CONCLUSION

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The Alvars prefer to deal with the personal aspects of the deity. The various currents of the Visnu cult got reconciled in their compositions. The traditional dates of these saints are not acceptable in the face of literary, epigraphical and other evidences to the contrary. The concept of God as Srīyahpati owes its development entirely to the compositions of the Alvars. Bridal mysticism gives a unique stamp to the devotional aspects of the teachings of the Alvars. The Vedic ordinances were developed into the concept of kainkarya, and thus the cult of the Alvars both retained and acquired religious sanctity. Through the paths of devotion and self-surrender God is brought close to mankind giving relief to the suffering humanity, otherwise at sea without any hope of protection. The concept of the shrines as 'pāţal perra talankal' gained supreme significance for daily visits of the devotees to offer their service. More than the spirit of doing kainkarya the principle of offering blessings to God (mangalāsasana) become the moving force for the visit of the spiritually great to such shrines. A bold step was taken by the Alvars in using the Tamil language for conveying the Vedic and religious truths and glorifying the deity. The devotional element reached the stage of perfection in the Alvars' compositions to such a degree as to become the source for influencing the rise of many

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theistic schools of Vaispavism through the length and breadth of India.

CONCLUSION

The aspects of religion and philosophy in the compositions of the Alvars which are dealt with in the preceding chapters may now be reviewed with reference to some important features that characterise Vaisnavism in the post-Alvar That the growth of Vaisnavism at this period is mainly due to the compositions of the Alvars needs no exaggeration. The chief features of this religion, though traceable to the epics and Puranas in the pre-Alvar period; assumed a full and orderly development as a result of the influence exerted by the Nalayira Divya Prabandham on the leading exponents of this religion. The impact of the teachings of the Alvars on the Visistadvaita Vedanta school has been immense that from Yamuna, whose works represent the earliest ones now available, the basic doctrines of the Alvars! compositions got incorporated into tenets of this school of Vedanta as they were then handed down from earlier expositions such as Dramida, Tanka and others. Thereafter the Viststadvaita Vedanta became a pronouncedly theistic school of Vaispavite philosophy and religion. The synthesis of the two became complete at the hands of Ramanuja whose followers enriched what their master had taught them, by their valuable literary contributions.

The fundamental tenets such as belief in a personal deity who is the creator and protector of the world, in the Divine Grace which alone saves the living beings from distress and in God Who becomes the object of devotion are common to many theistic religions of India and also those of foreign origin. Several streams of thought have been flowing from time immemorial. Some of them are traceable to the Vedic sources. Some are recorded in the epics and Puranas while others are dealt with in the Agamas. There were also

versions of anecdotes and incidents in the ancient Tamil literature which were different from those recorded in the Sanskrit sources or which deviated from them. In the case of some religious beliefs of India, only one of these courses of thought formed the basis for the development of a particular faith, the other courses were availed of for support and interpretation of that faith.

The Vaisnevite school of religious thought is found to have been the result of a reconciliation effected between the various currents of doctrines taken from ald the sources mentioned above. The ideas of God as conveyed by the words 'brahman', 'vişmu'' 'nārāyana', 'vāsudeva', and bhagavāni in these sources got coalesced to yield the concept of Godhead which on grounds of theology and philosophy proved, itself to be acceptable to the exponents of this theistic school of In this context, a reference is required to be Vaispaviem. made to the question of the period of the Alvars. The tradition, as recorded in the Guruparamparas, place most of the Alvars in the period ranging from 4200 B.C. to 2702 B.C. Almost all these Alvars refer to Srl Krsna and His exploits both as a child and as a warrior who took part in the war between the Pandavas and Kauravas.2 From the evidences which are available in the Mahabharata, it is found that Krana left His mortal coil on the day when the Kalipuga started. This was in 3101 B.C. Poykaiyaivar, Patateaivan and Peyalvar, Tirumalicaiyalvar and Maturakaviyalvar lived before this date. Nammalvar was born on the forty-third day after Kaliyuga started. To suggest that the Alvars could not have had direct vision of Krana's exploits and that they had to learn about them from the Mahabharata and other source books on Kṛṣṇa's activities is sheer impudence. The incidents which are found recorded in the Puragas are mentioned and described by the Alvars, as if they were eye witnesses of

Vide. Appendix VII. 1.

cf. M. Tv. 8, 11, 18, 23, 24, 54, 83, 87; I. Tv. 10, 15, 19, 92; Mu. Tv. 2. 28, 41, 51, 54, 92; Nan. Tv. 33, 57; Tc. V. 19. 31, 37, 38, 53, 71, 107. K.C. 1. T.V.M. 5.10; 6.4; Perum. Tm. 6, 7; Periyal. Tm. 1.1, 2.9; 3.5; 3:6 etc.

Bhag. P. 12.2: 30. 3.

such acts. Reason demands a critical view of this matter. In Vyasa4 or Parasaras could predict the royal dynasties which could have come into being far later, it would not be preposterous to suggest that the Alvars had a provision of the doings of Kṛṣṇa at a period posterior to theirs. But the admission of an explanation of this kind would throw chronology out of gear. An impartial study requires the recognition that certain events must precede their being made known to people. All the Puranas are attributed to Vyasa who was at least their compiler- Vyasa's period having been contemporaneous with that of Kṛṣṇa, a considerate view about the probable date for the release of the Puranas could have been about 3042 B.C. It would be prudent to admit that about or after this date, the stories of Kṛṣṇa became well known to such an extent that those who listened to the recitation of the Alvars' compositions could have ready understanding of the references to Kṛṣṇa's exploits contained in them without any need for the narration of the anecdote in the context. Admission of this explanation would not show that Kulacekaralvar and Periyalvar were fully conversant with the stories of Krana, if they are admitted to have lived at a period which tradition fixes for them. It is therefore difficult to agree with these traditional dates for the Alvars mentioned above. Antal, Tontaratip-potivalvar, Tiruppanalvar and Tirumankaiyalvar are stated in the Guruparamparas to have lived after 3000 B.C. One need not intend to subscribe to the traditional accounts of the dates mainly to affect their sacrosanctity. There are overwhelming evidences which applitate against the acceptance of these traditional dates. It is idle to look down upon these evidences which are supported by linguistic, literary, epigraphical and historical

^{4.} Vay, P. 2.37: 409.

V.P. 4.24: 34. A similar prediction is said to have made by Nārada about the descendents of Karikāi Coļa (Vide: Kaltikattup-paraņi, Ch. 8).

^{6.} Vyāsa was present when the Mahābhārata was practically released to the Public by way of exposition on the occasion of the sacrifice which was performed by Janamējaya. The latter's coronation took place in 3042 B.C. of M.Bh, Adi. 49: 17.

facts. Till evidences to the contrary are to be obtained, the dates between 700 and 850 A.D. appear to be acceptable.

Regarding the Godhead it must be noted that the Alvars follow generally the account given in the Puranas. Either Visnu is treated as the Supreme Deity amidst the hosts of gods or as one among the Trinity constituted by the other two Brahmā and Siva and yet holding the supreme place over the other two. At the same 'time, there are references to show that according to the Alvars, Visnu is not merely of the form of the other deities but is superior to the Trinity composed of Brahma, Siva and Indra. This is in accordance with the Upanisadic passage10 which has been of late changed in its reading to provide a room for Visnu (called Hari) here in order that Visnu could be on a par with the three deities Brahma, Siva and Indra. The earliest reading seems to have been without the word 'harl' and receives support for its authenticity from the citation of this Upanisadic passage by Tirukkoneri Tasyai in her Tiruvaymoli Vacakamalai."

Another significant contribution which the compositions of the Alvars have made is that the Lord is Śriyahpati¹³ and not mere Viṣṇu or Nārāyaṇa. This concept of Godhed which is referred to in the Viṣṇu-purāṇa¹³ had given rise to the name 'Śrinivāsa' as applicable to Viṣṇu. In fact, Rāmānuja used for the first time in the field of Viṣṇṣtādvaita philosophy the word 'ṣrinivāsa' as an epithet of Brahman.¹⁴ This name Śrinivāsa has become all too common a name for the Lord at Tirumalai where He was known as the Lord of Vēnkaṭam

^{7.} Vide. Section III, Chapter IX of this thesis where a detailed discussion of this matter will be found.

^{8.} T.V.M. 3:6; 2; 7.6; 4; 8.3; 9; 8.4; 6.

^{9.} ibid. 2.2: 10; 3.1: 10; 3.6: 4; 10.10: 3; Periyal. Tm. 5.3: 6.

Nārāyaņa Up. 13.

^{11.} On T.V.M. 9.3: 2.

^{12.} M.Tv. 67; I.Tv. 52; Md. Tv. 16; Nan. Tv. 53; Peri. Tm. 4.5; 5.

^{13.} V.P. 1.18: 17 and 35.

^{14.} Śri Bhāṣya, mangaļasloka 1.

before the period of Ramanuja. The Alvars refer to Him as 'Tirumal',15 'Tiruvalmarpan'10 etc.

Bridal mysticism is a remarkable trait enlivening the devotional spirit of the Alvars. The relation of the bride and lover (nayaka-nayaki bhava) which subsists between a devotee and God is nothing new to the writers of lyrics of the religious type. But it appears that before the period of the Alvars this aspect of devotion did not get the treatment which it should have had. The sublimation of the love of men for women and vice versa, complete removal of carnality from the domain of sexual references and man transforming himself into a woman for purposes of devotional love are the marks that characterise the poems of the Alvars17 as some of the outstanding devotional lyrics, perhaps the only ones of its kind to influence the writing of similar lyrics in other languages during the post-Rămanuja period. It is true that 'Akam' type of poetry exerted some influence on the Alvars, but the contribution of the Alvars to this kind of poetry and the various modes adopted by them to express the surging love according to the occasions and situations are so unique and charming that it seems as though the Alvars had themselves invented this mode of treating divine love. There were poets in a large number who had successfully delineated this love on the material plane. They would not have felt any difficulty to depict this love, as they were dealing with love with which both the writes and readers or spectators as the case may be were quite familiar. On the other hand, the Divine Person, with no trace of blemish of any kind, presents Himself enchantingly to the Alvar who was much aware of carnality like any other mortal but who has to banish it and at the same time not speak in a language that is foreign to erotic love. To transform himself into a woman at the mental level and have the lust aroused and controlled puri-

^{15.} M.Tv. 8, 64; 1.Tv. 30, 32; Mu. Tv. 30, 93; P. Tv. 10, 69 etc.

¹⁶ Peri. Tm. 7.6: 3.

^{17.} cf. I feel a creeping sense come over me when I utter the name of my beloved. I feel a delicate movement running through my skin and bones

fying it of carnality is something which hies beyond the ability of even a scholar who is endowed with much discretion. The Alvars, however, succeeded in depicting their bridal love for the Lover, the Lord, basing it on the external stature of the Lord and the subdued but animated figure of the woman. This method of delineation has deeper maorings. The psychological aspects of the woman are then aroused in the Alvar's mind. They operate at the conscious level when acted upon by the handsome and bewitching beauty of the arca form of the Lord. The Alvar then is only a bride in the physiological frame of man. He is then totally unaware of his masculinity and treats the Lord as her lord and pours out her heart to him. God-experience which is then had is presented by the Alvar in a language with which he is quite familiar and which could be easily understood by others.

The concept of 'mataliantal' is not known to the Sanskrit writers, but Tirumankaiyalvar speaks of the approach of the Sanskrit writers to this aspect of love-representation. motif of 'matalartal' is however known to Sanskrit writers as also the adventurous and courageous approach by woman to take the initiative in achieving their purpose is likewise wellknown to them as shown by this Alver through numerous instances from the ancient sources. "Matalustal" is only a public display of one's unrequited love which could be adopted by women also. This touch of crotic element purified and sanctified by the element of devotion gives a unique stamp to the compositions of the Alvars, particularly Nammalvar's. The method of sending a message to the Lover is also adopted by Antal and Nammalvar adding variety to the treatment of devotion. Besides, the parental affection and endearment evidenced in the poems of Periyalvar and Kulacekaralvar have few parallels elsewhere to outshine them.

Devotion, which is the name of one of the various aspects of affection and endearment subsisting between two persons, takes several shapes under the influence of awe and wonder, filial attachment, parental endearment, friendly affection and love of a bride for a man and vice-versa. The literature before the period of the Alvars contains a vivid de-

piction of all these features of devotion. The compositions of the Alvars also depict all these but they have outshone the earlier sources by the singularly superb treatment given in them of the filial, parental and bridal features of love. Even there, the bridal one gets the delicate treatment.14 While there is a twofold course for the flow of love, that is from the Lover to the Beloved and from the Beloved to the Lover and therefore the treatment of devotion on both these courses could be justified, most of the mystical religious preferred the devotional approach from the aspect of the bride10. Tenderness, charm, delicacy and other feminine traits of love could be found in God but God is very powerful, omniscient and formidable and hence manly traits could be better associated with Him. The ulterior purpose which is sought by being in love or devoted to God is reunion of the aspirant who is the self with God. To achieve this end, the womanly approach is more suited to the self which is weak and ignorant. The manly approach, which is marked by the fatherly affection, is apt when God is treated as a son who becomes the object of all the endearment and affection of the father. 10

The doctrine of worship ($p\bar{u}ja$) taking the form of kain-karya is not peculiar to those who adopt the path of self-surrender nor is so the concept of sessiva or service to the acarya or bhakta. All these have been from early times the aspects of religious experience particularly that of worship which forms part of bhakti. In the post-Rāmānuja period of Vaispavism these aspects gained more importance as a result of the preaching of the doctrines of the Alvārs and come to be closely associated with the path of self-surrender. Both the Alvārs and Rāmānuja enjoin these practices mainly with service to God, that is worship.⁹¹

^{18.} The Alvars' treatment of these features might have served as a source of inspiration and of the best models to adapt them for the treatment of these features and few others, by Barathi in his poem 'Kannan Pattu'.

^{19.} cf. Love of God.

^{20.} Perum. Tm. 9.

^{21.} cf. Peri. Tm. 6.3: 2; Ramanuja: Saranagatigadya-last varse.

It would have been preposterous, if the Alvars had decried openly the performance of the sacred rites which are enjoined by the Vedas and Kalpasutras. A clever way of reconciling the performance of the Vedic rites with the duties which a devotee could discharge to his deity was envisaged in the Puranas and epics. It was in the Bhagavad-gita that statements are found enjoining the performance of the duties without the entertainment of the desire to get the rewards of them." According to the Puranas an act of devotion came to be viewed as a religious rite (karma) which could conveniently take the place of Vedic rite." The Gua idea of renouncing the result of the acts gets promoted when it is considered that God being supreme, there is no need for the doer to saddle himself with the responsibility of getting the results of his deeds. So any act of devotion came to be looked upon as sevā or kainkaryā to the Lord, which was to be done to please Him Who would surely bestow on his devotee the fruit of it according to His own liking. Moreover, the Vedic deity remains invisible when invoked on occasions of the ritualistic performances and so there will always be the apprehension regarding the getting of the result when the offering is not made personally to the deity. Here, however, there is God Himself in arca form whom it is easy to propitiate in his very presence. This idea of service involves also the relation of master and servant between God and man. Fully alive to the limitations imposed on him and being concious of his forlornness and Incapacity to do anything by himself, the devotee chooses to do what the Lord bids him to do. He is ever ready to be the servant of God and this is the purpose and goal of life,24 This service is known as kainkarya or ațimai to do which even other gods feel the sense of rivary and competition. The spirit of service could be further extended to the devotees of God who are to be served by another devotee. In

^{22.} Bb. G. 18: 2.

^{23.} Kur. P. 2. 18

^{24.} cf. "The urge of life is to serve Thee alone,
For the God. Conscious a moment without
Thee is verily a sin".

a sense, this attitude seeks to eliminate the rather wide gap that separates man from man socially and also materially.

Kainkarya or rendering service to the deity in a shrine has become the chief trait that governs the life of a Vaispavite. The development of this trait has been there even before the period of the Alvars in some form. It was definitely in relation to the life of an individual who is devoted to his Lord. It is the compositions of the Alvars that gave a definite shape to this concept in favour of rendering service to the deity in a shrine. The words 'netumarku atimai" show that service is to be rendered to Vişnu. That service is to be rendered to the Lord at the Tirumalai Hills is actually mentioned by Nammalvar. ** This makes it clear that the area form is to be preferred for rendering service. This explains why Ramanuja refers to himself as having been directed by the Lord at SriRangam to stay there comfortably.21 References to the Yadavadrise and others also support this interpretation of worship. Again, this explains why Yamuna was taken to Sri Rangam by Manakkal Nampi, Ramanuja and Tirumalai Nampi rendered service at Kanci and Tirumalai respectively, Rāmānuja had his pontifical seat at SriRangam, Vedānta Desika and Manavalamamuni spent most of their time at Stl Rangam. It is in the light of this concept of kainkarya that gave rise to the institution of group of enlightened people as Acarya Purusas for rendering service in the temples and of persons well trained in the Vedas and Prabandhams as part of their kainkarya in such shrines. In and around each shrine, there arose a band of workers who included the priests, cooks, pipers and others, all of them having, for their life's purpose, only service to the Lord. This principle for rendering service came to be applied to the Alvars and Acaryas in places where pontfical seats are established and also in the houses where the Acaryas dwell. The development and prevalence of this concept, as practised, is undeniably due to the Alvars' compositions.

^{25.} T.V.M: 8.10: 1.

^{26.} ibid. 3.3.

^{27.} Śaraņāgatigadya,

^{28.} G.P. p. 190.

The bhagavata cult which has been in existence from very early times, even before the period of the Alvars, got a fillip under the inspiration of the teachings of the Alvars. The basis for this attitude is not difficult to explain. Since God is dear to the devotee, God's men too should be equally dear. They owe respect at the hand of the devotee being related through devotion to God Whom they worship. If God could not be offended on moral grounds, God's men too ought not to be offended. Bhokti, as the path of salvation, is a moving force for bringing God's men for congregational prayers 24

Whether the Alvars used the word 'ava', 'katal' or 'anpu', it is very clear that they were much drawn to the Supreme Person by the spirit of devotion." It is true that they frequently refer to this path and speak of the act of meditations as a sure method of God-realization. Tirumalicaiyalvar and Nammalvar did adopt this means. However, the Alvars do not appear to have been in favour of practising devotion in all its eight limbs." Control of the sense-organs" relying upon God as the sole refuge and doing service to God through thought, word and deed appear to have been preached by the Alvars. Though these could not be held to form part of path of devotion as preached by the Upanisads through the Brahmā-vidyas, they are yet part of the act of devotion which any soul could adopt when it is aroused to God's presence and gets attracted to Him. This attraction interprets effectively that the bond connecting that soul and God is nothing but the bond of devotion.

The path of self-surrender which is treated as an independent means of moksa and which preserves the essential features of Bhakti, is well expounded in the Pancaratra Agamas

of. "I pray for Thy Love and for the Love of Him who loves Thee". 29 - Love of God, p. 20.

Section IV. Chapter XVIII of this thesis deals with this matter. 30.

Nan. Tv. 61; Mu. Tv. 79, 31.

Peri. Tm. 3.2; Nag. Tv. 13. 32.

cf. Peri. Tm. 5.6: 9. 33.

and the Bhagavad-gita. The words used in this connection are 'nyasa' which means placing one's burden at the Feet of the Lord, 'prapatti' conveyed by the werbal forms such as 'proppādye' which really means proceeding and going and 'sarayes' which means house and protector. Entrusting something to another or keeping it as a deposit is the general sense conveyed by the words 'nyasa' and 'niksepa'. Any one who requires protection or safety from some source of insecurity weuld naturally proceed to a place of refuge (saranam) or seek refuge under a protector (saranam). Though the Bhagavad-gitant contains references to these words, it is only the Caramasloka35 that could be held to convey the idea of prapatti. It is highly difficult to aver that the Bhagavad-gita preaches primarily the path of prapatti. In fact, it preaches the path of bhakti in clear terms. The Carama-sloka could as well be taken to imply the position of prapatel within the framework of bhakti. The verse of Nammalvar means that the Alvar had sought shelter under the Feet of the Lord of Tiruvenkatam." This is a clear proof that prapatti was adopted as the means by the Alvar and so he is declared to be at the head of all people who seek shelter under God (prapanna janakutustha). The traditional interpretation of this doctrine through the Carama-sloka and the Tiruväymoli of Nammalvar was handed down to Ramanuja by Tirumalaiyantan. In this context, it is necessary to refer to a criticism on the interpretation of the second decad of the first centum of the Tiruvaymoli. According to a line of interpretation, Yamuna interpreted this decad as conveying the essence of praparti. Ramanuja too held this view before he wrote the Sri Bhasya, but after writing it, he was in favour of bhaktt as the import of this decad. Nanciyar and Vatakkut-tiruvitip-pillai adopt this line and the latter writer mentions Empar as having given his assent to this interpretation." Curiously enough, Pillan, the spiritual son of Ramanuja and the first commentator of Tiruvaymoli which he

^{34.} Bh. G. 4: 11; 8: 20.

^{35,} ibid. 18: 66.

^{36.} ibid. 9 and 18,

^{37.} T.V.M. 6.10.

^{38.} Thirty-six Thousand on T.V.M., 1.2.

interpreted according to the instruction of Ramanuja, mentions prapatti (bhara-nyasa) as the import. This is very delicate point on which criticism could not be offered except with great caution;

The second decad of the first centum begins thus: "Renounce all things. After doing so, you offer your souls to Him Who is the master of mokea".40 The Alvar then asks the selves to give up all thoughts of ahankara and mamakara (the feelings of 'l' and 'Mine') and to have no connection with the world." The entire existence is under His control. All the activities, mental, verbal and physical, should be directed towards Him for His service:43 His Feet which are the only support of the selves should be held firmly." Giving up the ideas of possession and egoism and reaching or holding to the Feet of the Lord are acts which could be practised also by those who are devoted to God and who adopt the path of devotion. The doctrine of self-surrender has, for its fundamental concept and trait, the placing of one's own self at God, Who is the refuge. The basis for this act of self-surrender lies in the realization by the self that it cannot take care of itself and that God alone, Who is its master, can give protection. These are conveyed by words such as 'I reach or proceed to shelter' (saranam prapadye). The line" offer your selves unto Him' is a clear indication of the act of self-surrender which the Alvar asks people to adopt. The other contingent aspects of this doctrine are clearly conveyed in this decad. In a similar strain, the Alvar mentions his act of self-surrender in another line: 'I do not have any refuge. I take refuge under Thy Feet' .* The word 'atiyen is used significantly conveying the sense that he is a servant of Him Who is the Lord of the three worlds and Who governs them.

Pillan on T.V.M. 1.2: 1. 39,

T,V.M.1 2: 1. 40.

lbid. 1.2: 3. 41.

^{42.} ibid, 1,2:7.

^{43.} ibid. 1.2: 8.

^{44.} ibid. 1.2: 10.

^{45.} ibid. 1.2: 1.

ibid. 6.10: 10, 46.

Apart from references contained in the contemporaries of Nanciyar and others to the effect that Ramanuja revised his opinion regarding the import of this decad in favour of the path of devotion, what remains inexplicable is the motive for this revision of opinion. It is true that there are far more numerous evidences in favour of the path of devotion than for the path of self-surrender. If Ramanuja felt that Vedanta doctrines preach and uphold the path of devotion, it must be admitted that there is justification for it. This must have been Ramanuja's view while commenting on the Brahmasūtras in the ŚriBhāşya. According to the Gupuparamparā, Rāmānuja was taught by Tirumālaiyantan that the import of the second decad of the first centum of the Tiruvaymoli was in favour of adopting the path of self-surrender. This was the traditional view handed down from Yamuna. As far as his discourses of the Tiruvaymoli were concerned, Ramanuja should have taught his disciples only the doctrine of prapatti as the import of this decad. When he directed his disciple Pillan to write a commentary on the Tiruvaymoli, he must have had confidence that Pillan would be writing in accordance with what he was taught by him. Ramanuja did approve of this commentary Arayirap-pati and commanded his disciples to look upon Pillan as the master of both Vedantas.47 If Pillan's mentioning prapatts as the import of this decad were not traditionally correct or were contrary to his own opinion, Rămanuja would not have given recognition to this commentary or would have at least forced Pillan to change the version in favour of bhaktt. What really could have happened seems to be an incorrect understanding of the situation. That the Tiruvaymoli preferred to enjoin the path of self-surrender is to be admitted without reservation, but it would be presumptuous on the part of Ramanuja to attribute this concept directly to the Vedanta tradition as propounded by the Brahma-sut ras and Upanizads, particularly when he strained every nerveto advocate in favour of the doctrine of devotion being not in any way different from that of knowledge. The traditions in the two Vedantas were thus slightly different. Pillan had given thus the import of the decad as it was taught by Ramanuja.

^{47.} Yatirā ja-valbhavam, 108.

He must have been fully aware of the difference in Ramanuja's approach. Whether Empär held a converse view as stated by Namei yar cannot be verified. The difference in the two approaches was not probably realised. Nanciyar mentions that the import of the decad is in favour of devotion and also attributes this view to Ramanuja and Empar intending to cite them for his support. Besides, Nanciyar and his followers could not also explain what made Ramanuja revise his opinion and thus made him preach against the tradition handed down to him from Yamuna. In fact, there is no contradiction between the import of this decad and the contents of the Sri Bhūsva. From this it does not follow that Nanciyar and his followers were against the spirit of the preachings of the Alvars. That the Alvars taught the path of self-surrender as the only means of salvation is readily admitted by both the lines of teachers who trace their descent from Ramanuja

It is really interesting in this context to note that Ramanuja did not anywhere in his works mention that prapatti is an independent means of moksa. He makes references frequently to the path of devotion. In one context he mentions that the act of self-surrender is the means to win God over to the side of the devotees. It is not stated here that it is the direct means of moksa. However, the Gadya-traya and the Saranāgati-gadya in particular, show that Rāmānuja adopted prapatti as the means. Similarly it could be said, of course with some reservation, that the Alvars preached mainly bhaktt as the method of reaching God but referred to prapatti far more frequently than Ramanuja did in his works. What Rāmānuja taught through his works and practice became incorporated in the commentary of Pillan. The ubhaya-vedanta concept to which Andhrapurnaso refers. in a way should have formed the main tenet of the Vaisnavite school from the time of Pillan with the result that prapatti assumed more significance than before. After this period, it came to be treated as an independent means. Objections should have been raised

Śri Bhasya on 1.4: 1. 48.

Yatirā ja-vaibhavam, 1. 49.

for this status offered to prapatti, as it is known from the Niksāparakṣā which was written by Vedānta Desika to vindicate the validity of the doctrine of prapatti.

If the Alvars make frequent references to the path of self-surrender, it may be taken that it is devotion that made them seek refuge when they were forlorn unable to bear the sufferings of separation from Him. These sufferings prove only that it is devotion which the soul has for God that makes it feel the separation from Him keen and making it miserable. The helpless self can do nothing to overcome it. The only thing which it can do is to seek shelter under God. In this sense alone, the Alvars seem to have used the words 'tiruvati ataltal'.60 There is nothing wrong if this is taken to mean the doctrine of self-surrender which is supported by devotion. To suggest that the Alvars had their prapatti as the only method, giving up or without reference to devotion is too much straining the issue. Thus devotion seems to have entered into the doctrine of self-surrender at least as its main ingredient. It is only then that the concept of bhagavata worship could be explained as meaningful.

The principle of Arthapañcaka may also apply to the path of devotion, although the later writers adopt it in support of the path of prapatti. Some of the exponents in the post-Rāmānuja period apply this principle to the Tiruvāymoļi and seek to show that this work of Nammāļvār is in reality an exposition of this principle. 11

In the state of release a liberated soul could choose any one pattern of existence such as identity of abode (sālokya), proximity (sāmīpya), similarity of form (sārūpya) and intimate union (sāyujya) and can enjoy all the perfections of Vaikuntha. To have the appearance of the Lord and to be ever near Him are to be desired by a self. Immense delight could be derived by these states. However, the Āļvārs preferred to have only sāyuja, that is, close communion, a state which need not be

^{50.} T.V.M. 6 10. 1, 3; 9.10; 6.

^{51.} Twelve-Thousand - Introduction.

distributed thereafter. Feeling of oneness with God and the awareness that he is part of Him would give greater delight to the self who adopts the sayujya aspect of existence. 52

The temples which were already reputed during the period of the Alvars were visited by these saints who sang in praise of the deities there. 33 While Nammalvar sang for the most part of the shrines situated in the Tirunelveli District and the Southern part of the Kerala State, Tirumańkaiyāļvār sang in particular the deities in and around his native place in Tirunakari in the Thanjavur District not to speak of the innumerable shrines in the whole of India which he alone visited. But for these two Alvars, most of the shrines would have passed into obscurity. Tiruvarankam, Tirumalai and Tirumāliruncolai are the three important shrines which were popular at the time of the Alvars and were visited by most among them. Subsequent to the period of the Alvars and probably after Nathamuni's arragement for the recitation of the compositions of the Alvars, a shrine in whose honour an Alvar composed at least a verse came to be held in greater respect in comparison to the one which did not receive such an attention from the Alvars. Such shrines came to be designated as 'patal perra talankal' (shrines celebrated by the hymns of the Alvars). One hundred and eight holy shrines are brought under this head. It is quite possible that Nathamuni was responsible for the formulation of this ldea of treating a shrine as 'pāţal perra talam' although there is no means of verifying it. This suggestion could be admitted in view of the fact that Sri Rangam became the seat of the Vaispavite Acaryas since his time. It is perhaps during the period of Ramanuja that the important shrines got enumerated in the order of Srl Rangam, Tirumalai and Kancipuram. The

Jitante Stotra 2: 36. 52.

^{53.} Appendix V gives the list of shrines exclusively sung by one Atvar only.

The list of such shrines start with Sri Rangam and end with Para-54. mapadam. They are grouped according to the regions where they are situated. (Vide the list contained in Sri P. Krishnamacharyar's edition), cf. Nurrettut-tiruppati Antati of Pillaip-perumal Ayyengar.

first one is also known simply as koyll and its presence at the head should have been due to the largest number of verses sung by the Alvars on the presiding deity there. The Tirumalai comes next. Kancipuram is also known as Perumalköyil in order to distinguish it from the Siva Kanci, with its innumerable temples of Šiva. How Kanci or Perumaļkoyil came to occupy the third place is not known. According to the general understanding, the temple at Tirukkacci has only two verses from Pūtattāļvār.55 Nammāļvār who mentions only the three shrines Tiruvarankam,56 Tirumalai57 and Tiruvehkā (at Kānci),50 did not take note of this temple. To some scholars the first decad of the first centum of Nammalvar's Tiruvaymoli is in honour of the deity at Tirukkacci.50 This contention is perhaps intended to justify the mentioning of Tirukkacci or Perumalköyil as the third in the list. The shrine at Melkote known as Yadavadri in the Karnataka State grew in importance after Ramanuja and is generally enumerated as the fourth shrine after Perumalkoyil. There are of course temples as in Mannargudi, Maturantakam, Srimuspam and other places which are important in their own way, but are not known by the designation 'pāţal perra talankaļ'.

It was Rāmānuja that created a new kind of atmosphere in and around the temple where the Aļvārs and the singing of their compositions came to attain much importance. This was done in the first instance at Srī Rangam and was perhaps adopted by others in other shrines. The recitation of the whole or part of Nālāyiram has become obligatory in all shrines dedicated to Viṣṇu and situated at least in the Tamil Nadu and at Tirumalai, Ahōbilam, Badrācalam, Nellore, Mangalagiri and others in the Andhra State and also at Yādavādri at Melkote and other places in the Karnataka State.

^{55.} I Tv. 95 96. The word 'kacci' is taken to refer to only this shrine. cf. Nālāyira Divya Prabandham p. 286. (Ed.) by Mayilai Mātava Tāśan (Madras. 1962).

^{56.} T.V.R. 28.

^{57.} ibid. 8, 10.

^{58.} ibid. 26.

Vide: Candragiri Venkatesa's commentary on Vedănta Deśikā's Drāmidopanişat-sāram verse, 5.

The act of mangalasasanam (celebration by hymns) which the Alvars performed is in reality not exactly a prayer in a plaintive tone for the redressal of personal or human misery in general. Nor is it a glowing description of God's grandeur which very often defies expression. It is not also the narration of anecdotes or episodes which recount His exploits. The word 'mangalasasanam' means hoping or wishing well, welfare or auspiciousness to another. Periyalvar stands at the head of those who could do this form of prayer. When he was taken on the elephant through the streets of Madurai, there appeared the Lord before him. He did not at once begin to praise Him, but wished that the Lord's presence should continue to flourish for hundred of years. He wishes at first that there shall be no separation between God and His devotees. The true spirit of an ideal religion or religious experience cannot be anything other than this aspect. What has happened is reunion with or coming together of God and His men. This is the ideal of religious experience. This communion shall never get disbanded. The prayer is therefore an ideal. Then the Alvar wishes for the welfare of Laksmi discus and conch, all of which show that the most Supreme Person shall have this mangalasāsanam: 60 Other Alvars also do this. 61

Another factor that must be noted is that elders talk of doing mangalasāsanam while they go to offer worship in the shrines. They do not go to fulfil any vow or observance as most of the shrine-goers do nowadays as in the case of Tirumalai, Shōlingar (Colasimhapuram) and others. The real spirit underlying these could be easily guessed. The sight of the Lord in a particular pose is extremely exhilarating. The Alvars do not become haughty that they alone deserve to have that sight. They wonder as to how they alone were chosen and offer an explanation for this on the ground that their good deeds done in the past should have brought God's person before them. Such a sight they wish to last for all times un-

^{60.} Pallantu

^{61.} Periyal. Tm 1.9; 5; TVM. 7.6: 11

tainted by worldly defects. Antal remarks exquisitely that each limb, foot etc., of God deserves the mangalasasanam. The Lord Who has come down shall remain for the welfare of humanity.

A very bold step, which is never known in any religion, was taken only in Vaisnavism and that is, rendering the principles of theistic faith which is found fully developed in the ancient sources into Tamil, a language which like the languages other than Sanskrit, was not envisaged to become as vehicle for conveying religious ideas. The entire matter that could be gathered from the sources down from the Vedas is retained in toto in these Tamil Prabandhams, as though testifying to their inheritance to the Vedic religion. The compositions of the Alvars are not translations of the Vedas or Puratas nor are they the Tamil renderings of portions of the Vedic texts or anecdotes recorded in them. They are in the literal sense of the word representations of what could be described as the sum and substance of the theistic teachings available in the Sanskrit sources.

It was Vedanta Desika that offered a convincing justification for the adoption of the Tamil language for purposes of religious and philosophical preachings. The essence of what is taught in the Vedas is presented by the Lord Himself through a language which all the inhabitants of the region occupied by Sage Agastya could easily adopt and understand. The substance of the Vedanta is more easily grasped when it is presented in the medium of Tamil. Both the Alvar's presentation of the Vadic truths and principles and Vedanta Desika's support of this adoption could be taken as presaging the present day trend of adopting the regional or mother-tongue as a medium better suited for the purpose of learning. This is indeed a democratic element in the religious and philosophic sphere.

^{62.} T. Pv. 24.

^{63,} Guruparamparāsāra. p. 3.

^{64.} Seventeen Cillarai Rahasyangal, p. 1.

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The objections which were noted by Nanciyar and others regarding the adoption of a profane language for religious and devotional purposes, show that the reception which was accorded to the Divya Prabandham was not uniformly a favourable one. It is to build up a strong defence that Nathamuni, Yamuna and Ramanuja sought to raise the compositions of the Alvars to the status of a religious text. These compositions, at the time when Pillan was directed by Ramanuja to comment upon, were held to be sacred like the Vedas, in spite of the non-Sanskrit language in which they were composed. The followers of Ramanuja maintained by all means at their disposal the holy nature of these compositions and went to the extent of arranging for the recitations of these both in temples and houses on occasions of worship. Not only did Vedanta Desika defende and establish the obligatory recitation of these on the festive occasions in front of the deity but also recorded in a suggestive manner to the respect one should show for their reciters 66 Perhaps it was about this period that the Agamas recommended the recitations of these hymns in praise of God composed in 'bhāṣa', a word which then meant a language other than Sanskrit.67

The Lord Himself is described to have been come down in descent for the sake of humanity. While He took ten main avatārās under the vibhava kind, He came down in a new kind of ten avatārās. Vedānta Desika, who made this statement, sought to establish that the composers of the Nalayiram were men of no mean merit. They were master-minds that came down with divine elements. This may perhaps point to a tradition which Vedānta Desika was aware of during his time,

^{65.} He took part in disputes with those who did not agree upon this and came out victorious and established the practice of reciting the Prabandhams on strong grounds (Vide: Introduction to the Sankal-pasūryodaya. Part I. p.63).

^{66.} R.T.S. Chap. I, Introductory verse. 2.

^{67.} Is. S. 11: 36, 37; 13: 246.

^{68.} Guruparamparāsāra, p. 3. There are actually twelve composers. Antāl is treated as part of Periyāļvār and Maturakaviyāļvār as part of Nammāļvār.

or even if he should take credit for this description, there is justification for the worship of the Alvars in temples and conducting festivals to them as are done for God. While God came down and displayed His greatness to His men who expressed their love, gratitude and admiration for His exploits, here the Alvars did make notable achievement in glorifying God and God alone, Maturakaviyaļvar being an exception worthy of note. If God came down to satisfy the God-hunger of men, the Alvars demonstrated through their compositions what God-hunger is. Men of ordinary abilities could not achieve this and therefore is the suggestion that is made here that God himself came down in the form of the Alvars to achieve this purpose. In fact, even God cannot do this by Himself. He could do it only in the garb of His men who are endowed with His divinity for which purpose He had to come down as the Alvars.

In this connection, Vedanta Desika offers an apt analogy." The salty waters of the sea are taken in by the clouds and are released as pure water which is fit to be drunk. Even so, the contents of the Vedas are beyond the understanding of the ordinary people and therefore could not be realized through the direct study of the Vedas. The Alvars, like the clouds, grasped the Vedic doctrines, and conveyed them through Tamil medium which is not only sweet (palatable) but is also fit to be drunk like rain water. As it is holy to take buth in the sea on occasions of sacred days, the Vedic texts have to be respected for use on occasions. Like the rain water, the compositions of the Alvars could be stored in reservoirs and used for various purposes. None is forbidden from using these compositions like the water which all can make free use of. The compositions of the Alvars are thus readily understandable even to ordinary men. It will be no exaggeration if it is suggested here that just as the nature and good conditions of the containers like the tanks, reservoirs and pipes are responsible for keeping the water drinkable, so also, only such individuals could be taken to have grasped the truths

^{69.} Guruparamparāsāra, p.3.

of these compositions by being sincere in their doings, honest in intentions and good by temperament. The unworthy in both cases are not only dependable but harmful also and therefore are fit to be discarded.

Like the Vedanta system which is mainly concerned with a disquisition about Brahman's nature and the means of attaining it, the compositions of the Alvars reveal the interest of their authors in depicting God's perfection and their personal experience of Him. While the Vedanta system seeks to demonstrate that Brahman's eminence could not be questioned or affected, the Alvars, on the other hand, seek to draw attention to their experiences which reveal beyond the shadow of doubt God's eminence. The Vedanta-sutras begin with the statement that there is a keen desire to know Brahman. Existence of Brahman is an already admitted fact which requires no proof. The marks for this assumption lie in the world owing its origin, maintenance and disappearance to Brahman. This is all known from the scriptures. The Alvars too treat of the Sapreme Person as too well-known and thus requiring no proof to demonstrate His existence. Without exception, He is referred to as the creator of the universe which He maintains and preserves during deluges. There is of course more of the logical aspect in proving God's relationship to the world. Visualizing God everywhere in the black sea, blue cloud and others is really an experience which could not be explained away. God chooses to reveal Himself to His men through Nature. "Nature, which is the time-vesture of God and reveals Him to the wise, hides Him from the foolish". * Metaphysical discussions have the places of their own. They dissect the ultimate Reality into parts which become abstract having no attraction for the man with Godhunger. The deeply devout man, with his unshakeable faith in God, does not need any proof for God's existence. "There is nothing more real than what comes from religion. To compare facts such as these with that comes to us in outward existence would be to trifle with the subject. The man who

^{70.} Passage from Carlyle cited in the Ideas of God. p. 172.

demands as reality more solid than that of the religious consciousness knows not what he seeks"."

This kind of description of the origin of the compositions raises another important issue. The Vedas are admitted to be apauruseya, that is, not of human origin. The compositions of the Alvars, being designated as the Dravida Veda, should be considered also as apauruşeya. This matter was raised by some scholars in the post-Rāmānuja period who held that these were not of human origin.72 Such a view does not stand to reason. Whether Nammalvar is stated to have rendered the Vedas into Tamil, 78 or the compositions are given the name Dravida Veda, the fact remains there that these compositions contain the essential teachings of the Vedas. In this respect, they are in no way different from the epics Ramayana and Mahabharata and the Bhagavad-gita.11 The Ramayana which is the work of a human being Valmiki, is stated to be only an edition of the Veda in the form of the Kavya. It is only the Veda of Valmiki who refers to it as samhita. The Mahābhārata which was composed by Vyāsa in its nuclear portion is hailed as samhita 16 which is open to all, irrespective of their social standing. It is also called the Veda of Kṛṣṇa.77 Its author is admittedly the avatara of Vispu. With all this both the epics are admitted to be of human origin. Bhagavad-gitā which contains the quintessence of the teaching of the Upantsads, is the song of the Divine but yet is treated not as a Veda of no human origin but as a smṛti, that is which reminds us of the Vedic truths. The designation Veda which is given to the Nälayiram must be taken to convey only this sense

^{71.} Passage cited from Bredby's Appearance and Reality in the Idea of God. p. 449

^{72.} Evidence is wanting to identify the person or group of persons who held this view.

^{73.} K.C. 8.

^{74.} cf. ibid. Sut. 189 to 194.

^{75.} Rām. 6. 128 : 120.

^{76.} M.Bh. Adi. 1: 78.

^{77.} ibid 1:294; 62: 20.

⁷⁸ Bhag. P. 1.3:21.

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of revealing the truths in a medium different from that of the Vedus. Like the epics and Puranas these are verily the supplements to the Vedas, ** still retaining the names Veda and samhitä.

Mention must be made here about the work known as Bhagavannamasahaśram recently prepared by Pandit V. Anantacharya and A. Srinivasaraghavan. It is based on the Drāmidopanişat-tatparya-ratnāvali. This work summarises the gist of each decad in a sloka which contains at least ten words conveying the sense of each verse in that decad. The Tiruvaymoli, which is considered to be dealing with the Lord's attributes is thus held to contain at least thousand qualities of the Lord. Those who composed this work took each word which deals with the gist of verse and turned it to suit the formation of a name of the Lord. So there are thousand names prepared from Vedanta Desika's work but based on the contents of each verse of the Tiruvaymoli. This is another sahasranamam for Visnu like Visnusahasranāmam which is included within the Anusasana parva of the Mahabharata.

No better tribute could be paid to Nammalvar and his compositions than repeating Vedanta Desika who said of him thus: "We worship the toe of Satha, whose literary outpourings bearing the fragrance of Vakuli flowers made the Vedas take rest". This means that the Vedas felt that Brahman lies beyond thought and expression. The Tiruvaymoli proceeded further where the Upanisads left by dealing at great length about God and His perfection. In another context, he remarks that the utterances made by those preceptors who are the recipients of Narayana's favour are more authentic than and superior to those of the sages even though their hearts are pure. Again he emphatically asserts that it is only through the grace of Sathakopa that all the Vaisnavites have found it

^{79.} cf. Drāmidöpanişat-tat par ya-ratnāvali. 4.

^{80.} Yatirojasaptati, 4.

^{81.} Taitt. Up. 2.

^{82.} Ametāsvādinī, 27.

possible to bow with their heads at the Feet of the Lord, rather reach His Feet with bent heads.*3

It may be concluded that the popularity of Vaisnavism during the period of Ramanuja has been mainly due to four features which characterized the tenets of the school. The difficult and arduous paths of karma and jnana were replaced by the path of devotion, not that which is enjoined in the Upanisads but practical life filled with the emotion of love for God. Abstractness, rigidity, idealism and inaccessibility which mark the Upanisadic concept of God-head gave room for emotional appeal, tenderness, realistic approach and easy accessibility of God which made the course of devotion very attractive and practicable coming within the reach of common man irrespective of social status, and equipment. That God would overlook the guilt of man and would surely help in times of distress personally or through agency gives strength to the weak-minded and makes them feel much drawn and attached Prapatti has played an important role in this respect. To seek refuge under God is welcome measure so as to be rid of the responsibility for looking after one's own interest and also others. The concept of service to God and His men is more endearing to humanity than the mere practice of devotion. The meeting together of persons who are devoted to God is welcomed with their differences rid of them and enjoy communion with God. Hereby the spirit of tolerance gets full scope for development.

It is clear that the preachings of the Alvärs influenced Yämuna and Rämänuja to develop a system of Vedäntic thought based on the Vedas and the Näläyiram. The courses of bhakti, prapatti and the concept of kainkarya and the cult of the bhagavatas had far-reaching effect on many a religious school all through India. The Kṛṣṇabhakti of Nimbārka and Vallabha owes its rich development to the devotional hymns of the Alvārs whose spirits were reflected in the Gadyatraya of Rāmānuja, Pañcastava of Kūrattāļvān and the Stotras of Parācara Paṭṭar. Not merely did these two schools adopt bhakti

as the main course for mukti and for propitiation here but the emotional element of devotion brings to our mind much of what is contained in the hymns of the Alvars, whose sweet and intensely sincere contributions which are outstanding and unique in their poetic and devotional content are universally acclaimed.

The practical influence of the compositions of the Alvars made itself felt on the masses of people in no small measure and played an important role during the great revival of Hinduism in the period between the fifth century and the twelfth century which spelt the end of the vogue for Buddhism and Jainism. Apart from acting as a shaping factor in the quotidian religious consiousness of the Hindu, no matter whether he be a Vaisnavite or not, the general spirit and influence of the hymns of the Alvars have had a deep and long lasting extrareligious effect on the sensibility and culture of the Indian The emotional approach, and the ready, human appeal of the hymns have through the centuries of their popular dissemination successfully educated and cultivated the modes of feeling and outlook of the people in general, besides carrying the message of bhakti far and near. It may not be exceptional to claim that the Alvars take credit for their contribution through these hymns not only to the cause of religion but also to the enrichment of the main stream of Indian culture.