MĀDHAVENDRA PURĪ: A LINK BETWEEN BENGAL VAISNAVISM AND SOUTH INDIAN BHAKTI

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Introduction

A. K. Majumdar says: "It is not possible to establish on historical evidence any link between the Ajīvā and Caitanya. . . . It is, however, quite possible that his parama-guru (preceptor’s preceptor) Mādhavendra Purī was influenced by the Ajīvās." Other authors have put forward similar suggestions, but are equally unable to substantiate their assumptions. A. Gail states categorically: "Bhakti in the form of emotional-suggestively created identification with figures from the Kṛṣṇa legend was systematically developed in the rasa theory of Bengal Vaisnavism, after preparation by the Ajīvās." But he has to concede that no proof for this statement is available: "Nothing seems to be known of any connexion between Bengal Vaisnavism and Ajīvās." S. Das Gupta had earlier drawn certain parallels between Caitanya’s school and the Ajīvās.

Since the Ajīvās, the twelve South Indian Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa bhaktas who lived between c. A.D. 600 and 900, are virtually unknown outside Tamil Vaisnava circles, many claims can easily be made with regard to them for which no proof can be given. Furthermore, very little is known about the history of Bengal Vaisnavism before Caitanya. It is, therefore, the aim of the present study to contribute a few observations on the historical background to Bengal Vaisnavism. We shall analyze the various religious influences on Caitanya, tracing the sources of his bhakti back through his gurus to their original provenance. As Majumdar has rightly suggested, Mādhavendra Purī forms the central figure in this line of transmission, and the little that is known about him does in fact point towards a connexion with South India. But for obvious reasons the Ajīvās can only very briefly be included in the discussion.

Caitanya and Bengal Vaisnavism

The term "Bengal Vaisnavism" is commonly applied to the religious movement which started with Śrī- Caitanya, usually known simply as Caitanya. He was born in Navadvīpa, Bengal, in c. A.D. 1486, became a sanyāsī in 1510, and stayed for the rest of his life till his death in 1533, mostly in Puri, Orissa. He was not a philosopher or theologian, but a mystic, absorbed in emotional bhakti to Kṛṣṇa. He did not comment on the Brahma-sūtras, nor did his immediate disciples, who wrote the extensive philosophical and theological literature of the movement; therefore, strictly speaking, Caitanya was not the founder of a new saṃpradāya (parallel to those of Saṅkarā, Madhava, Nimbārika, Vallabha), but a disciple of Viśva-viśva-prabhu Gauri-bhakta Gaurijñana-svarupa, who in turn was a disciple of Śrī- Caitanya.

1 Caitanya: his life and doctrine, Bharatika Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1949, 50.
3 Ibid., 46, n. 15.
4 A history of Indian philosophy, III, Cambridge, 1940, 81.
5 The only sources in English (or any European language) to be available on the Ajīvās have been J. M. S. Naiker, Hymns of the Ajīvās, Calcutta, 1925, and S. Das Gupta, op. cit., 69-73 (where Das Gupta summarizes a late and very divergent opinion in Sanskrit of Namāria’s Tirumālāyāvyuha, edited Bhandara-pandita Prabhāpatra). K. C. Vaidyadatta’s Ajīvās of South India, Bombay, 1966 (on which A. Gail bases some of his assumptions) is a popular-devotional booklet without any critical value.
6 The present writer has been engaged in studying the Tamil poems of the Ajīvās and hopes to publish in the future the results of these studies along with extensive translations. Various statements that follow involving the Ajīvās and their influence on later bhakti texts in Sanskrit are based on this research; it would have extended the scope of the present study too much to have supplied the references in full.
or Śāntiniketā. We shall see presently that this fact created certain complications in the eighteenth century for the followers of Caitanya's movement. Yet commonly this religious school is known as acintya-bhādāvā, or Bengal Vaishnavism.

The fact that a certain number of verses expressing some form of Kṛṣṇa or Viṣṇu religion were written in Bengal before Caitanya might suggest that this term "Bengal Vaishnavism", if used to refer exclusively to Caitanya and his followers, is too limited. These texts are: Śajyadeva's Gītāgīrindra (about a.d. 1273); an anthology of Śaṅkara poems entitled Śadākāratasaṅkṛita and compiled by Śrīdrādisa in a.d. 1205 or 1206, which shows a pronounced Viśṇuṣa inclination; and the Bengali poems by one Cānḍāla (about a.d. 1400). The Mathīl poem by Śivāyapī (a.d. 1552-6849) can also be mentioned, since they enjoyed great popularity in Bengal. The first and the last two are expressly mentioned in the early biographies of Caitanya, where it is said that the last two were expressly written and with great relish. Ācārya also quoted one or two verses which are found in the Ācāryakārandavī, although it is not certain that he knew them from that anthology itself.24 Without entering into a detailed discussion of these well-known works, it can be said that they are individual creations, predominantly literary and only vaguely intermixed with religious themes; their authors show in no way that they were members or founders of any defined and separate religious movement (which regarded Viśṇu-Kṛṣṇa as god and built up a specific ritual and metaphysical framework of its own). Jayadeva, Ācārya, Śivāyapī, and Śrīdrādisa were principally literati, and Viṣṇuṣa only in a general, universally Indian sense. Caitanya's movement was different, because it evolved specific religious forms and metaphysical doctrines. It was "Bengali", because Caitanya himself and most of his followers were Bengalis and because a considerable part of the school's literature was written in that language. Thus the term "Bengal Vaishnavism" seems justified, for reasons that make it at the same time impossible to trace the religious sources of this movement simply back to the earlier texts mentioned above. In spite of the general religious Viṣṇu touch in those earlier texts, they cannot be considered to be the source of the religious inspiration of Caitanya. As predominantly literary works they acquired a religious meaning only through the peculiar religious attitude of Caitanya and his followers, which could superimpose new interpretations on literary works by means of the āśā-theory. Thus although these earlier texts formed the material for the peculiar blend of religion and literature in Bengal Viṣṇuṣa, they do not offer an explanation of Caitanya's bhāṣa.25

24 The dust is according to W. G. Archer, pp. 31 and 35 of his introduction to D. Bhāsikāra, Love songs of Śrīnāga, Calcutta, 1919.


26 For instance Caitanya-kitiṣa, Malapada-bhātī, [177], N. 315; pp. 20-24, XVI ff. We shall refer in this important work, writing in Bengal by Kṛṣṇorādha Kṛṣṇa g璇on a.d. 1615, by the abbreviation CCA. There are many editions; the one used here is by Jagannath Gupta, Calcutta, 1780 1802; the verses are numbered, including the Śaṅkara poems, from the beginning of each chapter. There is a Sanskrit translation by Kṛṣṇorādha Kṛṣṇa g璇on a.d. 1872, and an English paraphrase in six volumes edited by R. K. Ray, Calcutta, 1939 which (other than that) translates the original.

27 Edited by B. C. Nanakhedkar, 1954 (this extremely critical edition is an improvement after the first two editions by P. R. Nanakhedkar, 1911 and 1921 (incomplete), and 25 Panjab University Series XV, Lahore, 1933. Note 51). It is said to have been revised by Cānḍāla (CC) (Māyāsā, 57 ff.). Although Cānḍāla may have written it, one finds other sources.

28 On further essential concerning these verses of Viṣṇuvadī in pre-Caitanya Bengal see e.g. Majumdar, op. cit., 21-23; S. K. De, Early history of the Caitanya movement in Bengal (in the following references FPJ.; Calcutta, 1940, 8-12. Both authors also maintain that the earlier texts are not directly religious.
There are many other traceable influences on Bengal Vaisnavism with which we are not concerned here. For their ritualism, Caitanya's followers used a blend of (right-hand) shatric, digamite, and pashcharthic elements; the theological system builds on Vedanta; the conception of bhakti-rasa, which was developed by Rupa Gosvami and further elaborated by Jiva Gosvami, derived its inspiration from Sanskrit poets in general and specifically from Vyasadeva Hemadri. The Bhagavata-purana is the most central religious text of the school. Yet all these influences are marginal to the real centre of inspiration, Caitanya's own religious attitudes, emotions, and their expression—in short, his bhakti; that is, his emotional-mystical identification with Radha, his experience of "separation" from Krishna, the symptoms of extreme emotional disturbance (which are found also in a very similar form in Indian eroticism), music, dancing, acting, etc., as forms of worship and expression of the religious emotion. When we therefore ask here the question, which "sources" of religious shaped Bengal Vaisnavism, we basically have to ask whether this particular form of Kṛṣṇa bhakta of Caitanya can be connected with any earlier form of bhakti.

One could argue that the Bhagavata-purāṇa itself fulfils all necessary conditions for being considered the main influence on Bengal Vaisnavism. It is true that this text was of great importance to Caitanya, shows very similar features in the bhakti it represents, and belongs to the same religious milieu as some other texts which will be discussed below. Even some discrepancies, like the religious-emotional identification with figures from the Kṛṣṇa legends, which is not found as such in the Purāṇa, disappear to some extent when the model for this Purāṇa, viz. the poetry of the Ādiyās, is taken into account. But firstly, texts do not exist in vacuo: they cannot create certain religious attitudes in an individual by themselves. Secondly, the biographical evidence points in a different direction. Caitanya is separated from this text by about half a millennium, and it needed some kind of institution, a religious tradition, a school or movement, or at least a religious milieu, to transfer the theoretical bhakti of the written text into the mystical realization of Caitanya. As we shall see, the Bhagavata-purāṇa did in fact belong to the chain of influences, but only in that it was the basic religious text of a certain group of people.

Thus the problem to be investigated in the following pages concentrates on the central feature of Bengal Vaisnavism, Caitanya's bhakti, from which all other expressions derived their inspiration, and concerns the influences on this bhakti of a living religious tradition.

The alleged affiliation with Madhava

For some reason the fact that none of the theologians of Bengal Vaisnavism commented upon the Brahma-nirguna, so that they did not constitute a new inseparable in the strict sense, was felt as a serious problem by followers in the eighteenth century. This problem had not existed in the awareness of these theologians themselves, since for them the

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18 According to FPM, 22, it may have been the meeting of various Vaisnavas communities in Vindavan; Majumdar, op. cit., 265, thinks that the movement needed a justification, once it was outside Bengal. Both arguments are not entirely convincing, because they do not take into account the time gap between the first Gokulmi, who were sent to Vindavan by Caitanya himself, and Baladeva, who lived not earlier than the eighteenth century. Majumdar, p. 269, n. 8, and W. Edelitz, Kṛṣṇa-Caitanya und Leben und erste Lehre, Stockholm Studies in Comparative Eschatology, 7, Stockholm, 1968, 13, n. 2; refer to a specific incident in Jaipur, which seems to provide the motive for Baladeva's writing a separate commentary from the point of view of Bengal Vaisnavism.
Bhagavata-purana constituted the true and final commentary on the Brahma-sūtras. The Purāṇa itself had made this claim already, and the fundamental theological work of the movement, Jīva Gosvāmi, was formally nothing but a commentary on systematically arranged passages from the Bhagavata-purāna. Nevertheless, Jīva does not oppose the earlier Vaiṣṇava philosophers like Rāmānuja or Madhava openly, but claims to follow the lines of their exposition. Yet, whoever the author of the Purāṇa may have been, he did not found a sampradāya. When he was the problem of the same sampradāya since the eighteenth century, it was therefore difficult to prove an independent origin. Instead, Cātaka's movement was artificially linked with an earlier sampradāya, that of Madhava. Why Madhava and not any other is not known. Baladeva Vidyāśākya seems to have been responsible for this affiliation. However, the writing on the Brahma-sūtras, the Gītā-śāstra, he obviously invalidated this very association. As S. K. De, briefly pointed out and A. K. Majumdar proved in greater detail, this affiliation of Cātaka with the Madhava sampradāya (via Śivānanda and Madhavādīpa Purī) is a late and imaginary fiction. Neither institutionally, nor in the sphere of mysticism, did Cātaka derive any influence from Madhava and his sect.

Cātaka's guru

We shall now investigate the early biographies of Cātaka which were written during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Sanskrit and Bengal, to see which other important religious personalities met Cātaka and had a direct influence on him.  

1. Kālāvī Bhārati. He was a monk under whom Cātaka took his initiation. In spite of the great importance usually associated with this ceremony, it seems to have made little impression on Cātaka and took place in a rather unorthodox way. When one takes the various pieces of information together, the conclusion that it can be discarded as a source of religious inspiration for Cātaka seems justified. The early biographies suggest or indicate in various ways that something was strange about the amāryā and needed explanation or justification. Vidyāśākya Dāsa's Cātaka-purāṇa and his mention that Cātaka suggested to Kālāvī Bhārati which mantra he should give him during the initiation ceremony, that the guru was not satisfied with the name "Bhārati" for Cātaka, and through inspiration from Śrāvasti he called him Kṛṣṇa-Cātaka. In Kaviraja-Pitā's biographical drama

13 In Jiva Gosvami, Tattva-Samāgama: "allākāśa-sātām abhinyu-śaktiha-bhūmanam" (quoted in JFM, 262, n. 2).
14 In Jiva Gosvami, Tattva-Samāgama: "allākāśa-sātām abhinyu-śaktiha-bhūmanam" (quoted in JFM, 262, n. 2).
15 The opening line, CCP, 1, 1, corresponds practically to BK 1, 1, cf. also CCP, 1, 4 and 5.
16 CCP, 1, 4.
17 CCP, 1, 4.
18 One could suggest that the similarity of the names Madhava and Madhava (= Madhava Purī), played some role here.
19 CCP, 1, 3.
20 CCP, 1, 3.
21 CCP, 1, 3.
22 CCP, 1, 3.
23 CCP, 1, 3.
24 CCP, 1, 3.
25 CCP, 1, 3.
26 CCP, 1, 3.
27 CCP, 1, 3.
in the Brahman-sūtras.18 The elemental theological work of the
Brahman but a commentary on system
moreover, Jiva does not oppose
openly, but claims to follow
the Purāṇa may have been,
the Caiyāna sampradāya arose
an independent origin. Instead,
sampradāya, that of Madhva.
by Viśvanātha, who is
as S. K. De17 briefly pointed
of Caiyāna with the
late and imaginary fiction.
Caiyāna derive any influence

Caiyāna which were written
during this period, to see which important
were.

18 Written in Sanskrit about a.n. 1576. We have used the edition by Aditya Rāmananda Mitra, Haridas
Sarkar Granthaśāla No. 267, Varanasi, 1966 (hereafter CCA). The first passage is in Act I, vers 13–15, with
intervening prose (pp. cit., 150–53). Adityakṣa sees an eye-witness to the
mythology: "Āye śivat tathādevamuktum nāmadevaṁ bhūvakum (= Citrāna)?" - "Krishṇa-Caitanya" w.
-"Samanavikaram" abhi samastam etidūti.
Krishna-Caitayanām samhashīrṇa
ata eva mādhyādityaṁ hi phalassakārāḥ [AI]
Krishna-Bhāratī ki beete eva tārthe Kriyānaṃ Bhāratīdṛṣṭvā, yathā "mādhyādī Bhūtasmā pṛthikā daśma
nāmadevaṁ bhūvakukumārāt, anādī, Kriyāna-Bhāratī-parāṅgadūtām pruthakṣhita-prākāmānī eva" (p. 154) "Which
śiva, that is appropriate to his new stage in life, did the lord accept?" -"K.C." -"with surprise"
"This is indeed very appropriate. The spirit which is essentially Krishna has been named K. C.; therefore
the meaning of the mādhyādī has fulfilled itself here. (41) For K. B., it is the Vedas, because they are
the sakhi of Vīma, as is proved from the statement) (the Vedas) are taught by me to Brahma at the
of the four Vedas: (51) It is between the abode of Krishna (that is essentially myself) explained... J;
therefore what has been taught by K. B. has to be considered (?) as the Vedas.

Madhva) are the famous sentences from the Upaniṣads like "net ram aśvat," which embody the essence of
monistic philosophy.

17 CCA, Act V, verse 21, with prose (pp. 173 ff.). Adityakṣa criticizes Caiyāna for having joined the
advaiteśa order, "Krishṇa bhāram śakharāyāṁ yāṁ advaita-kātan ātyantakaṁ tāṁ atkum bhūta
drāmān jal tarunāṁ" and Caiyāna answers laughingly "Dvāra Advaita-purāṇoṁ kṣaṇiṃ honte nāmadevaṁ bhūvakumārāt...
..." what a strange thing have you done by entering into that particular sampradāya which is so
much liked by people belonging to the advaiteśa... "Oh! I remember that we do not belong to the
advaiteśa..."

16 CCA, Act VI, prose after verse 19 (pp. 201 ff.). The technical term here is mādhyādī-śakti. Majumdar,
66, 7, claiming that this contradicts the statements of CBM (see above with n. 20), seems to exaggerate.
we assume Mādhyādī-purāṇa means
we are not sure if Caiyāna was initiated with the mādhyādī-śakti, it is only Sāk
vatsalam who asks the question. The "Alai (bhava) refers to the relatively low status of the "dharma
order as compared with, e.g., the Purāṇa order (see Majumdar, 262).
to take seriously. The various passages quoted from the biographies make it clear that Cauitya was in no way concerned with the religion of his guru, and had nothing to do with advaita: they propose various substitutes for the advaitic factors involved in the ceremony (Cauitya suggests his own version of Initiation instead of one of the maha-mantras; he does not take the monastic name bhrati from his guru, etc.).

All this agrees with the general dislike of the movement for advaitic religion, and the followers must have found it embarrassing that Cauitya was initiated into advaita. A. K. Nysimiv has put forward a rather good case that states that Cauitya was, in fact, not even an initiated bhrati into the Bhrati order, because "Cauitya" is the name given in that order to novices. If the biographers knew about this, they may have preferred to remain silent about it and to employ other means to dissociate Cauitya from advaita, since they could not well have denied that his sap發mu was genuine. However that may be, it seems clear that we cannot expect to find any religious influence on Cauitya's bhakti in the traditional advaitic way. It must have been in fact the very nature of his bhakti that prevented him from becoming in any way closely connected to, or influenced by, advaita.

2. Rāmānanda Rāya. There is something of a mystery about this important religious personality, whom Cauitya met during his journey to South India. He is said to have been of low caste and is described as a kind of aśaścī. Before meeting Cauitya, he had composed a dance-play called Japatāka-śudrabha-sājana, which Cauitya loved. 16 The first meeting between Cauitya and Rāmānanda Rāya and the ensuing discourse on Kṛṣṇa bhakti are described extensively in the early biographies and have been discussed by scholars. 17 Rāmānanda Rāya gives his exposition of the theology of bhakti, of Radha's love for Kṛṣṇa, with a whole framework of philosophical terminology (especially hāmaraśāka), and of bhakti as an erotic love. Compared with other passages in the biographies, where Cauitya is presented as the omniscient teacher, this is striking; and in another place Cauitya clearly states: "I do not know the matters concerning Kṛṣṇa, but Rāmānanda knows them all, as he hears from his mouth." We may therefore suspect that Cauitya indeed was taught by Rāmānanda. But a careful analysis of these passages shows that Rāmānanda was a philosopher, a theologian, and an aesthetic side of Kṛṣṇa bhakti. He may well be considered a very important influence on Bengal Vaishnavism as far as these aspects are concerned. Y
16 Majjhartal, 264.
17 The possible clothes for Cauitya's decision to become a sūrindra can be gathered from Cārī II, 26 (Eisler, 194) (in order to avoid opposition from priests), and CCA Ārya V, 26a (in order to be able to live in a house devoted to Kṛṣṇa).
18 CCA Ārya V, 26a, 26b, ity adhikātyā may be interpreted as "the light hidden".
19 CCA, Ārya VII, 12, Chālaḥ śāstraḥ, ity adhikātyā. As it stands here, the word can simply mean "falsehood, erroneous," and need not be taken in its technical sense as "belonging to the satvik region of existence." 20 C. K. Biswas, The place of the hidden men, Cārīpa, 1966, 299, states very carefully: "In the annals of Indian culture, there have been certain names which stand unmatched. It is in verse passages like CCA Ārya V, 2.24 (partly quoted by Biswas, loc. cit.) some association of Rāmānanda Rāya with poetical men and poetic verses plausibly.
21 PVM, 97.5, 577-579 (short description of the work).
22 CCA Ārya V, 26a, ity adhikātyā. The word kātra means "eating, eating, eating, eating..."
23 The original text of CCA Ārya VII, 57 in end, Āurry (in much shorter form), Act VII, verses 7—18, is preserved (p. 256-264).
24 PVM, 97.38. Mājharīla, 178—185 (with short translations) (Eisler, 388—396 (with abbreviated translations from CCA and CCA).
25 CCA Ārya V, 7.
certed. Yet it is not the influence that shaped Caiyana's bhakti as an emotionally realized form of religion.8 This seems to be borne out by the texts themselves. CCA9 describes the end of the discourse in the following words: "Then Râmândâma opened his mass of hair, fell down before (Caiyana), placed the hair on his feet, and said: "You are the most prominent among the great connoisseurs, a teacher of the playful art of drama full of rasa, and indeed are the master over our heart ... ." "CCA10 goes on further, and says that Caiyana at the end of the discourse revealed himself to Râmândâma in his real, eternal form as Kriyâ and Râdha united.

The implications are clear: although Râmândâma may have taught Caiyana the theory of bhakti, Caiyana had personally realized it long before this meeting took place. We can therefore conclude that Râmândâma, though of great importance for the bhakti-rasa doctrine and aesthetic practices of Bengal Vaishnavism, can be excluded from our present study, which concentrates on the background to Caiyana's emotional-mystical realization of bhakti.

3. ADVÂLITÂRâVYÂ (— Kâmalâkâsha Bhatîcârâya). This mystic was the leader of the Vaishnav community (gînâ) in Navadipa during Caiyana's youth, and he later became a devout follower of Caiyana. CCA describes his early activities in that town in the following way: "Before the appearance of the lord (— Caiyana), the group of Vaishnavs went to go to Advâlitârâvyâ's house. The Advâlitârâvyâ received the Gîtâ and the Bhagavata-purâna; he made disparaging remarks about jîvana and karma and praised bhakti. He received all the sâstras and gave explanations (in terms of) Kriyâ bhakti. He did notiren for jîvana, yoga, sâgas, dharma. The Vaishnavs found great delight in his company; (there were always) stories about Kriyâ, pîjâ to him, and kirtanâs."11 Now this Advâlitârâvyâ is said to have been a disciple of Mâdhavendra Purî.12 But it is open to speculation what kind of influence

8 The fact that CCA quotes freely from Rûpa Gosvâmin, etc., and puts these quotations into Râmândâma's mouth as his own words, has created some confusion among scholars, who tend to consider the whole discourse to be an invention of Kriyâlite Kâmalâkâsh. But the fact is only natural (as Biblical criticism showed long ago) that the author of this biography described the incident in terms of the bhakti-rasa system as it had fully developed by his time. A scholarly, chronological way of thinking would have been entirely unknown to him. What he wanted to express through this stylistic device which strikes present scholars as anachronistic, was that Râmândâma taught Caiyana exactly those factors which later gave rise to the bhakti-rasa system.


10 CCAU. Act VIII, verses 7-18 with abbreviations and omissions.

11 CCAU. Act VIII, verses 17-90.

12 The expressions padâvâmuna could theoretically refer to Caiyana's birth, but it seems better to take it in the sense: before he became a Khâyân-bhakti, that is, before he went to Gîtâ (see below). But since at the time of the latter event Caiyana was not older than about 23 years, even the first interpretation seems possible.

13 CCAU. Act XII, 64-67.

14 CCAU. Act XIII, 64-67; cf. VFM, 19 f.

15 CCAU. Act XIV, 108 f.

16 CCAU. Act XV, 110 f.; Srîmat:vâdâ Advâlicitâryâ gurû: Pûrita purna devi: bhakti-rasa-samâjara. [for the name and life of Kâmalâkâsha see CCAU. Act V, 110 f.].
Advaitacharya may have had on Caitanya during the latter's youth; according to S. K. De,24 Caitanya's father had been a member of that Vaishnava group in Navadvipa. Yet “all attempts to interest him (— Caitanya) deeply in religious matters met with a half-hearted, half-sceptical response.”25 It is only when Caitanya met another disciple of Madhavendra Puri, Isvara Puri, that he all of a sudden became the mystic who was constantly in emotional ecstasy and rapture. We can therefore turn to this last-mentioned personality.

4. Isvara Puri. Caitanya's meeting with this monk seems to have been limited to a short span of time. Yet in that short time Caitanya changed completely, he turned “mad,”26 as he says of himself, in his love for Krishna. Isvara Puri had met him once before, but that meeting had been unsuccessful.27 The next morning took place in Gayā, where he had gone to perform the śraddha rites for his dead father. What exactly happened during their encounter will remain unknown, since all the biographies put a veil of silence over the incident, probably because Caitanya himself never wanted, or was unable, to tell anybody what happened. But at least the external aspects and results can be ascertained.28 Caitanya apparently received bhakti (along with bhakti) from Isvara Puri, and when he returned home he surprised everyone by his emotional outbursts. CCUN describes the incident thus: “He (— Caitanya), the dikṣā-guru (of all people), the lord of those who are masters over their selves, obtained the knowledge of ten syllables depending on Madhavendra Puri, and he accepted as his guru Isvara Puri, who had come there by the influence of destiny and who was a king among ascetics.” In the following verse, the effect of this meeting is mentioned: “When he had returned home (to Navadvipa), he caused the three worlds to sink into an ocean of bliss by singing, dancing, acting, and crying intensely, surrounded by his dear followers.”29 CCPR refers to it very briefly: “Then the lord went to Gayā and met there Isvara Puri. When he had returned home after receiving dikṣā, he manifested various bhāva and prema.”30 But CBK is quite detailed about the meeting, although it tries to present the change in Caitanya as a decision to reveal himself to the world in his true nature: “Then, by chance—since Īśvara (— Caitanya) had wanted it—Isvara Puri happened to pass by. He embraced him (— C) in great delight. In the happiness of prema both their bodies were bathed in the water of prema. . . .”31 I hand over to you my body. Give me to drink the nectar of the nectar of Kṛṣṇa's lotus-like feet and make me your own, that I beg of you . . . . One day he asked Īśvara Puri for dikṣā and Nāgānātana (— C), received from Īśvara Puri the mastery of ten syllables. Prabhu (— C) walked round him and said: I have handed over to you . . . .

24 FVM, 20.
25 FVM, 72.
26 CCV Madhva VIII, 257: adiṣe etāḥ leḥāral; CCUN, Act II, premā after verse 24 (p. 58): amāndhasatāśiktyam.
27 CBK I, 9, Edītā, 257 f.; FVM, 25; Māmādava, 120 f.
28 Apart from the information that follows, further sources seem to be Mirrafi Īśavera’s Caitanya-bhāgavata-varṇamala, I, 15 f. (see FVM, 560); Kāvīvarāṇa-Pārī’s kāvya of the same title, IV (see FVM, 564 f.). See further FVM, 56; Māmādava, 132.
29 Īśatā caitānāya, . . . Madhavendra-Purusottama-rasa. It is obviously a matter of ten syllables, though I am unable to specify it. Māmādava speaks of “twopada-mīrāka” (p. 133).
30 Īśavera-nātana, ādibhāta-vibhāga ātmavātinā daśa-vaktra-mīrākāya.
31 The passage is CCUN, Act I, verses 31 and 32 (pp. 18 f.).
32 These technical terms deserve the same treatment as mentioned in CCUN, Act I, verse 31, of highly metaphorical agitation or disturbance which is interpreted as boundless love for Kṛṣṇa. The passage is CCUN, Act XVI, 9 f.
over to you my body, give me now the auspicious glance, so that I can swim in the sea of Kṛṣṇa-bhakti. The time of manifesting himself had come, and thus day by day his prema-bhakti increased. One day Mahāprabhu was sitting by himself and meditating on Kṛṣṇa. In the happiness of his realization he began to cry and lament: Kṛṣṇa, O Kṛṣṇa, you are my life, in which direction have you gone away? You have stolen my life. He was immersed in prema-rasa, his whole body covered with dust, and he cried out in despair: Kṛṣṇa, where did you go, leaving me alone? These few indications symbolize the basic character of Caitanya’s bhakti: he is filled with a highly emotional love for Kṛṣṇa, psychologically fluctuating between deep depression and intense exultation, expressed in terms of Rādhā’s love for Kṛṣṇa, and manifested in ecstatic dances, songs, plays, and crying, laughing, etc. This will be his religion for the rest of his life, and all biographers agree that Caitanya only after his return from Gaṅḍava showed any signs of it; they further agree that somehow Śrīvāsa Puri is connected with it. Yet there is no indication as to the form, the means by which this ascetic could have exerted such strong influence on Caitanya.

The question of the historical background to Caitanya’s mysticism has shown itself to be the question of Śrīvāsa Puri’s spiritual background. According to the evidence of the biographies, Mādhavendra Puri was his guru. The mantra received by Caitanya is called “depending on M. P.” (see above) and passages like the following show that Śrīvāsa Puri was a favourite disciple of his guru. “He was a servant to his (— M. P.) blessed feet; with his own hands he cleaned him (M. P. in his old age) from faces, urine, etc. Constantly he (= I. P.) reminded him of the Name of Kṛṣṇa and made him always listen to verses about the līlā of Kṛṣṇa. Puri was pleased with him and embraced him; he offered him as a gift that you may possess the treasures of love for Kṛṣṇa!” Thus Śrīvāsa Puri became an ocean of love.

We may now turn to Mādhavendra Puri himself.

Mādhavendra Puri

1. His school affiliation and disciples. The exact date of this religious teacher is not known, but for our purposes it is sufficient to assume the period from c. A.D. 1420 to 1490 to be roughly his life-time, on the basis that he is supposed to have taken up sādhu-dāsī in old age and died during Caitanya’s childhood. There is no evidence available concerning his provenance, nothing to prove or disprove that he was a Bengali or a South Indian. The only sources of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism express a very high esteem for him. C.B. calls him the dhāritāvadhī (of bhakti-rasa in Bengal). A different imagery is used in CC VI: “The divine

*a* CB 1, 15; translated from Ḍatta, 272, 4.

*b* We possess only very small fragments of Śrīvāsa Puri’s own bhakti. These are mostly some Sanskrit verses addressed to him in the anthology Praṇāhita (see below), Nos. 18, 62, 73. They express contempt for dharmarāṣṭra, ecstatic devotion, etc.; No. 73 belongs to the same genre as some of Mādhavendra’s verses (see below).

*a* CC XIX, 8, 24, 31a.

*b* CC XX, 3, Ḍatta, 181.

*a* Ḍatta, 28, with n. 15.

*b* S. K. Ghose, 38, 25, n. 2, denies the possibility.

*a* Mentioned as a possibility by Majumdar, 50.

*b* Ḍatta, 195, 258; FP, 23.
tree whose root was the lord of sages, the crest-jewel of ascetics, called Mādhava (—śrava Pan)." More elaborate in C.C.A: "Honour to Śrī Mādhava Pan who was filled with the love for Kṛṣṇa. He was the first sprout of the divine bākṣi tree. Śrīvāsa Pan overshadowed the sprout, and Caitanya Himself—the gardener—grew up as its trunk." Thus Mādhava-Panca's importance for Bengal Vaishnavism could not have been more stressed. At the same time, it is obvious that the biographers see in Him a beginning and that they do not know anything beyond him. We shall look at the rest of pages of Mādhava-Panca found in C.C.A.

Besides Advaitācārya and Śrīvāsa Pan, we find there: Paramāṇḍana Pan, Kṛṣṇadāsabhaṭṭa, Brahmānanda Pan, Brahmānanda Bhārata, Vījy Pan, Kṛṣṇadāsa Pan, Śrī Nṛsāha Tīrtha, and Saṅkīrṇanda Pan. This list may not even be complete, since C.C.A mentions also a Rāmacandra Pan (see below), and even Rāmacandra Rāya’s guru, Bhāgavatānanda Pan, is said to have been a disciple of Mādhava-Panca. The list itself shows some interesting points. Firstly, Kṛṣṇadāsa Pan is included. Secondly, Vījy Pan is known from other sources, namely, as the author, or better, compiler, of the Śaṅkīrṇanda’s work Bhākti-rājottamadvīd. Thirdly, the mixture of advaitic and vaisnavite names is interesting. All second names refer to three (out of the 10) monastic orders founded by Śaṅkara, two of which (excluding Tīrtha) were under the Śrīvīraṇa Math in South India, whose members, as we saw above, were called “Caitanya”. This appears to contradict what was said above about Kṛṣṇa Bhārata, and yet it seems beyond doubt that the decisive influence on Caitanya’s mysticism was exerted from a movement within advaitic Vedānta, from within the monastic system created by Śaṅkara. Thus, one should note that it was specifically the Śrīvīraṇa Math in South India which is referred to in this context, not the whole of Śaṅkara’s monastic system. Secondly, there is other evidence pointing to the fact that within advaita much greater prominence was given to bākṣi by certain groups than would be expected from its fundamental philosophical aspect. There is the Bhāgavatapūrṇa itself, which exemplifies strict monotheism combined with highly emotional bākṣi, but it is unlikely that its author was a member of Śaṅkara’s community. Now S. K. De has put forward a theory that there existed at a later stage a “class of mystic-emotional Śaṅkara’s disciples”. One of its early representatives seems to have been Śrīlāpa Svāmī (around a.d. 1350–1450), the author of the famous commentary on the Bāladeva-purāṇa, Bhāvavivekābhidhyā. This commentary was highly esteemed by Caitanya, and his followers considered it authoritative. Vījy Pan seems to have belonged to this group as well; he explicitly refers to Śrīlāpa as the authority

44 C.C.A, Ada, verse 6 (p. 53).
46 C.C.A, Ada, verse 10-11.
48 C.C.A, Adarva, verse 59.
49 Eldredge, D., in The Hindu sects, No. VII, 1912, 1912. The work containing almost entirely of systematically arranged verses from the Bāladeva-purāṇa.
52 C.C.A, Ada, verse 7, 99-120. Caitanya responds it against a Vallabha Bhaṭṭa.

(RI)

The attitude did not belo

(RI)
in his Bhakti-randaravali. Thus we obtain a complicated structure of interrelated influences, which for clarity’s sake may be represented in the following schema:

![Diagram](image-url)

The attitude of the biographies to Keśava Bhāratī may possibly be explained if in fact he did not belong to this emotional bhakti group, and was included among the list of Mādhavendra’s disciples only to stress Mādhavendra’s paramount importance. Anyway, an analysis of the latter’s own bhakti will to some extent clarify his general position in the history of bhakti.

2. Aspects of Mādhavendra’s bhakti. CCA gives the most information about this. We shall firstly quote a passage which offers a general insight into his bhakti. One of his disciples, Rāmacandra Puri (whom CCA characterizes as an impertinent, cantankerous person), visits his guru just before the latter’s death. “The gosāmi Puri uttered the name of Kṛṣṇa,” and he cried, saying: “I have not reached Nathūra!” When Rāmacandra scolds him for behaving so strangely and reminds him of his brahma-vidyā, M. answers: “I have not reached Kṛṣṇa, I have not come to Mathurā; I shall die of this my misery—therefore this burning pain has overcome me. Do not show me your face again, go wherever you like. If I see you in (the hour of) my death, I shall have to go by a bad path. I have not reached Kṛṣṇa, I shall die of my own misery, and you teach me all this nonsense about brahma, you fool!” Among the various interesting points in this passage are: bhakti is superior to brahma-vidyā; nāma-saṅkīrtana is mentioned as a form of bhakti; his mystical experience is that of viraha. This element is stressed in the same passage a few verses later: “When he was about to disappear, he spoke this verse:

102 The work contains almost the entire commentary of Dacca University Oriental Institute, II: Oriental Research Institute.

103 op. cit. (n. 65), 152: ara Śrīśavat-pramāṇīti...

104 Kṛṣṇa-nāma-saṅkīrtana kara...

105 A general belief, mentioned, e.g., in the Gita, that a person’s next birth will depend on what he sees at the moment of his death.

106 chanda means “ashes, vile or worthless object”.

107 CCA Anya VIII, 19, 23-25.
In this verse he taught prema to Krishna with that particular emotion which the bhakta is separated from Krishna. The same verse is mentioned in another chapter of CCA as well. There Caitanya is reported to have related various incidents that took place during Madhuvendra's lifetime (see below) and to have concluded by reciting it as the marvellous verse of Madhuvendra. After that the author of CCA himself adds: "This verse has been spoken by Radha Thakurji, and through her grace the voice (sadh) of Madhuvendra manifested it. How well Govinda (Caitanya) savored it; he could state it, but no fourth person was able to do so. At the end of his life, Purw repeated this poem again and again, and obtained sidhi through reciting it. Since this verse was felt to be very important we shall have to investigate it in greater detail. Firstly, we can eliminate a possible literal meaning, that he was unable to go to and die at Mathurā. From the context it is clear that "Mathurā" does not denote a geographical place, but an existent and emotional entity, the "place" where Krishna is. It is obviously derived from the Bhagavata-purāṇa which relates that Krishna abandoned the gopīs in Vrindāvana and went to Mathurā, never to return. Thus Madhuvendra is speaking here in a well-established symbolism as if he were a gopī. Basically, this is also the interpretation offered by CCA itself; but there is one difference here: Madhuvendra does not mention Radhā here or anywhere else in our sources. Ropa Gondāni quotes the verse in his anthology Purvaśūlī in the context "Radhā's lament", which CCA is obviously using in the above passage. Secondly, the verse is presented by CCA in a particular "literary form" the specific implications of which we can derive from a longer passage (CCA Madhva IV, 51-88). In a fashion similar to the above, a famous verse is used in an elaborate scheme of allusions, references, and symbolisms. The passage relates that only Svanta and Ropa were able to grasp the meaning and implication of the verse recited by Caitanya, which means that only they can share in the religious experience expressed by it, receive it, and hand it down to future generations. Only they can be the heirs of the mystic's heritage. Therefore Caitanya is seen in CCA Madhva IV, 194, as the only real heir to Madhuvendra, and that in regard to his particular bhakti as emotional identification with the gopīs.

* "prema" means literally "sītā", but according to South Indian philosophy this has developed to "merciful, benevolent, full of sympathy" (see below and of X. S. Thakur Nāgarjuna, Landscape and poetry, London, 1992, 21.

* Purvaśūlī is concise, since kaka in the meaning "right" is not attested in the Sanskrit Dictionary. "sidhi" does not exist in the others, so the verse remains "opaque". The Sanskrit commentary and CCA Madhva IV, 194 paraphrases it as sārañjana gajātā, and the Bengali translation (Mandal) has similar sidhi dhātā forms, both of which would mean "mundra, the bite of, in order to mend you".

* Quoted in Prose No. 360.

* CCA Anuśāsana, 33 below.

* "sākṣa" means, "to realize its inherent emotions and religious meaning".

* CCA Madhva IV, 193-195.

* We have corrected the printed author to Aukha.

* CCA Madhva IV, 193-195.

* Recast the gopīs' worship at Vrindāvana, not at Mathurā, and he would not use the latter to denote the former place.

* See x. 66. On the date see YSM, 160, and S. K. De, Indian Historical Quarterly, X, 1934, 311 ff.
emotion when the bhakti is her chapter of CCA as well, it took place during Måhå, it is the marvellous verse in which the verse had been spoken Måhåvårān manifested it. It is, no fourth person pin and again, and obtained important we shall have to the literal meaning, that be it is clear that “Måhås” is the literal entity, the “place” which relates that Kṛṣṇa er to return. Thus Måhå- were a gift. Basically, this is a difference here: Måhå- sources. Råpa Geśvānti thā’s lament”, which CCA is presented by CCA is a can derive from a longer a, a famous verse is used in the passage relates that only one of the verses recited by experience expressed by it, be the heirs of the mystic’s relatives contained in a sacred, Landscape and poetry, London, 1911 in the Sanskrit Dictionary. Sanskrit commentary to CCA. See translation (above) has been in order to settle your”.

In verse 79, the orthodox forms of karma-ritual, etc., are contrasted with bhakti to Kṛṣṇa, for which smārta appears as pura pro tatu here. The following verses develop the idea of “remembering” further: along with 330, they exemplify a religious attitude, in which the experience of Kṛṣṇa—the attractive and beautiful lover—is attempted through an emotional visualization, which, however, has to remain incomplete, because the mystic is in the state of vināsa, separation. These features of Måhåvårān’s bhakti are complemented by a long passage in CCA which is placed by the author in the mouth of Gåtisya himself. Caitanya, after taking sanyāsa, had decided to leave his home town, and it now went on the way to Puri in Orissa. He has stopped at Remuna48 and related to his followers some incidents in Måhåvårān’s life; “formerly, Śiva Puri had told him the story.”49

“Formerly, Måhåvårān went towards Vrāmavära. After a long journey he reached

48 De’s text has died.
49 Village in the Belgao District, Orissa. The temple, apparently with erotic sculptures, is dedicated to Kåmarti Gopāladevi (G. the “milk-thief”). (See Imperial gazetteer of India, XXI, 1908, 278.)
50 CCA Mahādyān IV, 110.
the Govardhana. Overwhelmed by love, he knew neither day nor night; now he rose, now he fell down, and did not know what was proper and what was not. (22.22.) He then has a vision of a cowherd boy who gives him food and appears to him again during the night in a dream, revealing himself as Krṣṇa, and he tells him to recover and then install for worship a certain statue of his, which was hidden. He says: "For many days I did not see you come. (I thought to myself) 'When will Mādhava arrive and perform my service?" I accept the service in your loving affection (prema-rajas). I shall grant my sight and release (mīśadā-bha) all the world (sannśārā). ... I was (worshipped before) on the mountain, but my servants hid me in a grove and fled, out of fear of the mārhas (must mean: Māśāna)." (59.40.42.)

(Awakening, 'he gets the people of the village to assist him; the statue is found and placed on a throne, and the worship begins. A festival is held.) Various musical instruments and kettle-drums were played, the women sang songs; some people sang, others danced—"it was a great festivity." (56b.57.) (A long account of the various rituals follows. The statue is treated just like a king, is washed, is given food, made-up, etc., and is put to bed in the evenings. The food given to Gopāla does not diminish. Soon the cult spreads over all the area.) "Puri made all brahmās (who came) Vaishnavas, and appointed them to various services." (86.) "From Gauḍa (in Bengal) two sannyāś-brahmās came. Puri Gopālā employed them and took good care of them. He made them his disciples and entrusted them with the service; it became a royal service, and Puri became very happy." (102.103.) (After two years, Gopāla appears again, to Mādhavendra in a dream: "My burning feeling (tāpa) has not yet disappeared; spread sandal-wood paste on my body and rub it!" (105.) Mādhava sets off towards Puri to buy sandal-wood. On the way, he encounters Advaitācārya and realizes the bhakti is him. Then he continues his journey to Puri. In a village called Renukā he stays in the Gopālinṭha temple, where he enquires after the rituals used there, so that he can worship Krṣṇa in Yrṇāṇa. In the same way, Krṣṇa is used, and he would have liked to taste it, but he does not dare commit such sacrilege. So Krṣṇa himself "steals" it for him to taste. He finally reaches Puri, and, seeing the Gopālinṭha temple, "the fell down, got up again, laughed, danced, sang—through the power of his love." (143a.) (On his way back, he stays again in Renukā and is told by Krṣṇa in a dream to use up the sandal-wood bought for him (here in Puri, that is by rubbing it on the Gopālinṭha temple, "to see Gopālinṭha and myself ( = the Gopālinṭha of Yrṇāṇa) are the same." (159a,)"
mysticism can be connected, is not yet answered. That Mādhavendra was a Śāśanka monk rather compounds than answers the question; that he can be connected with a whole stream of religious attitudes within Advaita does not help either, since this trend is not explained either. At the most one can say that it centres around the Bhāgavata-purānas. But in the following we suggest another line of investigation which will concentrate on a poetic-stylistic analysis of Mādhavendra’s poetry.

**Literary and historical observations**

The fragments that remain of Mādhavendra’s bhākti can be compared with other documents of medieval bhakti. Inconspicuous through the few verses preserved in Padyavalli may look, they yet betray that the author used certain well-defined poetic-stylistic patterns, which we have classified under two headings, “Vision” and “Separation”.

1. Vision. The main clause in verse P 96 is: sa me mānasā spṛhatu ko ‘pi gopālakāḥ, and each of the preceding lines forms compounding that qualify the noun gopālakāḥ. Now there is another text which employs these features to such an extent that one can speak of a “poetic-stylistic pattern”, the Kṛṣṇakaranamātra attributed to Līlākula Viṭtimagenta.⁷⁶ The table that follows is derived only from Book 1 of the text, it is not exhaustive, and the word-order has not been retained.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ko ‘pi</th>
<th>gopālakāḥ</th>
<th>mānasā</th>
<th>me</th>
<th>spṛhatu</th>
<th>P 96</th>
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<tr>
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<td>cetasi</td>
<td>na</td>
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<td>viṁśhatam</td>
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<tr>
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<td>cetasi</td>
<td>mama</td>
<td>avivṛhatvam</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>'uttātama</td>
<td>mānūhe</td>
<td>mama</td>
<td>spṛhatu</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As statements in the indicative:

| ayaṃ | bālo | locanāya | mama | abhydayate | 68 |
| esa | ādhyām | mādhyā | vigkāte | 71 |
| 'ambujam | mānāya | me | cumbati | 85 |

⁷⁶ Edited by K. P. De. Daacca, 1908. There has been considerable discussion concerning this work, although its South Indian (Kerala?) origin appears to be generally accepted. On this see especially S. K. De, Introduction to his edition; K. Konijshipa Raja, The contribution of Kṛṣṇa to Sanskrit literature, Madras, 1918, 31-31. The present writer cannot agree with Raja’s conclusion concerning the date of this work; on p. 47, op. cit., Raja identifies the author of Kṛṣṇa with a grammarian Viṭtimagaṇtara and assumes a date around A.D. 1300. It has been overlooked that already Sadākāti Kāraneśvara (p. 250) quotes (as verse 299) from Kṛṣṇa (166 from Book 1). The work, therefore, must be rather than A.D. 1200. This quotation (anonymously) in a Bengali anthology does not necessarily contradict the fact that Katurya Kavi has already used the name Kṛṣṇakaranamātra in the South (CC, Madras IX, 1941). A few stray verses, especially anonymous ones, could easily have reached the north, even when 300 years later the whole text was not yet known there.
While in Ps 96 the person is directly expressed, euphálaka, KK in most cases uses metaphorical expressions, although naturally even jivôt or dhūman ultimately denote Kṣapa. The use of the imperative at the beginning of the text and then the indicative does not interfere with the pattern. A second medieval writer from the South, Veddāstādika (c. 1268–1668), about 150 years later than Vilavajuṅgala, shows similar traces of this poetic pattern.

Vigñā-сутvia cātaśi me viśhāhi Veddāstātotorä
kim api anta-yajiva madhye dāyate Bhavgavadvīpān
"ambhojanam bhavaṇi(yām) me pariṇātalati" 2
kim api ut禀uṣmaṇaṃ nāti niśāmīn nivartati 4
nabhić nānāmaṃ me sampāṇaṃ 5
vaktraṃ svātāt mama vilāgati 8
Godā hṛdi nāb vilāsau Godā-stattau, verse 28.

It is irrelevant in the present discussion whether Madhavendra Puri knew Kṛṣṇadāsānam or not. Veddāstādika, since the latter most probably used KA and since the origin of this pattern is to be found in the Åyāra, Veddāstādika provides the proof for this last assumption. It is apparent that he used the Tamil poem Ammávi dī pppīrā by Tiruppūrī-Åyāra. The following table may show this connection (besides the fact that both poems are a pāda-kālām on the lord of Śrīnāma): (1) karṇāla-pātanakal vandī ep-kapptāpulaṃ va okkipptātē. (2) "vīhaṇaṃ mār-veppṭātaṃ ep cintājaīyē. (3) nūtīnā ati-yējā "upyte (4) utarā-pataṇam ep-gillattul nūtīgillāpptē. (5) uttā sāntī cīntā cīntāyēvā. (6) kušāl eppālā pātanālma cētaṇa-vē. (7) "mēji nīpā-keppṭāl ep-gilli-cējaīyē.

(1) "His foot-feet seem to have come right into my eyes." (2) "Upon his garment, my thoughts have wandered and settled." (3) "On his navel, the life-breath of my soul (has settled)." (4) "His chain stays inside my soul and struts about there." (5) "His mouth has stolen my thoughts."
(B) "Those eyes have made me suppliant."

(9) "His body has taken away the balance of my mind."

We can thus conclude that Mādhavadeva used in his poems a poetic pattern which is typical of certain South Indian texts which were influenced by the Ājīvatas. The assumption that this poetic pattern is derived from the Ājīva is further strengthened by the fact that the oldest available form in Sanskrit is found in a verse attributed to Nāthamuni. He lived during the early tenth century, was the first of the Vaiśṇavī śāstra-ācāryas, and compiled, according to legend, the songs of the Ājīvatas into the Prabandhasam. The last line of this verse runs:

Mādhavākarvak hīḷaye mānaṁ tīrīṣṭu.¹⁴

2. Separation. Another pattern, perhaps not as convincing at the first, can be seen expressed in the following two phrases: kādā bālaṅkāra dhārayām (Ps 104) and kādā nātha avadhāya (Ps 230). Again, Kṛṣṇakandamati offers a number of parallel expressions, which seem to fall into a pattern:

kādā sīma bālaṅ vīkokeye. 23
kādā ni ḍīyor me padam ṇhavīyaṁ. 40
kādā ni "ambujāṁ tava vīkokeye. 44
kādā devam ṅartīyeye. 46
kādā ni devam vūkokeye. 49
kādā ni bālaṅ ṅakalye. 66
(nahās te dīlyāsyam. 28

Or as waiting for Kṛṣṇa's beneficial gaze:

kādā kīlaṁ ṃalokayet. 45

There is another text in Sanskrit, again South Indian, where certain parallels can be discovered; this is the Svēnu-vanam by Yāmunākara (A.D. 911 . . . 1036).¹⁵

kādā ni "paṅkhipār caṅgār sākalīkāravāni (30)

kādā puṇām "ambujāṁ ḍvayyam maṅḍakam cūkamndinaṁ ṃakārīyati (31)

Yāmuna's Svēnu is a kind of epitome of Ājīva poetry; a large number of mantras can be shown to be free translations of Tamil poems found in the Prabandham.¹⁶ But ignoring here this relationship, there are many poems of the Ājīvatas which seem to prefigure this poetic pattern. "When then ... " For instance, in Kaṭṭekhara's Parāmaśirvamoli:¹⁷

kōnālattai kkanṭi kōṭē ep-kāṇi isai-ki kōṭē kākı-ki-pāḷā?

Māyōgaī ḍkanṭi ep-kōṅakal mālāka / ep-kōṭē kōṭē nicka-jaṁ?

"When then will be the day of great bliss, when my eyes see the beautiful figure ... ?"

When then will be the day of great bliss, when my eyes see the beautiful figure ... ?

3. Finally a few parallel phrases may be added which further indicate the continuation:

¹⁴ The verse is a nāmaśekhara, an intoned verse of praise, which is universally printed as an introduction to the poems of the Ājīva where it occurs. There are a few other such nāmaśekharas preserved in the Prabandham. There is no reason to question the attribution.

¹⁵ Many editions, we have used Haridasinī Series Ves. 109, Benares, 1954.

¹⁶ The songs of the Ājīva are collected in the Nāyikā-śāstra-prabandham in Tamil. There are many editions in South India which are commonly available.

¹⁷ This Kaṭṭekhara should not be confused with the author of Maṅkandamba.
between Mādhavendra's poems and Kṛṣṇa-kavīrāgya, without belonging to any specific pattern. Lines 4 and 5 of Pṛ 96 may be compared with the following:

mukurasyaṁcaraṁ-gaṅgā-mañḍalam (KK I 6)
caturtyālakṣā-nidānt-sīma-cuṭāppanaḥ... (KK I 3)
anahṣa-rakṣa-rajna-rājitaḥ... (KK I 10)
cālpa-sīma... cālpa-sīma... (KK I 74)

gaṅgā-uhaṁ-mukura-mañḍa-la-kīla-maṇḍa... (KK I 91)

Line 4 of Pṛ 380, ud-ṛdra in the meaning "beneficial, soothing":

ādṛtra-smita-ādṛtra-vadāsa... (KK I 70)
ādṛtra-vadāsa... (KK I 71)
ādṛtra-bhaśa-ādṛtra-aśvī (KK I 87).

With line 6:

tvad-blokaṁ anātreṣa (= without) (KK I 41)

With line d.

tat kim kramo? (KK I 32),... oṣo harati, hanta, kim kuruntah? (KK I 65).

4. Conclusions. The stylistic similarities between Mādhavendra's poetry and other South Indian bhakti texts seem to justify the assumption that Mādhava knew of and modeled his poems on Vilvamāgala. At the same time, Kṛṣṇa-kavīrāgya can be associated with a number of other texts which, all, to different degrees, derive their inspiration ultimately from the Āḷvar. The evidence we possess is not sufficient to claim that Mādhavendra directly knew any of the other texts mentioned, viz., Vedāntadesika's works, Yāmunaścārya's Śivavijñānam, or the songs of the Āḷvars. Judging from the general character of his bhakti as outlined above, he may well have known them, if only indirectly. But before continuing this discussion, a schema may illustrate the relationship of the various texts:

Now all these texts, generally speaking, exemplify a very similar bhakti, although a more detailed analysis will show considerable minor differences, as already among the various Āḷvār themselves. Furthermore, these texts belong by no means to one specific school or religious movement in the strict sense. On the one hand, a certain amount of religious inspiration was derived from the Āḷvār by Viśisṭadvaita (in our case, Nāṭhārāma, Yāmuna, and Vedāntadesika). Secondly, the Bhāgavata-purāṇa shows very close affinities to

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the Áyärî while it certainly does not belong to Viśiṣṭādvaita and cannot, in spite of its pronounced advaitic tendencies, be directly connected with Śaṅkara’s school. Viśvarūpamata ṣastra shows no signs of any trend towards a philosophical-religious movement, but is an independent poetical-religious creation. The book explanation seems to be to assume a general religious milieu underlying and influencing the higher forms of religion (the philosophical sampradāyas, etc.). It seems clear that such a milieu originated in the Áyärî and was restricted to South India in the period between A.D. 900 and 1200. Thus it is not really surprising that we should find, at a slightly later date, influences of this milieu also within some branch of Śaṅkara’s advaita (Śrīdhara Svānd, Viṣṇu Purī, and Mādhavendra Puri). Mādhavendra’s bhakti shows definite links with the South Indian bhakti-milieu, for formal and historical reasons. Space does not allow us to pursue the question further by analysing the various South Indian texts from the point of view of their particular bhakti nuances and comparing these with Mādhavendra Puri. But it is hoped that at least the outlines of such a connection have become clear.

Summary

It has been our aim here to investigate the historical background to Bengal Vaishnavism, and we have concentrated on the question how far Caitanya’s mysticism can be linked with other mystical-religious movements in India. Mādhavendra Puri appeared to be the figure of central importance for the bhakti of Caitanya, and on formal-poetical and historical grounds it seems likely that Mādhavendra himself was under the influence of a particular South Indian bhakti-milieu. One can therefore conclude that there is reason to believe that certain elements of Áyär bhakti entered Bengal Vaishnavism. But such an assumption has to be placed in its proper context and seen in proportion to all influences together that shaped Caitanya’s school. The line that led us from Caitanya through Mādhavendra to South India is, after all, only one. There are many others; in particular, the philosophical and tāntic aspects, including the whole complex of sāra-speculation and practice, would constitute a separate and highly important stream. Even here, the 700 years of its intervening between the Áyär and Caitanya obviously caused considerable changes, modifications, extensions, and eliminations in the character of the bhakti. But details of this complicated process would form another study.

*It is impossible to provide all necessary evidence here.*