.D. mentions the ten recognised Avatars became popular.

Some of the incarnations of Visnu are found to be independent gods. The earliest of them, Matsya (Fish), Kurma (tortoise) and Varaha are believed by some as the totem objects of some influential non-Aryan tribes of Central India. Narasimha or the Man-Lion God is a zoo-morphic one and it is already pointed out that

2. S.I., I, F. 166 ff.
3. Ibid. pp. 91-92.
5. Poritvamya Sadanam Vinayaka kaviprasa
8. Sudhanar Chatterjee, "Theistic Sects in Ancient India", p. 15.
Pilgrimage was prevalent among the Austroloids. Charles Hot remarks that "when some aboriginal deity becomes important owing to the prosperity of the tribe or locality with which he is connected, he is recognised by the Brahmins and admitted into their pantheon." Thus the theory of Avataras helped Vaishnavism to absorb the local deities and grow as a syncretic religion. In fact, the early Bhagavatism developed a catholicity of outlook and the Bhagavatas treated all gods with equanimity. This feature culminated in the proclamation of the Bhagavan that all worship, to whomsoever it is intended goes to Him only. This is indeed a clever way of establishing the supremacy of God Visnu.

The theory of Avataras entered the South very early. But the most popular Avataras appear to be Varaha, Narasinha, Vamanas, Narayana and Krishna. In the famous Visnu temple at Badami, excavated during the time of Kirtivarman-Mangalesa (c. A.D. 678) the above Avataras are found. In addition to the above, the caves of Jindavalli contain the story of Rama. In the Sirpur temple of about the 7th century all the ten Avataras find place in a panel. Some of the inscriptions in a cave at Kamallapuram of about the 8th century all the ten Avataras are mentioned.

1. Vide Supra, P. 46 ff.
2. op. cit., ii, P. 133.
5. The temple was constructed under the orders of Kirtivarman by his brother Mangalesa. The work was completed and the image of Visnu was consecrated perhaps after the death of Kirtivarman.
VAISHNAVISM IN ANDHRA

The Bhagavata Purana claims that the Andhras, like many other uncivilised tribes, were purified by their adherence to Vaisnavism. No doubt, Vaisnavism entered Andhra sufficiently early. But it did not become as popular and predominant as Saivism until after the fall of the Kakatiya empire in A.D. 1323.

Satavahana

The early Satavahanas appear to have been influenced by Vaisnava Bhagavatism. The second king in the Satavahana, according to the Matsya list, is Krsna or Keshava and the name must have been the result of that influence. The Nanaghat inscription of Saranika, the queen of the third king, Satavahana, is the first epigraphical proof to the prevalence of the worship of Sakarsana and Vasudeva in the Satavahana empire. The Nasik inscription of Balasri, compares her son Gautamiputra with Rama and Vasudeva who are identical with Balarama or Sakarsana and Vasudeva-Vrsna.

Another Nasik inscription of the time of Vasishchitputra Sri Pulamati mentions an officer by name Vinhupalita (Visnupalita).

On the basis of the Chinagenjam inscription of Vajradhi Satakorni's reign, D.C. Sircar concludes that the Vasudeva cult spread up to the east coast by the close of the 2nd century A.D.

2. E.I., VIII, Nasik Inscriptions, No. 22.
4. Ibid.
5. E.I., VIII, Nasik Inscriptions, No. 3.
7. E.I., III, IV, P. 141.
But, a closer examination of the inscription has revealed that it begins with the term Bhagavato and does not contain the term Vasudeva. The inscription looks more like a Buddhist record for the following reasons: (1) by the time of Vajnesri, most of the Buddhist records were begun with the terms Namo Bhagavato or Bhagavate. (2) The region of Chinnaganjam-Pedaganjam-Ranuparti yielded stupas and other Buddhist antiquities. (3) Recently, between the two villages of Chinnaganjam and Uppugundur, a mound locally known as Faranguladinne (the mound of foreigners) yielded a number of Buddhist sculptures, including the images of the Buddha and an inscription of the time of Virapurisadastra. The inscription appears to record a gift made by a merchant of Shanuka-katake, probably to a Buddhist establishment of the place. Therefore it is reasonable to conclude that Chinnaganjam was an important Buddhist Titha, and the Bhagavat of the inscription of the time of Vajnesri refers only to the Buddha but not to Vasudeva, as concluded by Sircaar and others.

Despite the Chinnaganjam inscription, there is plenty of evidence in favour of the spread of Vaishnavism in a large part of Dekkan including Andhradesa. The Saptasati which is generally attributed to the 17th king in the Satavahana dynasty, contains many gathas with Vaishnavite themes. They are: Krsna and the

2. Vide Supra, Ch. on Mahayanism.
4. I.A.S., XXIII, P. 183 ff.
5. Dr. Sircaar has based his views on the reading of the inscription by N.G. Majumder and on his conclusions.
churning of the ocean of milk; Kaustubha on the chest of Viṣṇu; Radha and Kṛṣṇa; Yasoda, Gopikas and Kṛṣṇa; Vamana and Brīhadeśi; Lakṣmi and Jyeṣṭha. These Gathas clearly indicate that by that time, Vaisnavaism with the concept of Avatāras was very popular all over Dakṣaṇ.

Another conclusion of Dr. Sircar is that the "independent worship of the third and fourth Vyūhas ... was not quite popular outside the Vṛṣṇi circle". He is led to this view by the omission of Pradyumna and Aniruddha in the Managhat inscription. But this view too does not seem to be correct. Recently, a large panel of sculpture was discovered at Kondamotu in the Taluk of Guntur district. It contains from the left the images of Pradyumna, Viṣṇu, Narasimha, Vasudeva, Sankarsana and Aniruddha. On stylistic grounds, the panel is assigned to the late phase of the Ikṣvaku sculpture or to about the close of the

2. Ibid. II, 51.
3. Ibid. I, 89.
4. Ibid. II, 12; II, 14; VII, 85.
5. Ibid. V, 6 & 28.
6. Ibid. V, 11.
7. Ibid. I, 42.
8. Ibid.
10. A. Waheed Khan, An Early Sculpture of Narasimha, passim.
fourth century A.D. It is believed that the sculpture was installed in a square temple on the top of a hill and was worshipped. This is a clear proof of the prevalence of the Vyuha worship in Andhra. Further, the early Tamil works, such as Maunisekhali, Silappadikara and Paripau refer to the images of Sankarsana, Vasudeva and Aniruddha and temples of Vasudeva and Anadeva. Therefore it is reasonable to assume that along with Bhagavatism, the doctrines of Vyuhas and Avatara spread into the Deccan and South India. The clannishness connected with the Vyuhas was forgotten and they were worshipped as the emanations from Para Vasudeva.

Iksvakus

The Iksvakus who succeeded the Satavahana in the Dravida valley had some contact with the Abhira of Western Deccan. In

1. This date is arrived at on the basis of two important factors: in the first place the headgear, the drapery, the ornaments like the heavy Makarakundalas, kiritas etc. bear very close resemblance to the Nagarjunakonda sculptures. Especially, the Kiritamakuta of Visnu in the sculpture is a derivative from the axe cap type of headdress of Indra, found in the Amravati and Nagarjunakonda sculptures. Secondly, the Agamas normally prescribe a human form with a lion's head to Narasimha. But in this sculpture, the animal form is retained with two heads added at the neck. Hence this sculpture must have been very early. Further it may be added that in the caves of Undavalli we find two sculptures of Narasimha which answer the Agama prescription. The caves of Undavalli were excavated by the Visnukundina during the 6th century A.D. This also suggests an early date to the above sculpture.

2. Ibid.
4. K. Ramachari, Volkadesa Dharma Sutras, p. XII.
5. Ibid.
6. D.C. Sircar thinks that there is actually an Adiva interregnum in the history of the Iksvakus. But this view is not accepted by other scholars. H. Rama Rao, "Successors of Satavahana", J.I.H., XL, p. 587 ff.
the time of Bhuvala Saktamula, the third king in the Ikuvaku dynasty, Sivasepba, a general of the Abhira king Vasusena installed an image of Astabhuja-Narayana on the Sotagiri. Vismurudra Sivalamundo Satakarni of Vanavasi decorated the enclosure of the temple. This event took place in the 30th year of Vasusena's rule, i.e. about A.D. 276. Thus Vaisnavism was introduced into the Nagarjunakonda Valley, where there had already been Buddhism and Saivism.

The name Astabhuja-Narayana of Visnu indicates the growth of Vaisnavite mythology at such an early date as A.D. 250. According to the Bhagavata Purana, Daksia, after he was revived to life, invoked Visnu as Astabhuja-Narayana. This image might have inspired the sculptor at Undavalli to produce Trivikrama with eight arms. The Pallavas who destroyed the Ikuvaku of Vijayapuri might have carried this conception of Narayana and built for him a temple at Kanchi. One of the early Alvars, Pey makes references to Attapuyakara (Astabhuja) at Kanchi.

1. Ela, XXXIV, pp. 197-204.
2. Ibid.
5. At Pedaserukuru, a village in Guntur district, there is a temple dedicated to Trivikrama. He too has eight arms. An inscription of the place describes Him as: Cakrodham Bali hnya sakr akshvirth Prahlada rahugaram Vibhangam gaganatopatra majadah prakaalitordvamikam Padam sakra masim gada jiva phalaka syordhvaangiri dordandaka Dhanyed astabhuja Trivikrama mahasandham tribhangijatum S.I.I., Vol. IV, No. 202.
Most of the early Pallavas were Vaisnavas as indicated by their very names. The founder of the line was Simhasvarah who is believed to have destroyed the Ikavakus of Nagarjunakonda. Among his successors we find names like Kumaravisesa, Visnugopa and Simhasvaras. All these three had the title Paramabhagavata and especially the third, Simhasvarman called himself "Thesavadapadamudhyata". It is not unreasonable to suppose that these kings built and endowed the temples of Visnu. According to the British Museum Plates, Carudevi, the queen of Buddhavasvam and mother of Buddhyanuruk made a gift to the Kulimahataraka temple at Salura, in the Nellore District. Visnugopa patronised the temple of Visnubhavam. One of these early Pallavas must have been responsible for the temple of Astabhujas of Kanchi whom Rey Alvar praised.

There is one Damodaravarma among the kings of the Acandagotra, who was devoted to Sanyak Jambudiva. Sandivarma of the Salankoyana dynasty was a Paramabhagavata and he made gifts to Visnughraswam.

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1. Manchikallu Inscription, R.I., XXXII, P. 57 ff.
2. Cundaluru plates, R.I., VIII, PP. 233-236.
5. Ibid.
7. Cundaluru Plates, op. cit.
Visnukundins

The Visnukundins who succeeded the Galenkayanas in the region of Vengi described themselves as the devotees of the Lord of Sriparvata. Most scholars identify this Sriparvata with Srisailam in the Kurnool district and conclude that the Visnukundins were Saivites as they were the devotees of Mallikarjuna or his prototype residing on Srisailam. Dr. Minakshi goes to the extent of saying that the Visnukundins were worshippers of Siva in the terrible form and equates the Parusamedha performed by Madhavavarna of the dynasty with the human sacrifice offered to God Bhairava.

But, as early as 1909, it was stated that "it is very doubtful if the Visnukundins who had relations with the Vakatas of the North could have been the devotees of the temple on Srisailam which is situated far to the south". Gopalachari expressed a sincere doubt whether the Visnukundins were not Vaishnavites. G. Sircar also doubts the identification of Sriparvata, a wam with Mallikarjuna of Srisailam.

In fact, many points militate against the view that the Visnukundins, excepting two members, were Saivites and that they were devotees of Mallikarjuna on Srisailam. On the other hand,

3. A. Subrahmanyan, Tund Copper Plates, P. 25.
5. C. Minakshi, Administration and Social Life under the Vakatas, P. 130, H. 46.
there is ample evidence to show that most of the Vaisnavites and their Sriparvata-samy might be Buddhists, as an incorporation of Narayana-Visnu. It may be summarised in the following way:

1. (a) There is not a shred of evidence to show that the Vaisukundin authority ever extended over the Srisailam region. In one of the inscriptions, they said that their kingdom extended on either side of Sriparvata. These two points make it clear that the Sriparvata of their inscriptions was Sriparvata-Nagarjunakonda, but not Srisailam.

(b) The earliest inscriptive evidence to the existence of the temple of Srisailam comes from the later part of the 12th century A.D. The earliest shrine on Srisailam shows traces of the later Pallava and the early Western Calukyan features and is held to have been built about the 8th century A.D., long after the Vaisukundins disappeared from the political stage of Island. The Vaisukundins claimed to have built a large number of temples all over their kingdom. It is strange therefore that they did not care to house their family god and left him only to be taken care of by their rivals, the Pallavas and Calukyans.

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1. None of their records or coins are found south of the river Gundlakamma, flowing in the Guntur District.
2. Indrapalanagara Plates of Vikramadityavarman, Kanara, July 1662.
5. They disappeared just before the Calukyans conquered the east coast under Pulakesin II, about A.D. 624.
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2. (a) The name of the dynasty is undoubtedly Vaisnavite; the names of the kings in the dynasty, without a single exception, are Vaisnavite; even their titles are Vaisnavite. They called themselves Visnu vikrama raya campam and compared themselves to "kaustubha in the garland of kings on either side of Criparvata; one of the kings, Govindavarma is called "gunarupa sampadabhi-ranugata Govindasya", i.e. in the wealth of qualities and appearance, he was like Govinda or Visnu. It is

1. The genealogy of the Vaisnikumis is a matter of deep controversy. No two scholars agree on the matter. In the light of the latest discoveries, the genealogy may tentatively be arranged as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>King</th>
<th>Years</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indravarman</td>
<td>325-350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madhavavarman</td>
<td>350-360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Govindavarma</td>
<td>360-385</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madhavavarman</td>
<td>385-425</td>
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<tr>
<td>Devavarman</td>
<td>425-50</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vikramendra</td>
<td>500-50</td>
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<tr>
<td>Indravarman</td>
<td>525-550</td>
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<td>Govindavarma</td>
<td>570-590</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madhavavarman</td>
<td>630-610</td>
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3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
strange that excepting in the inscriptions of the two paramamaheswara's, in no other record of the Visnukundins, there is the slightest mention of Siva.

(b) The lion is the symbol of the Visnukundins. Their coins and the seals of their copper plates contain the lion symbol. The presence of the lion with double-twisted tail and raised fore-paw led scholars to assign the caves of Undavalli and Mogalrajapuram to the Visnukundins. It is needless to say that the lion is more Vaishnavite than Saivite. It may be recalled that the earliest sculpture of the Narasimha avatāra found in Andhra is assigned to the Ikṣvaku period. Another panel containing the image of Narasimha was discovered at Pedamudiyan in the Cuddapah district and it is also assigned to the Visnu-kundin period.

(c) The caves of Undavalli which most scholars attribute to the Visnukundins, are essentially Vaishnavite. In its second storey, the caves contain a huge image of Anantasaṃyana, Viṣṇu reclining on the serpent Ananta. For this reason the caves are known in the locality as the Temple of Anantasaṃyana. The pillars in same storey contain sculptures depicting the Avatars of Viṣṇu.

5. Ibid.
They are: Krsna lifting the Govardhana; Varaha, Narasimha, Varaha, Trivikrama and Hanuman visiting Sita under the Aoka tree in Lanka. The caves contain one more sculpture of Narasimha.

3. (a) Two points emerge out of the above account: (1) Sriparvata of the Vismukundin records is not Srisaila, but only Sriparvata-Nagarjunakonda; (2) Most members of the Vismukundin dynasty had Vaisnava leanings.

(b) Since the Ikavuku times, the deities were known by the names of their places such as Nandigirswamy and Velampurasaamy. On that analogy, Sriparvataswamy should be the god residing on Sriparvata.

(c) It is well known that Sriparvata was a Buddhist sectra. The inevitable conclusion is that Sriparvataswamy of the Vismukundin records is no other than the Buddha, who had already become a Bhagawan, and was probably in the process of becoming an incarnation of Visnu.

4. (a) The Indrapalanagara grant of Govinda varman, one of the early Vismukundins, is a landmark in the evolution of Andhra Buddhism. It appears to mark the early stage in the transformation of the Buddha into an incarnation of Visnu. The grant records a gift of a village to a Buddhist Vihara. The donor, no doubt had a great appreciation for the Buddha, but he looks more like a Vaisnava than Buddhist, for the following reasons:

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1. B.L., XXV, PP. 4-7.
2. Ibid., XXVI, PP. 122-125.
3. Vide infra, Appendix III.
1. The inscription begins with the words "Siduran, Jitam Bhagavata." Jitam Bhagavata is the "favourite creed formula" of the Bhagavatas or Vaishnavas. The copper plates of Prabhavatigupta and the inscription of Maharaja Cauri begin with the same formula. Madhavavarman, son of Govinda-varman married a Vakataka princess. It is therefore reasonable to think that the Vaishnavism that had been introduced by Prabhavatigupta into the Vakataka dominions influenced Govinda-varman and that he copied the above formula from the Vakataka records.

2. Govinda-varman claims to have built many temples; upheld the caste and protected Brahmans; and to have been surrounded by men of high birth. This description induces one to think that Govinda-varman remained a Brahmanist, though attracted by the teachings of the Buddha.

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3. Prabhavatigupta was the daughter of Chandragupta Vikramaditya, the Gupta emperor. She was given in marriage to Indraksetra, the Vakataka king. Under her influence, Indraksetra gave up his family religion, Saivism and became a devotee of Cakrapani. After the premature death of Indraksetra, Prabhavatigupta ruled the empire as the regent of her minor son (A.D. 390-417).
5. Indrapalashasara plates, Bharati, July 1965.
6. Varnasrama svajana parirakshana; Bhikshu tijanatha -- Janopabhujiyamana -- Vibhava dhana samudayena; mahakulina jana samasrayena, etc. Vide infra, Appendix, III lines, 121.
3. Finally, Govinda Varman was compared by one of his successors with Govinda or Visnu. This leaves no room for any doubt regarding the Vaishnava leaning of Govinda Varman.

5. (a) The Indrapalanagara grant was intended for providing flowers etc, necessary in the daily worship in the Vihara, evidently for the worship of the Buddha. This makes it clear that the Buddha was no longer a Great Teacher but became a Vishnu.

(b) It is already noted in the section on the decline of Buddhism that by the time of the Guptas, Buddha became an incarnation of Visnu and that the Buddhist literature began to call Him Narayana. We have further seen that at Sripurvata the Bahusrtiivas erected pillars in honour of the Buddha. This was probably in imitation of the Bhagavatas or Vaishnavas who erected Garuda pillars in honour of Vasudeva. It is also noted earlier that the Naravatara panel from Alampur gives us the impression that the Aravanas emanated from the Buddha and therefore holds the Buddha identical with Narayan. The inevitable conclusion from this is that by the time of Vindavarman, the Buddha became an incarnation of Visnu and Govinda Varman worshipped him only as that.

2. Vide Intra, Appendix III, Lines 22.
3. He is called in the inscription "Bhagavato Dasabhalali": Ibid. Lines 13-14.
5. Vide Supra, P. 178.
The Indrapalangara plates of Vikramendravarman say that the Visnukundins acquired political power by virtue of their devotion to the feet of Bhagavan Sripurveswamy. (Bhagavachchiri parvateswamy padanudyanawapta 1 prajapalpanadhikaranem). This statement gives us the clue to the loyalty of the Visnukundins to Sripurveswamy.

(a) The term Visnukundin is believed to be the sanskritised form of Vinukonda, which is held to be the original home of the Visnukundins. Amarapuri of their inscriptions is identified with Amravati and it is supposed to be their early capital. But Velpur, between Manyakata and Sripurves has greater claims to be identical with Amarapuri. However, the original home of the Visnukundins was not far away from Sripurves.

(b) The Visnukundins appeared on the political stage of Andhra some time about A.D. 350, after the South Indian expedition of Samudragupta. About the beginning of that century, as seen in the above pages, the Pallavas destroyed the

4. Velpur is at present a small village containing ruins of temples Buddhist institutions. The term Velpur (Velpu = Amara or Cod & Ur = Pura or village) is the Telugu synonym for Amravura. That the place is an old one is proved by the find of a number of inscriptions in Ikasvaku characters. Its association with Buddhism is established by one inscription (Journal of Andhra Hist. & Culture, Vol. I, No. 2, p.64). Its association with the Visnukundins is established by an inscription of Madhavavarman, probably, the First (S.I.L., X, No.1).
Iksvakus and caused damage to Buddhism in the Sriparvata region. In these times of disturbances, the Vaisukundins rose to prominence, rallied the people around their banner and taking advantage of the confusion created by Samudragupta's expedition captured the region of Sri-parvata from the Pallavas or their subordinates. As the early Vaisukundins were Vaisnava with Buddhist leanings, it was not difficult for them to consolidate their position at Sriparvata. It is for this reason that the Vaisukundins became devotees of Sriparvataswamy.

From Sriparvata, they expanded across the river Krishna into the Telangana district and thence towards the north and northeast. This is supported by the find-spots of the Vaisukundin coins. They are Gurjala (Palnad Taluk, Guntur district), Yeleswaran, Tangutur and Kondapur (Telangana district), Telkunta (Kurnool district) and Adurru (East Godavari district). Further, at Yeleswaran "a beautiful sculpture of Visnu, unfortunately whose head and feet were mutilated was found —- This appears to be an early form of Visnu holding a Sakti or staff in his right hand and a conch in the left. On stylistic grounds this may be assigned to the 4th or 5th century A.D. This closely resembles late Amaravati carvings." Waheed Khan imagines that the Pallavas might be responsible for the image. But it is more probable that the Vaisukundins introduced Visnu into Yeleswaran, which was a Saivite Tirtha in the time of the Iksvakus.

1. Vide Supra, Decline of Buddhism.
2. R. Subrahmanyan, Tundi Copper Plates, App. IV.
3. Waheed Khan, Yeleswaran Excavations, P. 65, Pl. XXVI.
4. R. Subrahmanyan, op. cit.
6. R. Subrahmanyan, op. cit.
7. Ibid.
It seems therefore reasonable to conclude that: (1) most of the Vismukundins were Vaisnavite by faith; (2) by their time the Buddha clearly became an incarnation of Visnu and Srimussvanatva of the Vismukundin records was no other than Buddha-Narayana; (3) under the aegis of the Vismukundins, Yelasvaram and Undavalli became Vaisnavite Tirthas; (4) the sculptures of Undavalli and the panels from Kondamotu and Podamudiyan reveal how Vaisnavite mythology was highly developed and the theory of Avataras became popular.

**Early Calukyas**

The early members of the Calukyan dynasty, who replaced the Vakatakes in the west, as the Vismukundins in the east, were devotees of Visnu. Pulakesin I, who proclaimed the Calukyan supremacy by performing Asvamedha, took the title, Sri Prthvi Vallabha, which means the Lord of the goddesses of wealth (Sri) and Earth (Prthvi). His successors continued the title. During the time of Kirtivarman I - Mangalesa, the Visnu cave at Badami was excavated and provision was made in it for Narayanasvami. The Vaisnavite temples of Laskhan and Kontgudi were also constructed about the same time. Mangalesa took the title Paramasvamasvavatya. Kubjavismuvardhana, the founder of the Eastern

3. K.G. Khadarkar, op. cit., P. Cl.
5. *E.H.Da.*, I, P. 211.
6. *
Calukyan line also had that title and he named his son as Jayasimha. Varaha, the Sacred Boar was the crest of the Calukyas.

The title Sri prthvi Vallabha of the Calukyas indicates one to suppose that it was probably the result of the theory of Divine Right of kings and the concept of "me Vismuh prthivi pattih".

**Tirupati**

During the Pallava-Calukya period, Tirupati became an important centre of Vaishnavism. Though the earliest inscriptive reference to Tirupati comes from about the middle of the 6th century, there is plenty of literary evidence about the existence of Tirumala-Tirupati from very early times.

In the compositions of the Alvars, known as the "Kubandham 4000", there are nearly 300 references to Tirupati. The place was known to them as Venkadam and the god as Lord of Venkadam. The earliest of the Alvars, Poygai, Bhutan and Pey, who according to Milakantosasuri, must have flourished not later than the 5th century, made references to Tirupati. Poygai describes it as one of the places "in which Vismu in his grace has shown himself to mortal eyes for purposes of devotion and worship so that people in this sin-promoting world might find it possible to realise the Supreme and attain to ultimate salvation. Kulasubhara Alvar

1. N. Venkataramanayya, Calukyas of Vengi, P. 290.
2. They described themselves as: Bhagavan Narayana prasada sangaditevara Varaha lañcana etc. Veilali plates of Vikramaditya I, C.P. 224, 224, P. 52, lines 3-4.
3. S.K. Aiyangar, A History of Tirupati, I, Ch. 3.
4. Ibid.
desired to be the doorstep of the holy shrine. The Bilapredikaram also knows Vengadam very well.

Some of the members of the Rastrakuta family and the local Pallava chieftains patronised Tirumala-Tirupati. An inscription from Tirumala refers to a gift of a lamp to the Yaksa on the Tirumala by a servant of Gangamahadovi queen of Kannaradeva. The inscription was recorded in the 13th year of the Rastrakuta king Sri Kannaradeva. Another early inscription dated in the 14th year of the reign of the Pallava king Koppatte Parmer registers a gift by a lady named Samavai for conducting for seven days prior to Mukkoti Dwadasi after dvajarohana and sowing seeds for Manavalapperumai. Samavai installed a silver image in the temple.

During the later part of the 9th century, Tiruchamur near Tirupati developed into minor Tirupati. The Tiruvilakal, which means a representative coil, at the place was intended probably for those who could not go up the hill of Tirumala.

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1. Ibid. P. 86.
5. Ibid.
Ramanuja
(A.D. 1018-1137)

With Ramanuja started a new epoch in the history of Vaisnavism in general and that of South Indian Vaisnavism in particular. He was fifth in succession of the famous Vaisnava Acaryas who were combating the theory of Monism of Sankara and were upholding the doctrine of love and grace or Bhakti. Ramanuja first studied Advaita under Yadavaprakasa but was dissatisfied with it. He then studied the Compositions of the Alvars and was instructed in Vaisnavism by Yamunacarya. He succeeded the latter as the pontiff of Srirangam and made it his life’s mission to establish Vaisnavism or the Bhaktisampradaya on the basis of Vedanta and spread it far and wide. He became the author of a number of works including Vedanta-sara, Vedantasastra, Vedantadipika and the commentaries on Brahma Sutras and the Bhagavadgita.

Ramanuja played the role of a compromiser and conciliator. It is already noted that he reconciled Brahmanism and Bhakti by mixing Vasudevism of the Pancasatra system with the Narayana-Vaisnava elements. Ramanuja insisted on the caste rules in food and other things but converted the Sudras into Vaisnavism.

1. There is much controversy about the date of Ramanuja. However it is admitted that he had long life which is placed between A.D. 1018-7 -- 1137.
3. Nathamuni was the founder of the School of Archakas. He was succeeded by Pundarikaksha. He was followed by Narasimha who was the Guru of the celebrated Yamunacharya. Nathamuni was the founder of the Srivaishnava sect.
4. Ibid.
5. Vide Supra, p. 322.
and allowed even the peneamas the privilege of visiting certain temples once a year. He showed two different ways to the two classes of people, Bhakti to the upper castes and Prapatti to the lower.

Ramanuja & Vaisnava Sectarianism:

By the time of Ramanuja, there were three sects among the Vaisnavites: Vaikhanasa, Pancaratra and Srivaisnava. The Vaikhanasas claimed to be the oldest and that the Vedic sage Vishnu was the founder of their system, whereas the Pancaratras based their system on the Pancaratra Agamas, and it was an admixture of the old Bhagavata system and the traditional forms of worship prevalent among the Sudras and the non-Aryas. Besides, the following may be mentioned as the differences between the two:

1. There were differences between the two regarding the description and disposition of the parivaradewatas in their temples.

2. The Pancaratras consecrate Andal and other women devotees who are believed to have attained the status of the Lord's consort by the practice of Naika-Nayaka type of Prakriti.

3. The Vaikhanasas do not attach as much importance as the Pancaratras to the worship of Alvars and Acaryas. But they have no objection to install the images of the Alvars in their temples.

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1. K.A.N. Sastri, Da-Si., P. 66.
2. K.C. Bhanderkar, op. cit.
4. K.A.N. Sastri, Da-Si., P. 67.
5. Ibid.
4. The Vaikhanasas do not brand their bodies with the conch and discuss of Viṣṇu and the Pancaratras insist upon it.

3. In the course of worship, the Vaikhanasas do not insist upon the reading of the prabandhas as the Pancaratras.

The temple of Tirupati and Tiruchanur were in the hands of the Vaikhanasa Vaiṣṇavas.

Srivaiṣṇavas:

The Śrīvaiṣṇava sect was started by Rāmānuja and spread to Andhra very early. An inscription dated S. 346 (A.D. 1023), which tells us that the temple of Bhavanarayana at Bapatla was in possession of the Śrīvaiṣṇavas.

Rāmānuja seems to have tried to build up the Śrīvaiṣṇava system as a bridge between the other two - Vaikhanasa and Pancaratra. It is already noted that he linked Vaiṣṇavism with Vedanta to get rid of the reproach of heterodoxy that had attached to the Pancaratra worship in the temples of the Bhagavatas. His scrupulous observation of caste rules about eating and intercourse with other castes were probably intended as aids to the same result. At the same time, he was anxious to carry the message of Vaiṣṇavism to the Sudras and arranged that the outcastes should have the privilege of visiting temples one day in the year. He instituted a method of conversion into Vaiṣṇavism which included branding, wearing the pundram, eating the prasāda, which became

2. Sill., VI, No. 139.
4. V. Raghavacharya, Cyl. Her., IV, P. 176.
ultimately the uccchistam of the Guru, change of name and adding the suffix dasa, and the observance of the Ekadasivrata. Thus, the philosophy of Ramanuja was more Vedantic or Brahmanical while his religion was more of Pancaratra.

The compromise of Ramanuja did not work for a long time and the Srivaisnavas broke into two sects: Vadagalai and Tengalai. The former, or northern school, under the leadership of Vedanta-desika stuck on to the Brahmanical ways while the Tengalai or southern school became liberal so as to make their doctrines applicable to the Sudras also.

### Spread of Srivaisnavism in Andhra:

Ramanuja was a great missionary and he toured all over the land spreading Srivaisnavism. As noted above, Srivaisnavism was popular in Andhra in certain places like Bapatia, even before Ramanuja.

Ramanuja visited Tirupati a number of times and with the help of the local rulers firmly established Vaisnavism on the hill and in the town. It appears that he made Tirupati the centre, from which Vaisnavism could spread to the other parts of Andhra. In most of the inscriptions in the temple of Srikrishna in the Sri-kakulam district we come across the term "Tirupati Srivaisnava raksas". In one of the inscriptions of the place, Ramanuja is

1. R.C. Bhandarkar, op. cit., P. 55.
2. V. Raghavacharya, op. cit., P. 177 ff.
3. S.R.J., VI, No. 159.
5. S.R.J., V, Nos. 1166, 1168 and 1236.
invoked\(^1\) and in another Munipandita Janardanadasa is mentioned as the slave of Ramanuja\(^2\).

After Ramanuja, many Vaisnava families — the Shattars, Kandadis and Tirumalais came and settled in different places in coastal Andhra and propagated the Vaisnava faith\(^3\). Some of the ruling families, such as the Telugu Codes of Nellore patronised Vaisnavism. From the inscriptions of Nellore district, we hear about Margaiah Pahindimukkala Vira Tiruvelakumara\(^4\), who could secure the patronage of the local rulers, the Telugu Pallavas and Telugu Codes\(^5\). The illustrious Telugu Coda king, Tikka was a Vaisnava\(^6\) and it was under the patronage of the Codes, Nellore became a centre of Vaisnavism.

Mangalagiri, Macerla, Srikakulam, Simhachalaram and Srikurmm\(^8\)
were the other important centres of Vaisnavism. From the inscriptions of these places, we get the impression that they received patronage from the later kings of the Calukya-Cola line and their

\(^1\) Vande munim munivaram yatirajarajam
Vedatrayam trigidhadandapadagraitam
Ramanujam sakalavadanivarasagtram
Sahasrachara sarasivana mukthaburumagam.
S.I.I., V, No. 1253,
\(^2\) Ibid., No. 1163.
\(^3\) M. Somasekhara Sarma, The Reddi Kingdoms, p. 314.
\(^4\) H.D.I., II, Kr. Nos. 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65 & 66.
\(^5\) M. Somasekhara Sarma, op. cit.
\(^6\) H.D.I., II, Kr. No. 3.
\(^7\) C. Vrishadra Rao, Andhra Caritra, II, p. 61.
\(^8\) S.I.I., IV, Nos. 708-712.
\(^9\) The Cennakesava temple at Macerla became the centre of the activities of Brahmanayudu, an account of which is given below.
\(^10\) S.I.I., IV, Nos. 963 to 1005.
\(^11\) There are many inscriptions in the temple. S.I.I., VI,
Nos. 692 to 1215.
\(^12\) S.I.I., IV, Nos. 1160 to 1341.
vassals in Andhra. The later inscriptions of Mangalar-ri mention Ramanujakaram of the place.

The inscriptions of Lingagiri (d. A.D. 1220), Burgugadda (A.D. 1223) and Maktad (A.D. 1320) are a proof of the spread of Vaishnavism to Telangana region. The Maktad inscription mentions a Vaishnava Samaya whereas the Lingagiri record mentions a Vaishnava matha. However, there did not develop any big centre of Vaishnavism in Telangana like either Tirupati or Srivari.

**Dwita and Narahari Tirtha**

Andhradosa came into contact with the Dwita system of Vaishnavism also very early. It is already noted above that Madhvacarya was the founder of the Dwita system. It is believed that in the course of his polemical tour of disputation with the Advaitins, Madhva visited Kalinga and Andhr, where he defeated Syama Sastry and Sobhanabhatta respectively who became his disciples as Narahari Tirtha and Padmanabha Tirtha. The latter became the first apostolic successor of Madhvacarya. The Acarya himself started a Matha for the propagation of his system and it became famous as the Uttaradhi Matha. The successors of the Acarya established several independent Mathas.

1. S.I.E., IV, No. 710.
2. Tel., IAD., I, p. 169.
3. Ibid., p. 71.
4. Ibid., II, p. 126.
5. Vide supra, p. 223.
6. Madhva's date also is a matter of controversy. Some scholars place his date of birth in the year A.D. 1190 and others in 1238.
9. Ibid.
The association of Narahari Tirtha with Andhra is attested by several inscriptions from Sirahacalan and Srikur̦̃m̃a. There is a strong tradition that Narahari Tirtha was in charge of the administration of Kalinga as the regent of her minor Ganga king. But it is rejected as a myth. However, it seems certain that Narahari Tirtha made Srikur̦̃m̃a the seat of his religious activities. He built a temple at the place and installed in it the idol of Yogananda Narasimha. From another inscription we learn that the images of Rama, Sita and Laksmana were also installed by him.

From these activities of Narahari Tirtha, it can be concluded that he had a considerable following in Kalinga and Andhra. But it is difficult to ascertain the extent of his influence.

**Brahmanayudu & Vira-Vaisnavism**

No account of Vaisnavism in Medieval Andhra would be complete without a reference to the Vira-Vaisnavava movement under the leadership of Brahmanayudu of Palnad in Guntur District. Brahmanayudu (A.D.1100-1176) was the minister of the Kailayas of Nelder, who were feudatories of the rulers of Velanadu, who in their turn were the Viceroys of the Calukya-Colas of Tanjore.

5. E.L. V, Nos. 1172 and 1203.
From many a tradition, current in Andhra and from Telugu literature, we learn that Brahmamayudu attempted at radical socio-religious reforms in his kingdom, and made the Cennakesava Temple at Macarla, the centre of his activities. He threw open the gates of Cennakesava temple to the Vancamas, having converted them into Vaisnavism. In converting people, he seems to have adopted the methods of Ramana, i.e. giving prasada or uchista and renaming the convert as Dasa. He encouraged inter-dining (Capakudu) and inter-caste marriages. Tradition would have us believe that he married girls from all the four principal castes and adopted a Pancama, Kondamasa as his son.

In medieval India as a whole, there is no parallel to such a socio-religious radicalism. But there was much opposition to the attempt of Brahma at the overthrow of the long cherished social fabric and the establishment of a society of Bhaktas or Dasas. Even the members of his own family, including his own son opposed his policies and upheld the social order based upon caste. The conflict between Brahma and his opponents culminated in the famous war of Palaad. A poet of the 16th century clearly states that the policy of Capakudu (inter-dining) of Brahma was one of the causes of the war. Further, the war is called Cilamapoor.

1. Palnati Viracarita.
This has been almost summarised and translated into English by Robert Sewell in the Lists of the Antiquarian Remains in the Madras presidency (A.S.S.I.), Appendix, I.
4. Ibid.
which may mean battle for caste. The unpopularity of Brahman and his policies is revealed by the fact that most of the rulers of Andhra at that time joined the rivals of Brahman and the latter had not a single ally worth the name. The rulers of the land joined against Brahman, probably with the aim of defeating his deliberate attempts at the subversion of the long cherished social order. In the battle of Karempudy, Brahman and his party were defeated and he was made to retrace his policies. The career of Brahman demonstrates the failure of revolutionary ideals imposed upon a people, unprepared and ill-equipped to work them to success; it represents a tragedy of rootless idealism.

The war of Palnad is an important landmark in the political and cultural history of Andhra. It delivered a severe blow against the slowly progressing Vaishnavism in Andhra. The war reduced the military strength of the participants and paved the way for the conquest of these powers by the Kakatiyas of Warangal or Amakonda. In a short time after the War of Palnad, the Kakatiyas reduced most of the ruling families to subjection and united the Andhra into an empire. The Kakatiyas were great champions of Saivism, and Vaishnavism had to wait till the downfall of the Kakatiyas.

I. M. Rama Rao, Kakatiya Sancika, p. 30 ff.
Female Element in Vaishnavism

Sri Laksmi or Lakshmi is worshipped in Andhra as the divine consort of Visnu from early times. Gradually, the Bhagavata system came to be intimately associated with the amorous diances of Krishna with Radha and Gopikas. The Saptasati contains Cathas on both Laksmi and Radha. The introduction of this aspect is taken to have operated as a degrading element in Vaishnavism. The wide prevalence of Tantrism might have added to the debasement and led to the emergence of the cults of Vallabhacarya and Caitanya in the North.

It is generally held that Vaishnavism in the South was free from the debasement it suffered in the North. In fact Ramanuja appears to have not recognised the Bhagavatapurana and Radha scrupulously avoided to comment on the Radha saga. However, it cannot be said that Vaishnavism in the South was completely free from the female principle for the following reasons:

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4. Vide Supra, P. 341.
5. R.G. Bhandarkar, op. cit.
6. Ibid.
(1) It is to be remembered that the Bhagavatapurana wherein we find the fullest development of Krsna-Radha aspect was produced only in the South.

(2) The Pancaratra system lays emphasis on the Nayaka-Nayika type of Bhakti.

(3) It is already noted that Bhagavatism was reconciled with Yoga and especially Narasimha is associated with Yoga and the supramundane powers, resulting from it. We come across many sculptures of Yoga Narasimha in the temples of Andhra.

(4) Narayana also is conceived in inseparable union with Lakṣmi as Lakṣmi-Narayana.

However, the Vaisnavites in Andhra did not carry the female principle to that extent as was done by their Saivite neighbours, who are to be described in following pages.

3. Vide Infra, Pl. IX, Fig. 1: It may be recalled that Narahari Tirtha built a temple for Yogananda Narasimha, mentioned above. P. 362.
4. K.A.N. Sastri, op. cit., p. 66. Infra, Pl. VIII, Fig. 3.