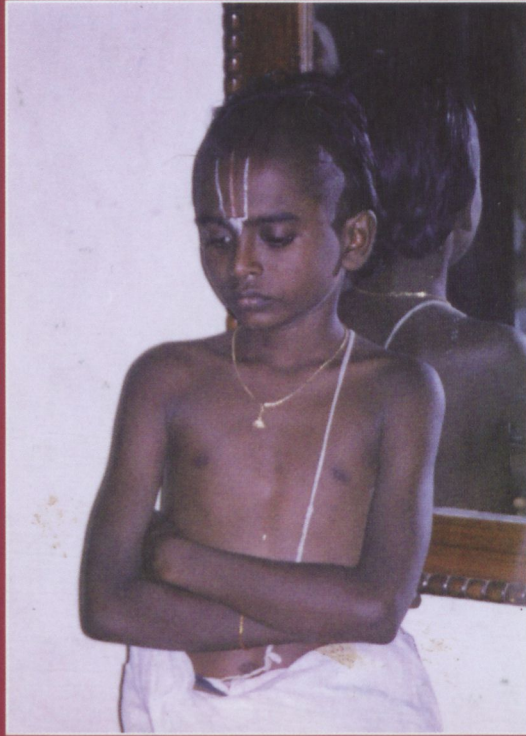


Ute Hüsken

Viṣṇu's Children

Prenatal life-cycle rituals in South India



Harrassowitz Verlag

Ethno-Indology

Heidelberg Studies in South Asian Rituals

General Editor
Axel Michaels

Volume 9

2009

Harrassowitz Verlag · Wiesbaden

Ute Hüsken

Viṣṇu's Children

Prenatal life-cycle rituals in South India

Translated from German by Will Sweetman,
with a DVD by Ute Hüsken and Manfred Krüger

2009

Harrassowitz Verlag · Wiesbaden

Publication of this volume has been made possible by the generous funding of the University of Oslo and the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (German Research Council).

Cover: Kiran, grandson of Parthasarathi Bhattacharya from Singhaperumal, watches his grandfather (spring 2001, photo by Ute Hüsken).

Bibliografische Information der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek
Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen Nationalbibliografie; detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind im Internet über <http://dnb.d-nb.de> abrufbar.

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek
The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available in the internet at <http://dnb.d-nb.de>.

For further information about our publishing program consult our website <http://www.harrassowitz-verlag.de>

© Otto Harrassowitz GmbH & Co. KG, Wiesbaden 2009

This work, including all of its parts, is protected by copyright.

Any use beyond the limits of copyright law without the permission of the publisher is forbidden and subject to penalty. This applies particularly to reproductions, translations, microfilms and storage and processing in electronic systems.

Printed on permanent/durable paper.

Printing and binding: Hubert & Co., Göttingen

Printed in Germany

ISSN 1860-2053

ISBN 978-3-447-05854-4

Table of Contents

Preface	7
Introduction	13
1 The <i>Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa</i>	23
1.1 On Vaikhānasa literature	24
1.2 The author Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita	29
1.3 Pārthasārathi Bhaṭṭācārya, editor of the <i>Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa</i>	34
1.4 The <i>Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa</i> in its literary context	37
2 Rituals in the <i>Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa</i>	53
2.1 Domestic ritual and temple ritual in the <i>Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa</i>	53
2.1.1 The Vaikhānasas' entitlement to perform temple ritual	53
2.1.2 Temple priests as devalakas	54
2.2 Vaikhānasa life-cycle rituals (saṃskāra)	64
2.2.1 Prenatal life-cycle rituals (garbhasaṃskāra)	71
2.2.2 Viṣṇubali	78
2.2.3 Garbhavaiṣṇavatva and viṣṇubali in the <i>Tātparyacintāmaṇi</i>	102
2.2.4 Viṣṇubali and pañcasamskāra	105
2.2.5 Viṣṇubali as the Vaikhānasas' "taking refuge in Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa" ...	124
2.2.6 Summary	140
3 Branding for Vaikhānasas in the 19 th and 20 th centuries	143
3.1 Conflicts: enforced branding	143
3.1.1 Evidence in the texts	143
3.1.2 Śrīperumbudūr and Vānamāmalai	146
3.1.3 Going to court: the Singhaperumāl Kōyil case	151
3.1.4 Sons and slaves	158
4 Saṃskāra performance in the early 21 st century	161
4.1 Ritual handbooks (prayoga, paddhati)	162
4.2 Rites not specific to saṃskāras	162
4.3 The two ritual handbooks used during the performances	167
4.3.1 <i>Sūtrānukramaṇikā</i>	168
4.3.2 <i>Pūrvaprayoga</i>	170
4.3.3 Tabular comparison of the viṣṇubali sections	171
4.3.4 Comparison of the two ritual handbooks	185
4.4 Actual performance: three examples	189
4.4.1 Comparison of the scene of the three performances	191
4.4.2 Table: a comparison of the structure of the three performances	205
4.4.3 A comparative description of the three performances	206

4.5 Factors behind ritual variance	222
4.5.1 Text and performance	222
4.5.2 Mistakes in ritual	225
4.5.3 The role of the <i>bṛhaspati</i>	227
4.5.4 <i>Samkalpa</i> as transfer of agency	228
4.5.5 Power and status	231
4.5.6 Ritual practice and the meaning attributed to the ritual	232
4.6 On ritual competence: the <i>bṛhaspati</i>	233
4.6.1 Traditional Brahmanic training	235
4.6.2 A classical expert	237
4.6.3 From small town to big city	239
4.6.4 A modern scholar priest	242
4.6.5 <i>Vaikhānasa</i> training institutions	245
4.6.6 Ritual knowledge	251
5 Variation in life-cycle rituals and the stability of tradition	257
5.1 The historical context of the <i>Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa</i>	258
5.2 Ritual and power struggles	260
5.3 Strategies of integration and demarcation	264
5.4 The role of the <i>saṃskāras</i> —from <i>śākhā</i> to <i>jāti</i>	266
5.5 On the rigidity of rituals	269
Sanskrit texts	273
Secondary literature	279
Appendix 1: Tabular view of six <i>Guruparamparās</i>	295
Appendix 2: Text of the DVD booklet	301
Appendix 3: Text of the “Introduction” to the DVD	309
Abbreviations	313
Index	315

Preface

Looking back at the beginnings of the research that was to become this book with DVD I see that circumstances and material that turned up unexpectedly guided me as much as the research plan I designed originally. In spite of the clear research proposal necessitated by the literary genre of applications to a research funds granting institution, the actual outcome of my work was not predicted therein. First the book and then the DVD took shape in very dynamic processes. They became what they are now because I decided where to go while I was on my way.

When I set out in 1996 for my encounter with the South Indian Brahmin group called Vaikhānasa, not much had been published about their present-day communities and ritual practices. Until then this group had been treated mainly as a textual tradition of a relatively recent Vedic school. I became aware of the Vaikhānasas' living tradition first through Pārthasārathi Bhaṭṭācārya's letter to Willem Caland, which Caland published in his preface to his edition of the *Vai-khānasaśrautasūtra* ("A short note on the Vaikhānasasūtra"; Caland/Vīra 1941: xxviii-xxx). In his letter Pārthasārathi Bhaṭṭācārya emphasised that the present day Vaikhānasas are temple priests with a rich ritual literature, and that they are in several respects distinct from other vaiṣṇava groups.

Then Gérard Colas' erudite book *Viṣṇu, ses images et ses feux. Les métamorphoses du dieu chez les Vaikhānasa* was published in 1996. This enlightening and exhaustive study of the Vaikhānasas' texts on temple rituals pulled me further into investigating this group's textual heritage along with their contemporary ritual practice. However, trained mainly as a philologist, texts were my first points of reference. In order to collect hitherto unknown texts of this tradition, I applied for a travel grant which was generously granted by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG). So I spent eight busy weeks in early 1998 in South India, visited many centres of Vaikhānasa activities in Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh, and collected two big trunks full of Vaikhānasa publications. Back in Germany I applied for a Habilitandenstipendium, which was granted by the DFG in 2000. This stipend enabled me to visit those scholars who had already done work on the Vaikhānasa tradition, namely Professor Gérard Colas in Paris and Professor Guy R. Welbon in Philadelphia. Both contacts were invaluable for my further research, not only because these scholars generously shared their

knowledge with me, but also because they helped me immensely in refining my research questions.

I then set out for another research trip to South India, this time for eight months. The “heart” of this book is based on the Sanskrit text *Daśavidhahetuni-rūpaṇa*, which I read in Chennai with the Sanskrit Paṇḍit Professor Śatakopan at the Kuppusvami Shastri Research Institute (KSRI).¹ He not only helped me understand difficult passages of the text, but also gave me a first introduction into South Indian Vaiṣṇavism,

In South India I spent my time not only in libraries and in diverse Indological research institutes, but also in following several invitations to witness, document, and participate in domestic Vaikhānasa life-cycle rituals. A. Rangacharyulu and Dr S. Muttubhaṭṭar are two people who call for special thanks. They established valuable contacts for me with several families and with Vaikhānasa communities in South India. Rangacharyulu in Vijayawada, president of the “Sri Vaikhānasa Samajam,” helped me in many ways. He introduced me to his uncle, the late Anantacarya Padmanabha, a kind person and rich source of knowledge, and he also arranged for me to witness and document two viṣṇubali performances in Vijayawada. Parts of the video coverage of these two events are presented on the accompanying DVD. S. Muttubhaṭṭar, Sanskrit lecturer at the Vivekananda Sanskrit College in Chennai, kindly put me into contact with the Vaikhānasa association “Sri Vaikhānasa Divya Vivardhini Sabha” in Tirumalai (Andhra Pradesh) and its secretary, the late D.V. Chari. He also established contact for me to the Vaikhānasa family in Cidambaram, where I took still pictures of a performance of the prenatal life-cycle ritual known as viṣṇubali. The viṣṇubali ritual is central to this book. Some of these pictures are also presented on the DVD. Moreover, S. Muttubhaṭṭar patiently discussed with me all of my questions, large and small, regarding the Vaikhānasa tradition.

During my stay in India, when the opportunities arose, I set out for diverse domestic rituals, equipped first with a borrowed, then with my own video and still cameras, as well as with an audio tape recorder. Although in the beginning I had nothing but a vague plan for “using” my documentation, I recorded whatever I could. And in fact, the repeated listening to and viewing of my documentation helped me immensely in understanding and analysing the performances.

Many of the performers and Vaikhānasa Paṇḍits I met had a great interest in making information available to me, and were open with me even with regard to legal cases over who could perform the rituals (see esp. 3.1). Some of the priests

1 I also want to thank the always friendly and cheerful staff of the KSRI, especially Dr Ka-meshvari, Dr Balasubramaniam, Dr Vasudevan, and Mrs Lalita.

even took me along with them, so that I became familiar with their actual working conditions, and with South Indian vaiṣṇava rituals in general, which was at that time an entirely new field to me. It was certainly not always an easy task for all those who helped me: as a single woman and foreign scholar, I am sure that I often behaved improperly, even if it was just out of ignorance. Moreover, I was not in command of the local languages Tamil or Telugu. Therefore my direct communication was often restricted to those among the actors who spoke English, who then also acted as interpreters. And if all else failed, I had to manage with Sanskrit. I was and still am amazed by the great hospitality and generosity of many people who, although we never met before, invited me to stay in their house, and to share their water and food.

Back in Germany I submitted my thesis in German, but decided to publish a reworked version in English, in order to make it accessible to the many people who so generously shared their thoughts and time with me.

In 2006 I had the chance to re-visit some of the places and people, and could collect some more information especially on the legal cases pertaining to ritual performance in southern Tamil Nadu (see 3.1.2). At that time I also got the consent of the concerned participants to publishing the audio-visual material and was able to clarify some more aspects of the performances I had witnessed and documented. And, to my great joy, I met Govinda, son of Balaji and Shrividya in Cidambaram, a “child of Viṣṇu,” whose prenatal life-cycle ritual viṣṇubali I had witnessed five years earlier (see the picture on the cover of this book).

Will Sweetman (New Zealand) kindly agreed to do a draft translation into English and to go through the work again, after I had made some changes. The collaborative research program on “The Dynamics of Ritual” provided the stimulating intellectual background for many revisions of the work and the funds for the draft translation. The discussions there encouraged me even more to publish the edited audio-visual material along with the book. Anand Mishra and Bao Do (both Heidelberg) helped me at various stages of the production of this book. Finally, the DFG granted the funds for producing and publishing the book with DVD, and the experienced cameraman and cinematographer Manfred Krüger produced the DVD with me.

The materials on which this work is based are diverse, and so are the methods applied. In this book, being part of the series “Ethno-Indology,” a combination of textual and contextual approaches are employed (see Michaels 2005a). First the texts are taken as witness of the tradition. Most of the works dealt with here are Vaikhānasa texts and thus self-representations, which in part are oriented inwardly, but in part also towards others. Here, especially the *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa*, and the Vaikhānasas’ ritual literature in Sanskrit occupy the central

place (for this study only printed texts, not manuscripts, have been drawn on). In dealing with these texts I follow Colas who says (2005: 32):

Ritual handbooks make no claim to be perfect works either from a linguistic or literary point of view. ... Therefore, a philological approach focussing exclusively on classical grammatical and linguistic criteria is less appropriate to their study.

As the Sanskrit texts dealt with here are mainly written to communicate subject matter which should be comprehensive to ritual practitioners, and as they are to be read and understood in close connection with practice (see Colas 2005b: 32), I decided not to correct the occasional “irregularities” of the language,² especially as these “irregularities” are no obstacles to understanding the content. The evident “irregularities” of the Sanskrit used in the Vaikhānasa ritual texts that I look at are the result of the dynamics of the non-classical, living priestly Sanskrit (see Deshpande 1996). Unfortunately, only in very few cases can the texts dealt with here be chronologically classified. The order in which they are presented is therefore determined by their content. Moreover, as many of these texts are preserved only as short citations, they cannot be reconstructed as they were structured as complete texts (see esp. 2.2.3–6).

However, since this work relies on the study of the relevant texts and on fieldwork, the frame of mind that guides this work is based not only on the (seemingly) stable textual representations, but also on my interaction with those people who “own” and perform these rituals today, and to whom these rituals are meaningful constituents of their identity. My research confirmed that ethnography and ethnology can help gain a better understanding of what is not obvious in the texts. However, being aware that ethnography can also be misleading because we might be tempted to read ancient texts in the light of present day practices (see Colas 2005b: 28f.), I present the diverse material and its analysis separately and only combine the findings in the final section of the book. John Strong calls this method “exegetical exploration” (Strong 1992: xii): not a single text or other material, but a particular issue is focused on for presenting and discussing the problematics of a given tradition. The effort to understand these issues is further developed “by the perspectives of different contexts and co-texts” (Strong 2004: xv). Nevertheless, what I present, in the book as well as on the DVD, is my perspective and interpretation of situations and texts, adding just another point of view to the perspectives of the members of the Vaikhānasa tra-

2 Sanskrit terms and texts are transcribed according to the standard conventions. Tamil terms and textual passages are transcribed according to the conventions used by the Madras Tamil Lexicon. In transcribing these texts, which are printed in Telugu, in Grantha and in Devanāgarī script, I follow the texts as printed, and make no corrections to the spelling.

dition.³ I decided to change the names of those persons mentioned in the section 3.1 dealing with past and ongoing controversial issues. In contrast to that, in the section 4.3 on the ritual events I attended the names of the actors are given: they invited me, they agreed to being filmed, they received a copy of the unedited film after the event, and they act. So we should learn their names.

The DVD that goes with this book presents the video coverage and still pictures of three *viṣṇubali* performances. I perceive this visual representation also as a “way of knowing” (see Grimes 2006: 40), which at the same time grants access to data. Apart from the introduction to the DVD, I chose to use subtitles instead of voice-over, in order to retain as much of the sensorial experience of the ritual as possible. The DVD thus adds sound, colour, and motion to the textual descriptions and interpretations of the events. I wish to convey that the rituals talked about and analysed are not performed in a remote past, but that they are integral part of the everyday religious life of those who perform them.⁴ However, when I shot the rites, I was a novice in the field of videoing, and in the beginning I planned to use the coverage mainly as a visual notebook. The DVD is not a documentary of the events, although one of the performances is given in full. Instead, I decided to arrange the material in a way that reflects my analysis, guided by a comparative perspective.⁵ The material presented, edited and already pre-interpreted as it may be, gives the reader/viewer the possibility “second level participation.”

I wish to thank all the performers and participants in the rituals, who not only so generously invited me to take part at these important events, but who also patiently bore with my ignorance and shared their knowledge, opinions and experience with me: K. Balaji Bhattachar and his wife Shrividya, their families, and the priest Katukallur S. Manivanna Bhattacharya with assistants, Jvala Narasimhacharyulu and his wife Kalyani with their families, and the priest Parankusha

-
- 3 However, it is important to note that the views and perspectives represented in the book as well as on the DVD are for the most part male ritual specialists’ perspectives: men authored and transmitted the ritual texts, men are the main agents in the performances (as priest and as officiator), and men offered their interpretations of the rituals to me. The women’s voices and their understanding of the rituals were not within the scope of my investigation, but are certainly not less important than male perspectives.
 - 4 The attitude I aimed at is perhaps best described by what Peter Köpping calls ‘surrender’: “Surrender implies the attentiveness with which we listen to musical performances, or that is characteristic of lovers’ relationships, this relationship which leads not to a losing of self but to finding of it” (Köpping 2002: 259; quoted in Rao 2003: 20).
 - 5 A detailed description and suggestions on how to view the DVD is given as Appendix 2 in this book.

Rangacaryasvami and assistants, Shrinivasa Cakravartin, his wife Vasudhara and their families, and the priest Parankusha Vasudevacharyulu and his assistants.

Obviously, this work would not have come into existence without the help of many individuals—only some of them can be mentioned here by name. I am especially indebted to Dr S. Muttubhattar (Chennai) and A. Rangacharyulu (Vijayawada), who helped me in many ways. Thanks are also due to Dr S. Sudarshan, the late D.V. Chari, P. Jagganatha Charyulu and his family, Dr Lakshmi Narasimha Bhatta, P. Bhatta Brahmacharyulu, Dr M. Narasimhachari, Dr K.K.A. Venkatachari, Dr M.A. Venkatakrishnan, Venkatakrishnan Parthasarathy Bhattacar, Ch.B.R.K. Charyulu, A.G. Krishnamacharyulu, Dr Kameshwari, N.S. Parthasarathy Bhattachar, Dr Dominic Goodall, Parthasarathi Bhattacharya and Gopalakrishna Bhattacharya, Gopalakrishnabhattacharya, Anjana und Michael Das-Hasper, G. Prabhakara Charyulu, S. Raghuvirabhattacharya, P.V. Ramanacharyulu, the late Vedantam Ananta Padmanabhacharyulu Garu, Sylvia und Raghu Stark-Raghunathan, P.K. Varadha Bhattachar and his family, Nalluru Vikhanasa Bhattacharyulu, N.S. Dikshitalu, Sthapathy A.B.L. Guhanathan and Mrs Lalita.

Especially Reinhold Grünendahl, Gérard Colas, Guy R. Welbon, Siglinde Dietz and Thomas Oberlies helped me with fruitful discussions, Alexis Sander-son kindly commented on some of my translations, and towards the final stage of the making of the DVD I profited a lot from valuable suggestions by Srilata Raman, Ronald L. Grimes, Donna L. Seamone, Darrell Grimes, Anne Peters, and Erik de Maaker. Moreover, I am grateful to Will Sweetman who prepared the draft translation of the book into English, to Manfred Krüger who produced the DVD with me, and to Malcolm Green who checked the language of the DVD's subtitles. Among the many friends and good colleagues I wish to especially thank Jörg Gengangel and Axel Michaels who brought me to Heidelberg where I found very stimulating working conditions in the Collaborative Research Centre on "The Dynamics of Ritual" (SFB 619) while I worked on this book.

This book with DVD has been made possible through the generous funding of the DFG (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft), first with a travel grant in 1998, then with a Habilitandenstipendium from 2000 to 2002, and finally by funding the publication of the book along with the DVD. I would also like to thank the University of Oslo for a generous contribution to the funding to this book with DVD.

Introduction

शङ्खचक्राङ्कितभुजान्वृणीयादन्यसूत्रिणः ।
गर्भे मास्यष्टमे विष्णुबलिं कुर्याद्यथाविधि ॥
नारायणः स्वयं गर्भे मुद्रां धारयते निजाम् ।
तत्करस्थेन चक्रेण शङ्खेन प्रथितौजसा ॥
करोति चक्रशङ्खाङ्कं शिशोर्वै बाहुमूलयोः ।
वैखानसेन सूत्रेण स्यादयं गर्भवैष्णवः ॥
वैष्णवं सूत्रमेतद्वि सर्वसिद्धिकरं परम् ।
वैखानसाश्च मत्पुत्रा दत्तपुत्राश्च दीक्षिताः ॥

क्रियाधिकार ३६.४२-४५

The present work examines and analyses the ritual tradition of the Vaikhānasas, a Brahmanic community in South India.⁶ The members of this group serve as hereditary priests in Viṣṇu temples, large and small, in the Indian states of Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka.⁷ The repeated reformulations of the Vaikhānasas' identity as a group of ritual specialists dealt with in this book illuminate the development of this Indian religious tradition from the premodern period to the present in adaptation to and encounter with changes in the socio-religious environment. I concentrate on what makes a person eligible to perform the rituals in Viṣṇu temples: does birth, or initiation, create the ideal intermediary between humans and the god? This controversy has been ongoing for centuries among South Indian devotees of the god Viṣṇu (Vaiṣṇavas). For several centuries the discussion centered around the question of whether the Vaikhānasa priests must undergo an initiation including a branding on the upper arms, or whether their life-cycle rituals, and in particular the prenatal life-cycle ritual viṣṇubali, make them eligible to perform temple rituals. As hereditary temple priests the Vaikhānasas' stance is explicit: *only they* are Viṣṇu's children, preor-

6 The Vaikhānasas refer to themselves in English as the "Vaikhānasa community." This community shows several features of a Brahmanic subcaste, such as transregional endogamy, commensality, and the hereditary profession as temple priests or as āyurvedic doctors.

7 There are also temples in Kerala and Orissa which follow the Vaikhānasa ritual system.

daigned for temple service already before birth. Others, who receive an initiation, are only Viṣṇu's adopted children—or even his slaves.

In this book several perspectives on viṣṇubali, the central Vaikhānasa ritual in question, will be examined. First, I will deal with the changes in the interpretation and—along with it—in the description of the “proper performance” of this ritual in Vaikhānasa Sanskrit texts from the the mid-15th century to the 20th century CE. Second, three concrete examples of local conflicts about the question of whether the Vaikhānasas require initiation will be presented and analysed. Third, three examples of present day performances of viṣṇubali will be presented, documented on the accompanying DVD and interpreted in the light of the relation between text and performance, highlighting the importance of the acting priest's ritual competence.

In all parts of this book, an understanding of the rituals in their socio-religious contexts is aimed at. It is presupposed here that there always exists an interdependence and close interaction of ritual and context, and that (when need arises) ritual performances and the meaning attributed to these rituals are readily adapted to changing circumstances. One main reason for this, I argue, is that the rituals dealt with here are “lived religion”⁸ and as such are practices that would become extinct if they lost contact with and relevance for the living world.⁹ This detectable flexibility of ritual stands, however, in stark contrast to the Vaikhānasas' own traditional view. Their texts assume a continuity from time immemorial: the god Viṣṇu incarnated in the form of the school's founder, Vikhanas, and taught the authoritative texts of this tradition, the Vaikhānasasūtras and the content of the Vaikhānasasamhitās to four sages, the Ṛṣis. They then wrote down the content of these texts in abbreviated form. The traditional view is that since the time of the Ṛṣis the Vaikhānasas' ritual texts have been passed down in this

8 I do not, however, subscribe to the view that all ritual is necessarily religious ritual.

9 On the extinction of ritual systems, see Hüsken 2007b. I use the term “ritual” in this work in a rather narrow sense, because the concrete actions I deal with *are* rituals in a narrow sense: they are actions characterized by repetition and a verbal as well as cognitive framing, they are formally stylized, they refer to scripts and models, they are perceived and enacted as different from everyday behaviour, they are invested with (diverse) meaning(s), they consist of building-blocks (rites), they are culturally constructed and traditionally sanctioned, they take place at a specific place and/or time, they are structured, ordered, sequenced, and rule-governed (see Snoek 2006). Moreover, unlike Grimes (for example, in 2006b: 13), I use the term “ritual” for the idea as well as for the specific action. “Rite” here denotes an element, a building block within a ritual. However, “ritual” is not a term usually used in the Vaikhānasas' discourse. There, rather the type of ritual is named. One example is saṃskāra, which I refer to as a “life-cycle ritual.” On the term and concept “ritual” in South Asian languages, see Michaels 2006.

form and the rituals have been performed in accordance with these texts ever since.¹⁰

From a textual scholar's point of view, however, it is evident that a major change has in fact taken place in this tradition: a vedic "branch" (*sākhā*) with its own sūtra turned into a community of temple priests with an extensive literature on temple ritual. The oldest extant works of the Vaikhānasas do not even mention their profession as vaiṣṇava temple priests: the Vaikhānasasūtras are ritual texts which describe the solemn sacrifices and the domestic rituals for this vedic branch. In these works the cult of Viṣṇu as Nārāyaṇa is not yet prominent, although a sectarian tendency towards vaiṣṇavism is discernible (see Krick 1977). Only in inscriptions from the 9th century CE onwards are the Vaikhānasas described as ritual specialists who also serve god on behalf of others.¹¹ It appears that it was also in this period that the Vaikhānasas began to compose texts for temple rituals, the so-called Vaikhānasasamhitās. The history of the Vaikhānasas during the centuries which elapsed after the formulation of the sūtras (3rd /4th cent. CE) and before the formulation of these inscriptions and the early samhitās is unknown.¹² However, as temple priests they produced many texts on temple ritual, but also on the domestic rituals of their tradition. For it is above all with their specific domestic rituals, which they derive from the *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra*, that the Vaikhānasas identify themselves, and distinguish themselves from other (ritual) traditions. This emphasis on the specific domestic ritual tradition is inextricably bound up with a shift in the balance of religious power in South Indian vaiṣṇavism, which made itself felt after the 12th century: the so-called Śrīvaiṣṇavas established themselves as the dominant power among the Vaiṣṇavas; at the same time this tradition opened itself also to non-Brahmanic groups. As a consequence of this development the Vaikhānasas appear to have been increasingly marginalized as temple priests. The prenatal life-cycle rituals (*garbhāsamskāra*) of the Vaikhānasas then played a key role in their efforts to assert their position as ritual specialists in temples through a reformulation of their religious and ritual identity. This change, manifest in the change in the interpretation and performance of the prenatal life-cycle ritual viṣṇubali ("the offering to Viṣṇu"), is presented and analysed here.

Some of the questions guiding this investigation are the following: How ought we to understand the notion of "unchanging rituals" in the Vaikhānasas?

10 On the legendary origin of the Vaikhānasas see the detailed account in Colas 1996: 16ff.

11 See Colas 1996: 58ff.; see also Pathak 1959.

12 It is even uncertain, whether we in fact can speak of an uninterrupted Vaikhānasa tradition (see Colas 1996: 42–44).

case? Why is this notion of the rituals' stability so important for the self-perception and representation of this group? What this group perceives as an attack on the "core" of their identity is of most interest here. It is evident that in the context at hand, rituals—and especially rituals of initiation—are an important marker of identity.¹³ These rituals serve to determine the boundaries of the group.¹⁴ However, as rituals not only reflect, represent and alter identity, but also are subject to changes themselves, the present work addresses both the question of the function of rituals in the formation, maintenance, and alteration of identity, as well as the question of how rituals are transformed as a consequence of a changing self-perception of a group in a specific historical and local setting.

Printed Sanskrit texts of the Vaikhānasa tradition form the starting point of the investigation. Here, this work breaks new ground with respect to the texts on which it is based. Since the mid-twentieth century Indian and Western indological research has engaged with the Vaikhānasas mainly as a vedic tradition, based solely on their sūtras (see 1.1). An exchange of letters between the Sanskritist Willem Caland and the Vaikhānasa scholar Pārthasārathi Bhaṭṭācārya (see 1.3) in the late 1930s brought the extensive literature and the living ritual traditions of the Vaikhānasas to attention in the West.¹⁵ Between 1944 and 1959 Pārthasārathi Bhaṭṭācārya published several articles, and later Rāghavaprāsada Caudharī and Lakṣmīnaraśiṃha Bhaṭṭa likewise published several shorter works on the Vaikhānasa tradition.¹⁶ Prompted by Willem Caland, some scholars of the Utrecht school also worked on this tradition's texts on temple ritual, the Vaikhānasasamhitās. Thus, Jan Gonda gave attention to the change in the use of the mantras prescribed in the sūtras in some of the samhitās,¹⁷ and in 1965 Teunis Goudriaan published what remains so far the only complete translation of a Vaikhāna-

13 The Vaikhānasas' specific identity as a group of ritual specialists is here understood as one of many social identifications, which together constitute the Vaikhānasas' social identity. "Vaikhānasa identity" thus refers to their orientation to, and interaction with others, as well as to their recognition and acknowledgement by others. As the demarcation line between both self and other is here always defined through ritual, the Vaikhānasas will in what follows be treated as first and foremost representatives of a ritual tradition, even though other factors (theology, soteriology, etc.) also constitute important components of their religious identity.

14 Rituals can establish a group's boundary as forms of social practice (see Mol 1978a: 7) or even, as in the present case, as manipulation of the body through branding and wearing of a visible sign on the forehead.

15 See especially Caland 1928, also the foreword in Caland/Vīra 1941.

16 See Caudharī 1967, 1972, 1986 and 1995; Bhaṭṭa 1972a and b; see also Gode 1961; Naraśiṃha Reddy 1983; Rāmānuja Tātācārya 1990.

17 See Gonda 1954 (234–262), 1972, 1977b, 1979 and 1981a.

sasamhitā into a western language.¹⁸ Almost two decades later V. Varadachari, in his seminal work *Āgamas and South Indian Vaiṣṇavism* (Madras, 1982) offered a precise and insightful summary of the contents of many edited and unedited Vaikhānasa texts on temple ritual.¹⁹ Since the late 1970s, the French scholar Gérard Colas has worked continuously on these texts in particular. He studied the connection of the Vaikhānasasūtras to other texts of the same genre and probably of the same period,²⁰ discussed individual questions of rituals and the specific tradition of the Vaikhānasa school on the basis of their samhitās and other texts,²¹ and published a partial edition and translation of the *Vimānārcanakalpa*, the ritual text of this school most widely used in contemporary practice.²² The results of his dissertation on the Vaikhānasasamhitās²³ informed his seminal work, *Viṣṇu, ses images et ses feux. Les métamorphoses du dieu chez les Vaikhānasa* (1996). Therein he deals in detail with the ritual texts ascribed to the four mythical Ṛṣis.²⁴ The further extensive literature of the Vaikhānasas has nevertheless until now scarcely been studied;²⁵ still less has the contemporary situation of this vaiṣṇava group and its rich tradition been granted scholarly attention.²⁶

18 In addition Goudriaan dealt with the Vaikhānasa tradition in two articles in 1970 and 1973. For a review of Goudriaan's translation, see Brunner 1969.

19 In India in the 1990s two works were published, entitled *Vaikhānasāgama* (Ramachandra Rao 1990) and *Vaikhānasa Āgama Kośa* (1991; the series was continued 10 years later). These contain extracts from the samhitās, arranged according to content.

20 See Colas 1992 and 1994.

21 See Colas 1986a, 1986b, 1988, 1989 and 1992.

22 See Colas 1984b and 1986b.

23 See Colas 1995b.

24 On pp. 94–97 Colas presents a relative chronology of the Vaikhānasasamhitās and shows that the oldest group of samhitās was probably composed after the ninth century and before Vedāntadeśika (14th century). The newer samhitā texts are considerably more diverse, which makes even a preliminary dating virtually impossible.

25 Even though Caland had already been made aware of the *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa* by Pārthasārathi Bhaṭṭācārya (see Caland 1928: 235f.), this text was not subsequently dealt with (see also Ramachandra Rao 1990: 24–26). Of the extracanonical works, until now only the *Sūtrabhāṣya* of Nṛsiṃha Vājapeyin (Muttu 1996) and the *Mokṣopāyapradīpikā* (Colas 1985) have been studied.

26 At present, apart from Gérard Colas (see bibliography, s.v. Colas), only Guy R. Welbon (Philadelphia, U.S.A.) studies this tradition. From the 1960s he collected material on his many research visits to South India. He also photographed and filmed some rituals in Vijayawada and Machilipatnam (see Welbon 1984). Welbon's fieldwork in Andhra Pradesh was acknowledged in detail in an issue of the monthly journal *Vaikhānasapattrika* in the 1980s. He informed me in 1998 that he is writing a monograph on two great Vaikhānasa scholars of the 20th century, namely Pārthasārathi Bhaṭṭācārya (see 1.3) and Anantapadmanābhācāryulu Gāru (see 4.6.2).

In this book special attention is given to those texts in which the Vaikhānasas seek to distinguish themselves from other religious groupings, and in which they demarcate their own tradition over against other vaiṣṇava traditions. The Vaikhānasas strove to define and defend their unique identity through Vaikhānasa texts on temple ritual, the saṃhitās and still more in the domestic ritual literature. These texts continually—albeit rarely explicitly—use the arguments which were first systematically developed by the Vaikhānasa scholar Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita in his text *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa*, “the description of the tenfold reason (why the Vaikhānasas are superior).” This text gives information on the situation of the Vaikhānasas and on their strategies to establish their superiority over other traditions. Therefore, the *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa* lies at the heart of this investigation. The central issue which runs through the *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa* concerns the legitimation of the Vaikhānasas, as priests, to establish contact between the devotees and god. This right seems to have been challenged and the relevant discussion remained alive until well into the twentieth century.

Part 1 is entirely given over to the Vaikhānasa Sanskrit text *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa*. Its author Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita is introduced (1.2) after the background and aims of this text, together with its position within the literature of the Vaikhānasas is given (1.1). Then follows an evaluation of the relation of the *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa* to its Sanskrit commentary. Particular attention is paid to this commentary’s author, Pārthasārathi Bhaṭṭācārya, as it is his influence which was decisive in the formation and representation of the Vaikhānasa community of the twentieth century (1.3). To this is added an overview of the literary, historical and intellectual context from which the *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa* emerged (1.4). The text itself is available in electronic form at the website “Göttingen Register of Electronic Texts in Indian Languages” (http://www.sub.uni-goettingen.de/ebene_1/fiindolo/gretil.htm).

In the *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa*, still more than in the Vaikhānasasamhitās, reference is made time and again to the fact that the Vaikhānasa tradition is “vedic”: because the Vaikhānasas follow the vedic Vaikhānasasūtra, they are “vedic.” In this regard it is particularly important that they have undergone the eighteen life-cycle rituals (*samskāra*), prescribed by their sūtra. Only then are they, and they alone, entitled to perform the temple rituals.²⁷ On the basis of the ritual texts of the Vaikhānasas, it can be shown that the meaning and function attributed to several life-cycle rituals—and with them their execution—have undergone considerable changes. Above all, of the five prenatal life-cycle rituals, only one has developed into an essential characteristic of the Vaikhānasas and up to

27 See also Colas, 1996: 137 and 150f.

the present day plays an important role as marker of their specific identity. At stake in the debate with other vaiṣṇava groups is the right to perform temple rituals, and at the heart of this discussion lies the question whether a temple priest must bear a branding on the upper arms as part of an initiation, or whether for the Vaikhānasas the prenatal life-cycle ritual called viṣṇubali serves the same purpose. Also in question is the Vaikhānasas' contention that initiation and branding does not entitle one to perform rituals, and thereby serve as an intermediary between humans and the god.

In establishing a causal connection between the vedic-ness (*vaidikatva*)²⁸ of their tradition and eligibility to perform temple ritual the Vaikhānasas use two frames of reference: the Veda and temple ritual. The Veda, in which temple ritual is largely unknown, is declared the primary factor which legitimates the Vaikhānasas to practise temple ritual as their profession. What idea lies hidden behind this connection of opposites? Most promising here is the Vaikhānasas' discussion of why the pejorative term for temple priests, *devalaka*, is not to be used for them (2.1.2). This discussion ultimately concerns the central issue, whether group membership and religious legitimation is achieved through descent or through initiation: is one born, or made, a true follower of Viṣṇu? For the Vaikhānasas, who emphasize their prenatal saṃskāras, their specific identity is directly linked to descent and marriage. Initiation and/or conversion into their group are thus impossible. As this inherited identity is constituted without freedom of action or will, it is felt to be beyond discussion.²⁹ By contrast the notion of initiation includes a certain permeability: although certain preconditions have to be fulfilled, it is in principle possible to become member of a group through initiation. The Vaikhānasa author Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita is distinguished by the fact that he connected both ideas hierarchically, and thus adapted the Vaikhānasa tradition in the course of the debate over this life-cycle ritual to competing groupings who favored initiation. Nevertheless it is precisely by doing so that he secured the continuance of the Vaikhānasas' own distinct tradition. In order to trace this process, in this work reference will also be made to sources from the rival vaiṣṇava ritual school, the Pāñcarātra. Although the sources allow neither a relative nor, still less, an absolute chronology for this process, at least glimpses of it can be presented on the basis of the inner logic of the textual traditions.

In part 3 the recent past and the present are dealt with. The conflict over 'initiation versus viṣṇubali' apparently remained current for centuries—at times

28 In this model, the Vaikhānasas are above all characterized by their vedic-ness (*vaidikatva*), by contrast to other traditions, which are described as "tantric" (*tāntrika*).

29 See Michaels 1998b: 88; see also Giesen 1999: 18ff.

seeming to lie dormant, while at other times flaming as open dispute. For the 19th and 20th centuries some external textual witnesses are available. The dispute in part led even to physical clashes and in many places a solution was sought through resorting to legal courts. Here court records for one such clash in Singhapērumāl (Tamil Nadu) are presented and analysed, occasionally supplemented by statements of individuals who were involved in these conflicts. It is apparent here that such clashes were never limited to the religious arena, but also significantly influenced, and were influenced by, other contextual factors. The function of ritual in social interaction will be highlighted in the light of what the sources reveal about the rituals' significance for diverse interest groups, who sought to advance their religious, economic and political interests simultaneously. The materials are sifted to show which arguments are brought forward for the diverse positions and how these arguments changed in the course of the documented development. The analysis points to fundamental shifts in power relations, which are expressed by the changing course of the debate. It is apparent that here too the dichotomy of family descent and voluntary membership to a group plays an essential role, even though over several decades arguments other than those substantiated in textual sources were used.

While in part 1 and 2 it is demonstrated that not only textual prescriptions but also the meaning attributed to a ritual can change, depending on the contextual necessities, and while in 3.1 the changing discourse on ritual in the context of a legal dispute is traced, part 4 accounts for the fact that ritual is informed not only by texts, but is a practice and performance in the first place.³⁰ Ritual is obviously a kind of action, and the analysis of concrete enactments at a specific time, in a specific place, and by specific groups and individuals is crucial for understanding central factors informing a ritual's change or stability. However universal the rituals may be, they are always also particular (Grimes 2006b: 2). This is obvious from the comparison of the primary ritual handbooks with three actual performances of the viṣṇubali ritual in part 4: the performance is not a one-to-one enactment of the textual prescriptions (4.4).³¹ Three enactments of viṣṇubali that I witnessed and documented are described and compared with the texts that are used during the performance, and with each other. This documentation is il-

30 Grimes says (2006: 42): "'The real rite' is a construct that glosses over the differences among three things: ritual texts, ritual performances, and ritual memories."

31 Tambiah (1979: 115) already indicates this "dual" aspect of rituals: on the one hand they appear invariable and stereotyped, on the other hand no performance is ever one and the same ritual as another. For a critique of Tambiah's still too static view on ritual see Grimes 2006: 136. On the structure and the 'individualizing' factor of vedic sacrifices and saṃskāras, see B. K. Smith 1989: 127–137.

lustrated with photographs. Additionally, this book contains a DVD; and the material presented on the DVD is part of the primary material used in the writing of part 4. Despite almost identical wording in the ritual handbooks the enactments diverge greatly from one another. The analysis deals with the questions of how the connection between text and performance can be characterised and what this implies for our understanding of ritual texts in the given setting. Here it becomes clear that the acting priest decisively contributes to a ritual's actual form, whereas not a single word is said about his role in the ritual texts. How does such a serious discrepancy between text and performance come about? A still more informative question here concerns the reasons why this discrepancy is not felt to be such by the participants themselves. During the ritual the priest embodies theoretical and practical competence. Therefore the socio-religious context in which a priest acquires his special abilities and qualifications will also be discussed. Section 4.6 is concerned with the individual careers of three such ritual specialists.

The present work is dedicated to diverse dimensions of those rituals which substantially mark the specific Vaikhānasa identity. Through changes in these rituals, the Vaikhānasa tradition is "invented" anew, and canonized again.³² In part 5 answers will be sought to the questions which arise in the light of the historic conflict of the Vaikhānasas with the Śrīvaiṣṇavas. In what ways did the religious tradition of the Vaikhānasas change, how did it adapt to other competing movements, where did it seek to differentiate itself? What role did rituals play in this process? It is clear that rituals change with (religious) identity. Rituals are nevertheless generally perceived rather as eternal and invariant.³³ Therefore sequences of actions repeated in the same way are in popular parlance frequently termed 'ritual.' However, the rituals to which the Vaikhānasas constantly appeal are quite clearly neither static nor closed systems. The tradition evidently tends to incorporate innovations very quickly.³⁴ Causes of change in rituals are to be sought both within as well as outside the Vaikhānasa tradition. The Vaikhānasas themselves perpetuate the view that their tradition is unaltered "since time immemorial." They thus see their own tradition through just those glasses which are usually willingly put on in the observation of rituals: rituals are felt to be fixed and unalterable, which in fact they are not. Do theoretical approaches, which seek to explain why flexible rituals are felt to be fixed, there-

32 What Tambiah (1979: 136) says of poets in purely oral traditions is equally valid for the performance of rituals: "in fact he preserves the tradition by the constant recreation of it."

33 See Staal (1979: 11): "rituals are always guarded jealously and with extreme conservatism" and Platvoet (1995: 28): "Ritual is an ordered 'flow', or sequence, of social interaction, conventionalized and formalized by repetition and thereby made customary."

34 Platvoet (1995: 30f) calls this "traditionalizing innovation."

fore also explain the image which the Vaikhānasas themselves form of their tradition? Or conversely, does the investigation of exactly this dimension of the Vaikhānasa tradition offer solutions to the question of why rituals in general are perceived to be fixed? In part 5 such questions are contemplated.

1 The *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa*

The *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa*,³⁵ “the description of the tenfold reason (why the Vaikhānasas are superior),” is the first extant Vaikhānasa text which explicitly expresses the central positions of this ritual school over against other vaiṣṇava traditions. The text’s date is unclear, but there is strong evidence that it was composed later than 1350 CE (see 1.2). The author Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita felt himself obliged to differentiate his position from other traditions, and thereby to emphasize the merits of the Vaikhānasas. He clearly perceived his own ritual tradition to be under threat. The object of parts 1 and 2 of this book is to examine the underlying religious conflict on the basis of written sources, and to analyse the Vaikhānasas’ strategies, which were intended to establish them as a distinct and hierarchically superior group of vaiṣṇava temple priests in the religious milieu of South Indian temple culture.

In the *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa* several distinctive features of the Vaikhānasa school are emphasized and elaborated, often in order to demarcate them from rival ritual traditions such as the Pāñcarātrins. The explicitly stated intention of the *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa* is to demonstrate the Vaikhānasas’ superiority over other traditions (DHN^D 2.1–3):

Now the tenfold reasons will be mentioned to show the superiority of the Vaikhānasasūtra over all other sūtras, which is composed by the four-faced [god] Brahmā, who is (also) referred to with the word *vikhanas*, (and) who is created by the highest Brahman, (namely) the glorious Nārāyaṇa who is characterized by all the auspicious qualities like truthfulness etc., and to show the superiority of those following this (Vaikhānasa) sūtra over all others.

At the start of the *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa* the author presents, in abbreviated form, the ten statements which he employs to underpin these claims and for which the text is named (DHN^D 2.5–9):

These (ten reasons) are [1:] because it [the Vaikhānasasūtra] is established by Vikhanas, who is the cause of the entire world; [2:] because it is the first among all sūtras; [3:] because it follows the way of the śruti in all (its ritual) actions; [4:] because it teaches all its (ritual) actions with mantras; [5:] because it has niṣeka

35 The text is an introduction to the *Tātparyacintāmaṇi* by the same author, a commentary on the *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra*, to which it is also prefixed in its Devanāgarī edition. The few statements of the editor Pārthasārathi Bhaṭṭācārya on the manuscripts he used suggest that the two texts have always been handed down together. The contents also suggest this, for the *Tātparyacintāmaṇi* occasionally makes reference to the *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa* or assumes knowledge of its contents.

as its first life-cycle ritual; [6:] because it teaches the eighteen bodily life-cycle rituals; [7:] because it contains the totality of (ritual) actions together with their components; [8:] because it is accepted by Manu etc.; [9:] because of the absolute supremacy of the glorious Nārāyaṇa, who is the only cause of the entire world; [10:] and because of the evidence, that those who practice the dharma as expounded in this sūtra, are dearest to the Adorable One.

These reasons are laid out one after another in what follows in the *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa*, the length of the ten sections differing greatly. Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita cites different Ṛg̃hya- and Dharmasūtras, the *Mahābhārata*, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, diverse dharmasāstras, upaniṣads and purāṇas, some ritual texts of the Pāñcarātra tradition, and Vaikhānasa texts on temple ritual. The author connects these (mostly metrical) quotations with his own statements and explanations in prose.

By and large Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita relies in his arguments on texts which were apparently either generally accepted as authoritative in his time, or on texts of his own or the rival ritual tradition. All are anonymous in so far as they cannot be ascribed to any historical author. Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita conspicuously neither refers to his contemporaries nor does he mention his immediate predecessors. A chronological classification is therefore very difficult (see 1.4). In what follows, the position of the *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa* within the Vaikhānasa literature shall be described.

1.1 On Vaikhānasa literature

Since the third century of the Common Era the Vaikhānasas have produced an extensive literature, chiefly in Sanskrit. The composition and publication of works in this tradition continues today, perhaps more than ever (see Hüsken 2001b). Unfortunately, the works not by contemporary authors are not yet even close to being chronologically classified. As so often with Indian literature, especially with texts on rituals, so also these texts have undergone many times a process which Hans Bakker (1989: 331f.) describes as “composition in transmission”: in the course of their being handed down, they are continually modified and amplified, the alterations being made in a formulaic style with little individuality. This certainly applies to the texts assigned to authors who cannot be placed historically, but also to the texts of historical authors.

One recurrent theme throughout all the Vaikhānasa literature is the appeal to the Vaikhānasasūtra as primary authority.³⁶ The term Vaikhānasasūtra is used as

36 Traditionally, a sūtra is described as “complete” when it contains each of the following sections: ṛg̃hyasūtra (relating to domestic ritual), śrautasūtra (relating to the solemn sacri-

a short form of *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra* (also *Vaikhānasakalpasūtra*) which consists of *Vaikhānasagrhyasūtra*, *Vaikhānasadharmasūtra* and *Vaikhānasapravarasūtra*. These three parts are often handed down in one manuscript. The *sūtra* was probably not composed before the third century of the Common Era.³⁷ Both the *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra* and *Vaikhānasaśrautasūtra* have been edited in India and Europe several times, but only the *grhya*- and *dharmasūtra* have been translated into western languages.³⁸ It was on the basis of these texts that a number of European scholars became preoccupied with the characteristics of this vedic school in the early 20th century.³⁹ This period also saw the start of active editorial work—prompted especially by the Vaikhānasa scholar Pārthasārathi Bhaṭṭācārya—in the small village Īgāvāripāḷem in the south of Andhra Pradesh. The publication series *Śrīvaikhānasagranthamālā* was established there, and it was there that a number of texts of the tradition were published—in limited editions and printed in Telugu script—for the first time.⁴⁰

While the only printed text on the solemn sacrifices is the *Vaikhānasaśrautasūtra*,⁴¹ there is a whole series of treatises dealing with domestic rituals of this tradition. Apart from the two extant commentaries on the *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra*, namely the *Vaikhānasasūtrabhāṣya* of Nṛsiṃha Vājapeyin and the *Tātparyacintāmaṇi* of Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita (see 1.2 and 1.4), a series of ritual handbooks must be mentioned here. These so-called Prayoga texts contain various detailed and practically-oriented instructions, which may be consulted for teaching or even during the performance of the rituals. By contrast to the commentaries, these texts mostly do not quote the *sūtra* word for word, but describe how that

fices), *dharmasūtra* (codes of conduct) and *śulvasūtra* (mathematical calculations relating to sacrifices and altars). The *Vaikhānasasūtras* do not contain a *śulva* section of their own, but a chapter entitled “*pravarasūtra*,” which deals with genealogy. There exists also an “appendix” to the *sūtra*, namely the *Vaikhānasagrhyaparīśiṣtasūtra*, which has most probably not been preserved but for some quotations given in the *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa* and the *Tātparyacintāmaṇi* (see 1.4).

37 On the dating, see Bloch 1896, Caland 1926 and Keith 1930.

38 A German translation of the *Vaikhānasadharmasūtra* by Eggers (1929) was published at the same time as Caland’s 1929 translation.

39 In 1896 the first western researcher to work on the *Vaikhānasasūtras*, Theodor Bloch, completed his habilitation thesis entitled *Über das Grhyasūtra und Dharmasūtra des Vaikhānasa*. This was followed by articles by Caland (1926, 1928, 1930), Sieg (1930), Charpentier (1930), Randle (1930) and Keith (1930).

40 See Colas 1984a; see also Hüsken 2001b.

41 In Andhra Pradesh a prayoga text by Bhāradvāja Kṛṣṇamācārya on the *Vaikhānasaśrautasūtra* entitled *Ādhānasaptaka* or *Vaikhānasaśrautaprayogakṛpti* is said to exist. I was not able to trace this text.

which is alluded to in the sūtra is to be translated into ritual action. In this the prayogas do not necessarily follow the order of events as specified in the sūtra, but are rather arranged according to the sequence of the performance in actual practice. In Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu today, the texts *Pūrvaprayoga* and the *Sūtrānukramaṇikā* are used for domestic rituals, with the exception of death rituals (see 4.3).⁴² The death and ancestor rituals are described in separate ritual handbooks.⁴³ Besides these compendia there are also some publications devoted to the description of particular life-cycle rituals (*samskāra*). These works date from the twentieth century and are mostly composed in Telugu, Tamil and Sanskrit.⁴⁴ Finally there are some publications concerned with daily and other regular ritual activities such as the twilight rituals, the application of the sect marks, etc.⁴⁵

A particular mantra collection of the Vaikhānasas, the *Vaikhānasamantra-praśna*, is closely connected to the Vaikhānasasūtras. The formulae, hymns and verses which are to be recited in the course of various rituals are assembled in this collection.⁴⁶ The first four chapters (*praśna*) contain the mantras required for domestic rituals,⁴⁷ the remaining four chapters provide the mantras for temple rituals.⁴⁸ Among these the seventh chapter, entitled *Pāramātmikopaniṣad*, is of particular significance for the Vaikhānasa tradition and has several commentaries.⁴⁹ Willem Caland, the editor of the *Vaikhānasaśrautasūtra*, ap-

42 There is also the *Sūtradarpaṇa* of Nṛsiṃha Vājapeyin (see 2.2.2.2), the *Srīvaikhānasasūtriyāparaprayoga* and the *Sūtraprayoga*. There appears to have been a whole series of further ritual handbooks which are not extant as complete texts. Only short extracts are cited in Pārthasārathi Bhattachārya's commentaries on the *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa* and on the *Ānandasamhitā* (see 2.2.2.3–4, 2.2.4.4–7).

43 *Paitṛmedhikaprayoga*, *Vaikhānasaśrāddhaprayoga* and *Vaikhānasasūtriyāparaprayoga*.

44 *Annaprāśanavivaraṇamu*, *Upanayanavivaraṇamu*, *Cauḷavivaraṇamu*, *Nāmakaraṇavivaraṇamu*, *Nāpatu samskāraṅkaḷil nāṅku samskāraṅkaḷ*, *Vivāhaprayoga* and *Vaikhānasa-sūtrīya Aṣṭāda Upākarma*.

45 *Ariya veṅṭiya 108 tarmaṅkaḷ*, *Āhnikapraśnapatramulu*, *Āhnikāmṛta*, *Ūrdhvaṇḍrapravivaraṇamu*, *Trikālasaṃdhyāvandanamu*, *Rāmadeśikāhnikā*, *Vadhūdharmacandrikā*, *Vaikhānasaśrāvaṇaprayoga*, *Śāntikaḷyāṇamu*, *Śrāvaṇapūrṇimavaiśiṣṭyam*, *Samdhyāvādana*, *Samdhyāvādanavivaraṇa* and *Kanyakā jananaśoca nirṇaya / Brahmācārī āśoca nirṇaya*.

46 On the parallel transmission of two recensions of this mantra collection, in places differing considerably from one another in points of detail, see Colas 1996: 222ff.

47 In his introduction to the *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra*, Caland discusses the structural correspondences of the relationships between the first four chapters of the *Vaikhānasamantra-praśna* with the *Vaikhānasaśrāghyasūtra* and of the *Āpastambīyamantrapraśna* with the *Āpastambīyagṛhyasūtra*.

48 The second part of the mantra collection is discussed and translated by Howard Ray Resnick in his 1997 dissertation.

49 *Pāramātmikacandrikā*, *Pāramātmikamantravyākhyā* and *Pāramātmikopaniṣadbhāṣya*.

parently also had a manuscript for a mantra collection (*mantrasaṃhitā*) of the śrautasūtra at his disposal. This text is, however, not extant.⁵⁰ In addition there exist more recent compilations of mantras and other texts to be recited during individual rituals in temples and in the domestic sphere.⁵¹

As members of a Brahmanic caste of vaiṣṇava temple priests, the Vaikhānasas have produced an extensive literature on temple ritual, the oldest texts of which are the so-called Vaikhānasasaṃhitās.⁵² Four Ṛṣis, namely Marīci, Atri, Kāśyapa and Bhṛgu, are regarded as the authors of these works.⁵³ They are direct pupils of the mythical founder of the Vaikhānasa school, Vikhanas. Together with the sūtras, the Vaikhānasasaṃhitās, which are all but two in verse, are traditionally taken to represent the canon of the Vaikhānasas (Vaikhānasaśāstra or Vaikhānasabhagavacchāstra). In these Vaikhānasasaṃhitās all aspects of the temple cult are dealt with: the preparation of a temple's construction site, its actual construction, the production of images of the deities and their installation, the ritual requisites and the preparation of fireplaces in the temple, and the regular temple rituals including the diverse temple festivals.

Only one of the Vaikhānasasaṃhitās has a commentary;⁵⁴ but there are many handbooks on temple ritual based on the saṃhitās. These shorter texts are nowadays turned to for practical advice.⁵⁵ For the most part these works consist of collections of quotations from different Vaikhānasasaṃhitās. As with the handbooks for domestic ritual, particularly the newer compilations add explanations

50 See Caland/Vīra 1941: xv; see also Gopalakrishnamurty 1966: 36–39.

51 *Ābdikamantravivaraṇamu*, *Vivāhohanayanādimaṃtrapraśnārthaprakāśika*, *Vaikhānasamūrtabhaḡavadyajanamantrabhāḡa*, *Nārāyaṇaṣṭākṣarī mahāmantrānuṣṭhāna*, *Śrīvaikhānasasūtrokta dvādaśasūktāni*, and *Śrīmatvikānasamuṇīranukruhītam śrīvaikhānasaśāstrorokta viśeṣasūktakaḡa*.

52 As the structure and content of these texts closely resemble those of the āgamas of the śāiva schools and of the vaiṣṇava ritual school Pāñcarātra, most Indian and western authors refer to these texts as Vaikhānasāgamas. This term is however, not used by the texts themselves. Rather, the terms kāṇḡa/khaṇḡa, adhikāra/adhikaraṇa or saṃhitā are used as self-designations (see Colas 1996: 45; see also Caudharī 1995: 406).

53 The printed saṃhitās are *Ādisaṃhitā* (Chapter 18), *Ānandasamhitā* and *Vimānārcanakalpa* of Marīci, *Kriyādhikāra*, *Khilādhikāra*, *Prakīrṇādhikāra*, *Yajñādhikāra* and *Vāsādhikāra* of Bhṛgu, *Jñānakāṇḡa* of Kāśyapa and *Samūrtārcanādhikaraṇa* of Atri.

54 *Ānandasamhitāvyaḡhya*.

55 I was able to observe how during some rituals even complete passages from these handbooks were read out, where the acting priest did not know the text by heart. Moreover, these texts are also used in the education of the student priests.

in modern Indian languages. The texts deal above all with the regular temple worship, particular religious festivals and temple inaugurations.⁵⁶

Beyond strictly ritual works, the Vaikhānasa tradition has produced many more texts. There are collections of praise songs and poems,⁵⁷ more general vaiṣṇava religious texts not exclusively connected to the Vaikhānasa tradition⁵⁸ and treatises concerned with themes such as the dimensions of ritual implements and fireplaces.⁵⁹ Furthermore there exist accounts of teacher-pupil lineages specific to the Vaikhānasas⁶⁰ and hagiographies of Vikhanas and Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita.⁶¹

Of interest here are above all those texts in which the Vaikhānasa seek to set themselves apart from other religious and ritual currents, in which they define their specific identity over against the other. Some of these works seek to provide a distinctive philosophical profile for the ritual school,⁶² others again draw contrasts between the ritual characteristics of their own tradition and those of other groups.⁶³

56 *Arcanātilaka*, *Arcanānavanīta*, *Arcāvatāramu Śrī Vaikhānasamu*, *Āgamavyāsasampuṭi*, *Ābdikaprayoga*, *Ārtistava*, *Kṛṣṇāpuṣkaravidhi*, *Dhṛvārcāyajānavidhi*, *Dhanvantaripratīṣṭhākālpa*, *Dhyānamuktāvālī*, *Nityārcanāvidhāna*, *Nityārcanavidhi*, *Pratiṣṭhānukramaṇikā*, *Pratiṣṭhāvidhidarpaṇa*, *Pratyābdikaprayogadarpaṇamu*, *Bālakṛṣṇatiruvārādhanamu*, *Brahmotsavānukramaṇikā*, *Bhagavadarcāprakaraṇa*, *Bhagavadārādhanakrama*, *Bhagavadārādhanacandrikā*, *Bhagavadutsavānukramaṇikā*, *Mahāsaṃprokṣaṇam*, *Mahāśāntiprayoga*, *Mrutsaikrahaṇam/Ankurārpaṇam*, *Viṣṇvarcanāsārasaṃgraha*, *Viṣṇvālayārcanavidhi*, *Vaikhānasam*, *Vaikhānasaviṣṇvārādhanakrama*, *Śrīkāśyapasmṛti*, *Veṅkaṭeśvara-subhodhaya*, *Vaikhānasanityārcanavidhi*, *Samūrtasāmānyārcanāvidhi*, *Snapanavidhi*, *Snapanāni*, *Hanumadarcanoktavidhi* and *Hanumadarcanotsavavidhi*.

57 *Ācāryastava* + *Kodaṇḍāramastava*, *Kṛṣṇāryāṣṭottaraśataka*, *Triśati*, *Vikanasāccāryaḥ stotrapāṭha*, *Vikhanasācārya Divyaprabandha*, *Vikhanasācāryastutiśataka*, *Vaikhānasācāryastutiśataka*, *Lakṣmīnārāyaṇaśaraṇāgatistavam*, *Śrīstutisumamañjarī* and *Vaikhānasastotraratnāvalī*.

58 *Abhijñānaśakuntalāvyākhyā*, *Īśāvāsyaopanitu*, *Īśāvāsyaopaniṣat*, *Gajendra Mokṣamu*, *Go-dāmahimā*, *Corasaṃvāda*, *Rasikarājanabhāṇa*, *Rāmabhadrastutiśataka*, *Rāmānuja vaibhavam*, *Rāmāryāśataka*, *Rukmīnikṛṣṇasaṃvāda*, *Lakṣmīhayaagrivatatva*, *Lakṣmīhaya-grīvasahasranāmāvalī* and *Śatapramāṇādīpikā*.

59 *Yāgakuṇḍādinirṇaya*.

60 *Vaikhānasaguruparamparā* and *Vaikhānasācāryaparamparānusandhānakrama*.

61 *Vikhanasacaritra*, *Vikhanasotpatticaritra*, *Vaikhānasakathāmathanamu*, *Vaikhānasula caritra*, *Śrīnivāsādīkṣitendracaritra* and *Śrīvikhano Mune* - *Vaikhānasula*.

62 *Uttamabrahmavidyā*, *Uttamabrahmavidyāsāra*, *Uttamabrahmavidyāsārasaṃgraha*, *Mokṣopāyapradīpikā*, *Lakṣmīviśiṣṭādvaitabhāṣya* and *Nigamacūḍadarpaṇa*.

63 *Gṛhyasūtradharmanirṇaya*, *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇāndhratātparya*, *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇavyākhyāna*, *Dharmacandrikā*, *Dharmajijñāsāvivādapracuramu*, *Vaikhānasakalpasūtravaiśiṣṭyam*, *Vaikhānasamu*, *Vaikhānasavijaya*, *Vaikhānasavaibhavam*, *Vaikhānaso-*

These works constantly—if seldom explicitly—make use of the argumentative apparatus first systematically developed by Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita in his *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa*,⁶⁴ which is discussed in detail in the present work. The central question, which drives the *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa*, concerns the Vaikhānasas' eligibility (*adhikāra*), to act as priests in Viṣṇu temples. Is it birth or initiation which makes a person eligible to act as intermediary between the world and the other-worldly? This debate persists until well into the twentieth century. It is discussed in some rather polemical works⁶⁵ on the basis of the question of whether the Vaikhānasas must undergo an initiation involving a brand on the upper arms, or whether for them their life-cycle rituals, and in particular the prenatal life-cycle ritual viṣṇubali, confers the right to perform temple ritual.

1.2 The author Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita

The author of the *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa* enjoys high standing in contemporary Vaikhānasa communities as may be gathered, for example, from a letter of the Vaikhānasa paṇḍit Pārthasārathi Bhaṭṭācārya to Willem Caland. In his letter Pārthasārathi Bhaṭṭācārya (see 1.3) describes some differences between the Vaikhānasas and other vaiṣṇava groups and declares that only the Vaikhānasas acknowledge Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita as their teacher:⁶⁶

[...] these Vaikhānasas do not worship in their houses the Alvars and Acharyas of the other Shree Vaishnavites, [...] They do not worship the Mathadhipatis of either Advaita or Dvaita schools of philosophy likewise. Thus they form a separate independent minority within the Vaishnava community, as the followers of their Acharya and Bhashyakara Srinivasa Dikshita.

Many Vaikhānasa texts—irrespective of their content—begin with a formula honouring Vikhanas and Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita, who is also known as Śrīnivāsamakhin,

pakhyāna Sajjanasambhava, Sārasaṃgraha, Sārasaṃgrahamardana and Siddhāntaleśa-darśa.

64 The arguments used by the same author in the *Vaikhānasamahimamañjarī* are also based on those developed in the *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa* (see 1.4).

65 *Taptacakrāṅkanakhaṇḍana, Paramārtharāmabāṇa* and *Vaikhānasataptacakrāṅkanavijayātūlavātūla.*

66 Quoted as “A short note on the Vaikhānasasūtra” in Caland’s introduction to his edition of the *Vaikhānasaśrautasūtra* (Caland/Vira 1941: xxviii-xxxi).

Vedāntadeśika, Śrīnivāsāryadīkṣita, Śrīnivāsāryayajvan and Śrīnivāsamakhivedāntadeśika.⁶⁷

What is known about Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita's life comes from the introductory verses of the *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa* (DHN^D 1.1–20), from the text *Śrīnivāsādīkṣitendracaritra* (abbr: SDC),⁶⁸ from some verses of a Vaikhānasa guruparamparā⁶⁹ and from sporadic statements in *Tātparyacintāmaṇi*. According to these sources, Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita was the son of Govindācārya and Rukmiṇī, from a Vaikhānasa family of the Kauśika clan. He was born in Śrī Veṅkaṭācala (Tirumalai, Andhra Pradesh, also known as Vṛṣagiri). Like his father Govindācārya, he was a follower of Veṅkaṭeśa/Veṅkaṭeśvara, the form of Viṣṇu worshipped in Tirumalai. His grandfather on his mother's side, Śrīnivāsa Yajvan, is the author of a now lost *Kārikā*, a commentary on domestic rituals.⁷⁰ Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita is considered notably learned—for instance the Pāñcarātra doctrine is supposed to have been as well known to him as his own tradition. Moreover he was known for regularly performing diverse lavish śrauta sacrifices.⁷¹

Some clues regarding Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita's relative place within the history of the Vaikhānasa tradition may be garnered from his position in several lists of teacher-student succession (*guruparamparā*). Such *guruparamparās* are an expression of respect towards those who transmit and embody the tradition and at the same time provide religious legitimation to the individual who recites and transmits the *guruparamparā*. In practice nowadays a neophyte during or after his initiation into a certain religious denomination is taught to recite a verse which mentions his teacher and his teacher's teacher. Thus, two generations of religious teachers are preserved in the living memory of a student. In contrast, the lists presented in Appendix 1 stretch from Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa as the first teacher to the reciter's own teacher in person.⁷² From a scholarly point of view, these *guruparamparās* are therefore not to be taken literally in their entirety. The lists

67 In the *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa* alone four different names or combinations of component parts of individual names are used for Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita (DHN^D 1.3, 1.6, 1.19, 122.12; see SDC, p. 17). Here the name Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita will be used throughout.

68 This text was published under the title *Śrīnivāsādīkṣitendracaritramu*, and is also quoted almost in its entirety in the Sanskrit commentary *Daśavidhahetunirūpanavyākhyāna* (pp. 12–19) and appended to the edition of the *Vaikhānasamahimamāñjarī* (pp. 73–79).

69 “Śrīvaikhānasa-Guruparamparā,” in *Vaikhānasam*, p. 5 (see Appendix 1).

70 This is taken from a short passage in the *Tātparyacintāmaṇi*, where some verses from the *Kārikā* are quoted (TPC 464.6–14).

71 See SDC: pp. 15 and 17. The components of Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita's name (-makhin, -deśika or -yajvan) refer also to his sacrificial activity.

72 See, e.g. MOP, p. 1: *śrīlakṣmīvallabhārambhāṃ vikhanomunimadhyamām / asmadācār-yaparyantām vande guruparamparām ||*. See Colas 1985: 117.

consulted agree extensively for the distant past,⁷³ divide temporarily into two different strands which differ in detail but not substantially,⁷⁴ and then diverge ever more from each other. It can safely be assumed that Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita, who is unanimously represented as being knowledgeable in many areas, had several teachers.⁷⁵ Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita's father Govindā[cā]rya is included in four of the six guruparamparās. While two guruparamparās do not explicitly mention Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita's immediate teacher, the *Lakṣmīhayagrīvasahasranāmāvalī* names Sundarārya, whereas *Āhnikāmṛta* and *Mokṣopāyapradīpikā* suggest that his teacher was Narahari (Naraharibhaṭṭācārya), for they place him between Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita and his father. Three guruparamparās are in substantial agreement in respect of Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita's successors, who are named as Vipranārāyaṇācārya, Vāsantayājīn,⁷⁶ Anantanārāyaṇā(cā)rya,⁷⁷ Tirumalācārya Śrīnivāsācārya,⁷⁸ Venkaṭācārya and Govindārya. In spite of all differences the most important facts for our purpose are that Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita is consistently presented as hav-

73 One exception here is the text *Vaikhānasācāryaparamparānusaṃdhānakrama*, which names far more mythical Ṛṣis than the other guruparamparās.

74 They cite almost identical names up to Anantācārya. The *Vaikhānasācāryaparamparānusaṃdhānakrama* follows the *Śrīvaikhānasa-Guruparamparā* after the teacher Vipranārāyaṇa.

75 See the number of his teachers mentioned by Anantapadmanābhācāryulu Gāru (4.6.2).

76 In his introduction to his edition of the *Tātparyacintāmaṇi* (p. iv) Pārthasārathi Bhaṭṭācārya ascribes a text called *Gṛhyasūtrprayogavṛtti* to one Vasantayājīn, from which he cites the part on viṣṇubali in his commentary to the *Ānandasamhitā* (pp. 118–119). Eggers (1922: 16) mentions that Śiṅgarācārya names a text by Vasantayājīn called *Pāñcarātra-nirākāra*. The India Office Library Catalogue lists only one work of Vasantayājīn, a text named *Vaikhānasasamhitāvyākhyāna*. So far I have not been able to consult these texts. One Vasantayājīn has also commented on the 18th chapter of the Vaikhānasa text *Ādisamhitā*. Colas (1996: 93) assumes that this Vasantayājīn lived after Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita. However, in two guruparamparās one Vasantaka or Vasantayājyācārya is also named before Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita.

77 Anantanārāyaṇa is supposed to have written a commentary on the Vedāntasūtra entitled *Vārttikagrāhīnī*.

78 This is a namesake of our Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita, who is also called Śrīnivāsamakṣin. A student of Anantanārāyaṇa, or of one of his students, possibly produced the text *Uttarabrahma-vidyā*. According to Mr. Charyulu (Kothalanka), manuscripts of this text are available in the Sanskrit Kendriya Vidyapeetha Library (Tirupati) and one manuscript is in the possession of V. Ayyamacharyulu (Kākināḍa). The commentary on this text, *Uttarabrahma-vidyāsāra*, was edited in early 2007 by Dr. Sudarśanan Bhaṭṭar of the Tanjavūr Sarasvatī Mahal library. The same Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita is supposed also to have written a commentary on the *Abhijñānaśakuntalā* of Kālidāsa (ed. Rāmānuja Tātācārya, Chennai 1882; available in the Adyar Library, Chennai, shelfmark "Rare 1882 Kal AS sk Tat").

ing lived after Nṛsiṃha Vājapeyin, Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara⁷⁹ and Anantācārya, and that he lived several generations before any author whose date can be fixed with some certainty.

Neither *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa* nor *Tātparyacintāmaṇi* provide concrete evidence for the lifetime of their author. Nowhere does Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita explicitly refer to the works of any historically placeable author. The citations which both texts contain allow only an approximate *terminus post quem* due to the equally uncertain dating of the cited texts. In the *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa*, among the Vaikhānasasaṃhitās, Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita cites at length only the *Anandasamhitā* and the *Purātantra*.⁸⁰ The few further references to the saṃhitās are isolated verses from *Yajñādhikāra*, *Vāsādhikāra* and from Kāśyapa's *Jñānakāṇḍa*. In the *Tātparyacintāmaṇi* Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita cites in addition *Vimānārcanākalpa*, *Kriyādhikāra*, *Prakīrṇādhikāra*, *Niruktādhikāra* and *Arcanādhikāra*.⁸¹ Thus both the earliest saṃhitā texts as well as those texts presumed to be the latest of the saṃhitā corpus are cited. It can therefore be safely assumed that *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa* and *Tātparyacintāmaṇi* have been composed after the *Anandasamhitā* was compiled, that is most likely after the 13th century CE (see Colas 1996: 69, 95). This fits with the date arising from the Pāñcarātra texts Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita cites, and also with the fact that he refers to several Śrīvaiṣṇava concepts which were not widely in use before the 14th century CE. The other texts cited by Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita do not give any additional hints as to his dates (see 1.4).⁸²

On the basis of Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita's *Pāramātmikopaniṣadbhāṣya*, Gérard Colas (1996: 93) presumes that the author lived after Vedāntadeśika, that is after the second half of the 14th century CE.⁸³ The author of Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita's hagiography *Śrīnivāsadīkṣitendracaritra*, Sundararāja, confirms that Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita

79 Only the *Vadhūdharmacandrikā* names Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara before Nṛsiṃha Vājapeyin. In the *Tātparyacintāmaṇi* Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita refers twice briefly to a Bhāskara (TPC 439.17–18, 503.8–9).

80 To the best of my knowledge, the *Purātantra*, which is ascribed to Bṛḥgu, is extant only in citations and not preserved as an independent text. The sections of text from the *Purātantra* and the *Anandasamhitā* cited in the *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa* and the *Tātparyacintāmaṇi* are very similar in content.

81 As of this writing, *Niruktādhikāra* and *Arcanādhikāra* have most probably been printed but were not at my disposal. Vaikhānasa scholars are mentioned by name at only three points in the *Tātparyacintāmaṇi*. Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara is mentioned twice, and there is one reference to Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita's grandfather on his mother's side.

82 Ramachandra Rao (1990: 1) states that Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita composed the *Lakṣmīviśiṣṭādvaitabhāṣya* in 1059 CE while Śrīdhara Babu (1977) supports the view that he lived in the 13th century. However, neither author gives any reason for the dating.

83 See Potter 1983: 296; see also Hopkins 2002, part 1.

lived after Vedāntadeśika when he states that Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita in his *Vaikhāna-samahimamañjarī* comments on Vedāntadeśika's text *Sajjanasāmbhava*.⁸⁴ At the same time, however, he gives Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita's year of birth as 1198 CE, which is several decades before Vedāntadeśika's birth.⁸⁵

The first secure *terminus ante quem* is the lifetime of the author of Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita's hagiography, Sundararāja from the Illattūr agrahāram near Shenkotta in Kerala (b. 1841, d. 1905), son of Varadarāja Aiyangar and Kṛṣṇāmbāl.⁸⁶ It can certainly be assumed that more than a century must divide Sundararāja and Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita, otherwise Sundararāja would surely not have placed him so long before himself. It is therefore probable that Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita lived in the period after Vedāntadeśika and at least a century before Sundararāja, i.e. between 1370 and 1740.

Apart from *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa* and *Tātparyacintāmaṇi* further six texts are ascribed to Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita. Caland used three different manuscripts of Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita's commentary on the *Vaikhānasaśrautasūtra* (entitled *Vaikhānasaśrautasūtravyākhyā* or *Śrīnivāsadīkṣitīya*) for his edition of the *Vaikhānasaśrautasūtra*.⁸⁷ In Sundararāja's *Śrīnivāsadīkṣitendracaritra* (p. 21) an astrological treatise entitled *Tīthinirṇayakārikā* is also named. This text seems to be no longer extant. In his commentary on the Brahmasūtra, entitled *Lakṣmīviśiṣṭād-vaitabhāṣya*, Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita seeks to give the Vaikhānasa a philosophical profile of their own, which is in agreement with the postulated vedic descent and

84 See SDC: p. 25. Sundararāja refers here to the chapter *sajjanasāmbhavagranthaḥ vaikhānasotpattiprakāra* of the *Vaikhānasaamahimamañjarī* (VMM: pp. 36–37). A text entitled *Sajjanavaibhava* (or *Sajjanasāmbhava*?) is ascribed to the Vedāntadeśika who is also the author of the *Pāñcarātrarakṣā*. The text was published in Telugu script as 7th volume (*anubandha*) of the series *Śrīvaikhānasaśrautāmālā* and a manuscript of the text is available in the Government Oriental Manuscript Library, Chennai (No. 5395). There is no consensus as to whether the text is actually authored by this Vedāntadeśika (see Colas 1996: 67). However, A. Kṛṣṇamācāryulu from Narsapur, who translated the text into Telugu, explicitly supports the view that the *Sajjanasāmbhava* is actually a work of the author of the *Pāñcarātrarakṣā*.

85 SDC 13: *triṃśatuttara(triśatyuttara)catussahasreṣu vyatīteṣu kalivarṣeṣu sarvajītvatsare tuṃgasthe savitari tathā caṃdre ca, vaiśākhe prajāpatye nakṣatre ślāghanīye lagne sādhi-vī sā prāsaviṣṭaprabhūtaguṇaṃ kam api putraṃ bhuvanamitram*. This dating is, however, not internally consistent: the year 4300 of the Kaliyuga corresponds to the year 1198, but the expression *sarvajītvatsare* does not apply to this year. According to the southern calendar the closest *sarvajīt* years to the year given here are 1227 or 1167 CE.

86 He is also the author of the *Uttarabrahmavidyāsāra*. On his further works, see Kunjuni Raja 1958: 253.

87 See Caland/Vīra 1941: xii–xiv. Mr. Charyulu (Kothalanka, Andhra Pradesh) claims to be in the possession of several further manuscripts of this text.

with the temple ritual. Therein he argues for a position which differs from Viśiṣṭādvaita in some points (see Ramacandra Rao 1990: 104, 112). *Pāramātmikopaniṣadbhāṣya* is a commentary on the seventh chapter of the mantra collection of the Vaikhānasa (see 1.1). Finally Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita composed the *Vaikhānasa-mahimamañjarī* (see 1.4), in which he elaborates on the characteristics of the Vaikhānasa tradition. Therein he deals in particular with the Vaikhānasa idea of “taking refuge in Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa” (see 2.2.5).

1.3 Pārthasārathi Bhaṭṭācārya, editor of the *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa*

The *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa* has been edited twice by the Vaikhānasa scholar Pārthasārathi Bhaṭṭācārya (b. 1895, d. 1987). When he first edited the text, in 1931 at the age of 36, he supplemented it with a commentary of his own in Sanskrit (*Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇavyākhyāna*, abbr. DHNV) and with detailed explanatory notes in Telugu.⁸⁸ In addition the work contains a citation index of 13 pages, so that in total the book comprises 748 pages. The size of the *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇavyākhyāna* thereby surpasses that of the *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa* by far. The second edition of this text followed in 1967, printed this time in Devanāgarī characters and without Pārthasārathi Bhaṭṭācārya’s Sanskrit commentary. Now, however, Pārthasārathi Bhaṭṭācārya published the *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa* together with sūtra commentary *Tātparyacintāmaṇi* by the same author.⁸⁹ In the foreword to the Devanāgarī edition the editor simply remarks that the manuscripts used were all made available to him by Vaikhānasa families, and that the mistakes and omissions in all the manuscripts were identical. He consulted at least three manuscripts for this edition, made available to him by three persons from Andhra Pradesh (Ākuḷamannāḍu, Tirupati, Nallūru). As he does not mention his 1931 edition it remains unclear whether the textual basis for the two editions is the same. The Devanāgarī text of the *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa* comprises 122 printed pages. This edition is the source of all references to the *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa* in the present volume and of the reproduction in

88 This first edition of the *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa* was printed in Telugu script. The *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇavyākhyāna* has not been drawn on systematically here, but only for unclear passages of text. The Telugu explanatory notes have not been used at all for the present work.

89 The older Telugu edition is available only in a few libraries worldwide, and can hardly be used due to the brittleness of the paper. Even in the restored copy in the Niedersächsischen Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen (shelfmark A 2000 A 35512) many passages are illegible.

electronic form at the website “Göttingen Register of Electronic Texts in Indian Languages” (http://www.sub.uni-goettingen.de/ebene_1/fiindolo/gretil.htm).

Pārthasārathi Bhaṭṭācārya is a very important figure for the Vaikhānasa communities in the 20th century. Therefore a few words should be said here about him and his career, so far as it can be reconstructed.⁹⁰ Pārthasārathi Bhaṭṭācārya was one of six sons of a very conservative vaiṣṇava Brahman in a small village in Andhra Pradesh (Ākulamannāḍu, near Machilipatnam, Kṛṣṇā District). His father sent him to a mission school, so that he—alone among his family—should learn English, in order to be in a position to communicate with the representatives of the colonial power. Pārthasārathi Bhaṭṭācārya was so successful in this that he even won prizes in Bible Study. The knowledge of English he gained in his youth enabled him to establish contact with Willem Caland in the late 1920s, just at the time when the latter was preparing his edition of the *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra*.

Pārthasārathi Bhaṭṭācārya dedicated a large part of his energy to the preservation and propagation of the Vaikhānasa ritual system. Most of the Vaikhānasa-saṃhitās which are in print today were edited by him⁹¹ on the basis of manuscripts collected by his father, his grandfather and himself in Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu. However, many of the manuscripts which he used for his editions later fell victim to a fire in his house in his home village, to which he had retreated after his retirement. It is also essentially thanks to Pārthasārathi Bhaṭṭācārya’s initiative, that a centre for editing Vaikhānasa texts with its own press was established in the small village of Īgāvāripāḷem in southern Andhra Pradesh where since the beginning of the 1920s the *Vaikhānasagranthamālā* series of Vaikhānasa texts was published.⁹²

Pārthasārathi Bhaṭṭācārya’s comprehensive textual knowledge enabled him to participate actively from the 1920s in the discussions over whether the Vaikhānasas have to undergo an initiation with branding—as influential Śrīvaiṣṇavas demanded (see 3.1)—or whether they were qualified to perform temple ri-

90 Most of the information on Pārthasārathi Bhaṭṭācārya’s life and works was communicated orally to me in fall and winter 2000 by several Vaikhānasas in Tirumalai, Vijayawada and Machilipatnam; above all by the late D. V. Chari, the then secretary of the “Sri Vaikhānasa Divya Vivardhini Sabha.” These details have been further supplemented by information provided by Prof. Guy R. Welbon, Philadelphia.

91 Several texts which were in fact edited by Pārthasārathi Bhaṭṭācārya were not published under his name. He sought to honour others, for example his brothers, by ascribing editions to them.

92 See Colas 1984b; see also Hüsken 2001b.

tuals by virtue of their prenatal life cycle ritual viṣṇubali.⁹³ In 1927 he attended a joint meeting of the Vaikhānasa and the Śrīvaiṣṇavas, but was then excluded because he apparently represented the Vaikhānasa interests very uncompromisingly (see 3.1.1). Almost all the texts which Pārthasārathi Bhaṭṭācārya himself composed in Sanskrit and Telugu are concerned with the eligibility of the Vaikhānasa to perform temple ritual: the Sanskrit commentary *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇavyākhyāna* and its Telugu gloss *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇāndhratātparya*, the Sanskrit commentary on the *Ānandasamhitā*, the *Paramārtharāmabāṇa* and *Vaikhānasa vaibhavamū*, but also diverse articles in Sanskrit, Telugu and English published in the *Journal of the Śrī Venkaṭeśvara University Oriental Institute*. He was well-known as a very capable Sanskrit scholar and as an authority in both the theory and practice of the Vaikhānasa ritual system.

In the 1950s Pārthasārathi Bhaṭṭācārya was employed in the administration of the Journal of the Venkaṭeśvara temple in Tirumalai. In his position as “Āgama-panḍit” he did all that he could to further the interests of the priests employed in this and in other Vaikhānasa temples. To this end he founded in 1959 in Tirumalai the trans-regional Vaikhānasa organization “Sri Vaikhanasa Divya Vivardhini Sabha,” whose aim it is to facilitate the publication of more Vaikhānasa texts and to improve the education of the priests.⁹⁴ In general Pārthasārathi Bhaṭṭācārya sought to better the position of the priests vis-à-vis the temple administration on the one hand and the devotees and donors on the other. He is described by all who knew him as an intellectual, calm and gentle man.

Pārthasārathi Bhaṭṭācārya must have had an enormous textual knowledge at his command for in his extensive Sanskrit commentary on the *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa* he often supplements Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita’s arguments with extended citations from diverse purāṇas, the *Mahābhārata* and many other relevant legal and ritual texts. From the many differences in details between the two editions, which after all are separated by more than thirty years, emerges indirectly also a

93 Guy R. Welbon reports that Pārthasārathi Bhaṭṭācārya was a legal advisor to a Muslim landholder in Nellore District before he came to Tirupati. As such he occupied an intermediary position between the landholder and his Hindu subordinates. Welbon found a document in Pārthasārathi Bhaṭṭācārya’s papers from the early 19th century, which was composed by the Tax Collector’s Office in Nellore and dealt with the question of branding. However, I do not have any further information on the contents and the circumstances of the document’s composition. Research in Tirumalai and Ākulumanāḍu have yielded nothing; possibly the document is no longer extant.

94 See “Sree Vaikhanasa Divya Siddhanta Vibardhini Sabha,” *Memorandum of Association*, No. 7 of 1959 (Registered under Act XXI of 11860), Tirupati; 1992. On this, see Hüsken 2001a.

development of the scholar Pārthasārathi Bhaṭṭācārya. In the Devanāgarī version he silently resolves some of the unclear or ambiguous passages of the Telugu edition, especially some of the prose passages, which quote Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita's opinion.⁹⁵ The comparison of the two editions of the *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa* by one and the same scholar distinctly exemplifies the process of "composition in transmission" (Bakker 1989): in being transmitted (in this case in being edited), the text is "improved" from the point of view of those who hand it down. As the changes are not identified as such, the now altered text is again regarded as "authoritative tradition," and thus canonized.

1.4 The *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa* in its literary context

The chief difficulty in dating Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita arises from the fact that he does not explicitly refer to preceding or contemporary scholars of other traditions and their texts. The citations from other texts presented in the *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa*, which substantiate the 'ten reasons' consistently come from "śruti, smṛti, purāṇas etc." (DHN^D 2.11–12). These sources and how Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita relates to them shall be described now.

Although Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita refers to the vedic authority of the Vaikhānasa-sūtras in almost every one of his 'ten reasons', he only occasionally cites this text verbatim. One reference occurs in connection with the discussion of *devalakatva*, i.e. with the charge against the Vaikhānasas that, as temple priests, they "worship god for money" (see 2.1.2). Here he seeks to show through a reference to *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra* 4.10 that worship of god in iconic form is prescribed already in the *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra*, and that therefore the charge of being devalakas cannot be upheld against the Vaikhānasas (DHN^D 53.5–11).⁹⁶ Here and in another passage from the same part of the *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra* (DHN^D 99.7–9),⁹⁷ Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita seeks to show that only Vaikhānasas accept Nā-

95 The verse quotations from the authoritative texts, however, agree with the original texts, as they are now available in print, more often in the Telugu than in the Devanāgarī edition.

96 The cited text reads (VaikhSmS 4.10): *agnir vai devānām avamo viṣṇuḥ paramas tadan-tareṇa sarvā anyā devatā iti brāhmaṇam. tasmād guhe paramaṃ viṣṇuṃ pratiṣṭhāpya sā-yaṃ prātar homānte 'rcayati*: " 'Agni is in truth the lowest of the gods, Viṣṇu the highest. All other gods are between these two' thus [reads] a Brāhmaṇa. Therefore, once one has installed the highest, Viṣṇu, in an enclosed room, one worships him evening and morning at the end of the sacrifice into the fire."

97 The cited text reads (VaikhSmS 4.12): *dvijātir atandrito nityaṃ grhe devāyatane vā bhak-tyā bhagavantam nārāyaṇam arcayet. tadviṣṇoḥ paramaṃ padaṃ gacchatīti vijñāyate*: "The twice-born should worship the glorious Nārāyaṇa always at home or in the temple with devoted love. He reaches the highest residence of this Viṣṇu, so it is taught." Refer-

rāyaṇa as the highest god (DHN^D 97.15–18). Reference is also occasionally made to *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra* 1.1, the beginning of the sūtra. Niṣeka is there listed as the first life-cycle ritual (*samskāra*). This is the subject of the “fifth reason” in the *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa* (DHN^D 80.6–78 and 85.20; see 2.2.2).⁹⁸ The same passage is also referred to in the “sixth reason,” where the uniqueness of the *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra* is attributed to the fact that only here are eighteen samskāras listed (DHN^D 86.5–8).

Thus in the whole *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa* which time and again asserts the centrality of the *Vaikhānasasūtras*, the sūtras themselves are in fact only quoted in a very few places. The main reason for this apparent imbalance is that the entire *Tātparyacintāmaṇi* which is attached to the *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa*, is a commentary on the *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra*, and makes detailed reference to the sūtra, expounds it and cites it word for word. Evidently the author therefore did not feel the need to refer to the sūtra time and again in the *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa*.

It is far more remarkable, however, that precisely those sūtra passage cited in the the *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa* are even today the most frequently cited passages of the *Vaikhānasasūtras*. The *Vaikhānasas*’ reference to their vedic tradition appears to be expression of a more general tendency of contemporary Hindu traditions: while in daily practice constant reference is made to the textual corpus of the Veda, its actual content is largely detached from the religious practice (see B.K. Smith 1989: 13f. and 20f). In the case of the contemporary *Vaikhānasa* tradition reference is made time and again to the authority of the “*Vaikhānasasūtra*” but the living tradition is concerned primarily with temple ritual, which does not yet feature in the *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra*. The *Vaikhānasas*, however, resolve this imbalance by designating the *Vaikhānasasūtras* together with the *Vaikhānasasamhitās* which describe temple ritual, as *Vaikhānasabhagavacchāstra*, the canon of their tradition.

Another mode of extending vedic authority to later texts is employed in the “seventh reason” of the *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa* (DHN^D 90.1ff): “The sūtra contains the whole of the ritual actions together their component parts.” From fictive opponents the objection is then raised that several rituals are not described at all in the *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra*. For these Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita refers to a text called *Vaikhānasagrhyaparīśiṣṭasūtra*, in which all those rituals not mentioned in

ence is also made in *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa* 95.12 to the hierarchy of the Brahmins (on this see 2.2); the best Brahmins are those who acknowledge Nārāyaṇa as the only and highest god.

98 In *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa* 83.17–19 reference is made to *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra* 3.10, where the signs of pregnancy are listed. In other sūtras the time for garbhādhāna is determined by these signs (see 2.2.1).

the *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra* are dealt with. In order to substantiate this, he quotes in detail from this *Vaikhānasagrhyapariśiṣṭasūtra*, the complete text of which appears no longer to be preserved even in manuscript.⁹⁹ The only extant portions are the citations reproduced in Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita's works,¹⁰⁰ some of which were then absorbed by the *Sūtrānukramaṇikā* (see 4.3.1).

Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita quotes the sūtra of Bodhāyana considerably more often than the sūtra of his own tradition.¹⁰¹ This affirms the special connection between these two branches of the Taittirīya school, which is dealt with in detail by Krick (1977).¹⁰² There are several aspects which both sūtras have in common. For our purposes the most important agreement is that Bodhāyana is the only other sūtra author to describe a prenatal saṃskāra called "bali-offering to Viṣṇu" (see 2.2.2.1). Moreover, Bodhāyana also knows a ritual named nārāyaṇabali, which again is otherwise only described by the Vaikhānasas.¹⁰³ And just like the *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra*, the *Baudhāyanagrhyapariśiṣṭasūtra* (a later appendix to the *Baudhāyanagrhyasūtra*) describes the installation of an iconic image of Viṣṇu.¹⁰⁴ Nevertheless, one cannot establish any direct dependence in one direction or the other (see Colas 1994: 523ff).

The special relationship between the Baudhāyana and the Vaikhānasa traditions is also reflected in the *Vaikhānasasaṃhitā*s. In these Bodhāyana is occasio-

99 The first to draw attention to this text was Renou (1947: 189). Pārthasārathi Bhaṭṭācārya says nothing in his Sanskrit commentary about this text.

100 In the *Tātparyacintāmaṇi* Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita often refers to this text as "grhya." From the citations it is apparent that the *Vaikhānasagrhyapariśiṣṭasūtra* was in verse, and that it contained many grammatical mistakes.

101 Both Kane and Olivelle date the Baudhāyanasūtras well before the Vaikhānasasūtras. Kane (1974a: xi) places the *Baudhāyanagrhyasūtra* between 600 and 300 BCE; Olivelle (2000: 4–10, 191, 7 fn. 10) dates the older parts of the *Baudhāyanadharmasūtra*, which is thought to be roughly contemporary with the *Baudhāyanagrhyasūtra*, to c. 500–200 BCE. Olivelle notes, however, that the sections added to the *Baudhāyanadharmasūtra* (2.17–18) appear to be a handbook for renunciators, and could have emerged at the same time as the Vaikhānasasūtras.

102 Krick (1977: 7) refers to the fact that both sūtras emerged in South India, both are the latest sūtras of the Taittirīya school, and both reflect post-vedic religiosity (including allusions to temples, pūjā, etc.).

103 For details, see Krick 1977. A hierarchisation of Brahmans on the basis of the saṃskāras they have undergone is also common to both texts (see VaikhSmS 1.1 and BaudhGrS 1.7.1–20). The texts differ in that for Bodhāyana the bodily saṃskāras are included in the list of pākayajñas and are therefore treated as domestic sacrifices (BaudhGrS 1.1.1–12), whereas for the Vaikhānasas there is a clear separation between bodily saṃskāras and sacrifices (see VaikhSmS 1.1; see also Pandey 1949: 29f.).

104 See the seminal work of Harting (1922).

nally mentioned as an apostate disciple of Vikhanas.¹⁰⁵ The close relationship is here expressed as competition. However, the attitude towards the Bodhāyana tradition is not uniform in the Vaikhānasasamhitās: Colas finds that on the one hand in the *Samūrtārcanādhikaraṇa* the Bodhāyanasūtra is brought into connection with a “better” Pāñcarātra tradition, but that on the other in the *Vāsādhikāra* following the “Baudhāyanaśāstra” is described, just like the Vaikhānasa tradition, as *vaidika*, in agreement with the Veda.

Likewise, Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita sometimes repudiates the content of the Baudhāyanasūtras as inferior to the Vaikhānasa tradition while at other times he uses the Baudhāyana tradition to underpin his own position.¹⁰⁶ Nevertheless at all times he allocates to the Baudhāyanins a position subordinate to the Vaikhānasas. Thus Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita repeatedly demonstrates on the basis of references to one or more ācāryas (“masters” or “teachers”) in the Baudhāyanasūtras, that the Baudhāyanins recognize Vikhanas as authority (DHN^D 10.6, 82.23–84.12). Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita deals with the Baudhāyana tradition in more detail in the “fifth reason,” which demonstrates that only the Vaikhānasas have niṣeka as the first saṃskāra. Here a particular closeness between the Baudhāyanins and the Vaikhānasas emerges, which Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita presents as significant difference by emphasizing the nuances (DHN^D 82.18–22; 83.2–5, 85.15). Similar structures are revealed also in the treatment of other rituals where Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita is at pains to foreground the differences in spite of all common features (DHN^D 73.6–9, 73.13–74.2, 97.19–21, 97.22–25, 98.6–9).

Several times Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita refers to other sūtras where these equate *vai-khānasa* with *vānaprastha*, a term describing those in the third stage of life (*āśrama*) as “forest-dwellers,” who have given up heading a household and withdrawn to the margins of the community.¹⁰⁷ In some sūtras the words *vānaprastha* and *vaikhānasa* are used synonymously. A close connection between the two is in fact suggested by the *Vaikhānasadharmasūtra*’s unusual close attention to the religious rights and duties (*dharma*) of vānaprasthas.¹⁰⁸ Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita seeks here to make clear that Vaikhānasas are not necessarily vānaprasthas (see DHN^D 21.2–23.10). Followers of other traditions who are in the third stage of

105 See ĀS 2.79–80; see also Colas 1996: 18.

106 See, for example, DHN^D 75.11–14 and DHN^D 89.12–13. Reference to Bodhāyana as an authority is also occasionally made in later ritual texts of the Vaikhānasas (see 2.2.2).

107 For details on the vānaprastha stage of life, see Sprockhoff 1981, 1984, and 1991; see also Olivelle 1993.

108 On this connection see Bloch 1896; Caland 1926; Eggers 1929; Colas 1990, 1992a, 1996: 13–15; Pratap 1995; Muttu 1996. The actual connection between the *Vaikhānasa-smārtasūtra* and the vānaprastha life-stage remains unclear at present.

life, he claims, often follow the Vaikhānasasūtra and it is for this reason that they are called *vaikhānasa* (DHN^D 27.20–29.15). Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita thus emphasizes that all those texts, which connect Vaikhānasa and vānaprastha with one another, thereby refer to the section of the *Vaikhānasadharmasūtra*. This implies that the Vaikhānasasūtra chronologically precedes the other texts, and thus that—as Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita puts it in his “second reason”—the Vaikhānasasūtra is “the first among sūtras” and further, as is stated in the “eighth reason,” that others recognize the Vaikhānasasūtra as authority.

At the beginning of the *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa* Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita says explicitly that his argument is based upon “upaniṣads, *Mahābhārata*, *Rāmāyaṇa*, purāṇas etc.”¹⁰⁹ Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita cites some upaniṣads in order to prove the importance of mantras in ritual,¹¹⁰ and to show that the saṃskāras contained in the *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra* are already mentioned in the Veda.¹¹¹ Other quotations from the upaniṣads serve to prove that making a saṃkalpa (formal declaration) to “take refuge in Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa” is possible even before birth:¹¹² while still in his mother’s womb, Vāmadeva recognized the sorrowful nature of cyclical re-birth and made up his mind to take refuge in Nārāyaṇa after his birth. Very importantly, these quotations serve to connect the Vaikhānasas’ prenatal life-cycle ritual viṣṇubali with the concept of initiation: an initiation’s characteristic as being based on conscious decision is thus integrated into the prenatal life-cycle ritual and—only for the Vaikhānasas—thereby “brought forward” to the time before birth (see 2.2.3).

The *Mahābhārata* and diverse purāṇas are constantly quoted in order to underline or to prove Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita’s own statements. The following purāṇas (in ascending order of frequency) are quoted:¹¹³ *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, *Padmapurāṇa*, *Bṛhannārādīyapurāṇa*, *Garuḍapurāṇa*, *Kūrmapurāṇa*, *Skandapurāṇa*, *Varāhapurāṇa*, *Brahmakaiivartapurāṇa*, *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*, *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa*, *Nāradaipurāṇa*, *Vāyupurāṇa*, *Narasimhapurāṇa*, *Liṅgapu-*

109 The entire *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa* contains only two quotations from the *Harivaṃśa*. The *Rāmāyaṇa* is only brought in as it can be used to show that the Vaikhānasas are not just vānaprasthas (DHN^D 21.19–25, 22.2–8).

110 The sāvitṛī mantra is the subject of a quotation from the *Talavakāropaniṣad* (DHN^D 74.4–22). A quotation from the *Chāndogyopaniṣad* (DHN^D 77.20–22) is likewise drawn upon as proof that rituals should always be performed with mantras.

111 In DHN^D 81.14–18 he cites the *Muṇḍakopaniṣad* and the *Chāndogyopaniṣad*, and in DHN^D 86.9–10 and 89.10–11 he cites the *Muṇḍakopaniṣad*.

112 In DHN^D 103.24–104.8 he cites the *Garbhopaniṣad*, in DHN^D 104.9–13 he cites the *Mudgalopaniṣad*, and in DHN^D 104.21–22 he cites the *Kaivalyopaniṣad*.

113 The source of many quotations from the purāṇas are not given in the text; see DHN^D 18.24–19.6, 42.16–17, 56.14–15, 69.18–21, 121.16–122.3.

rāṇa, *Brahmapurāṇa*, *Matsyapurāṇa*, *Agnipurāṇa*, *Sāmbapurāṇa* as well as one quotation from the *Viṣṇudharma*.¹¹⁴ In some places the author, possibly deliberately, alters the content of the quoted text slightly. Thus in *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa* 105.21–106.13 Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita introduces a quotation from the *Padmapurāṇa* in order to illustrate his idea of “tantric prapatti” (see 2.2.5.2). In the quotation branding of the upper arms as part of an initiation is rejected: as a Brahman is to be seen as a house of the gods, his body is not to be injured, for the damage or destruction of the house drives away the gods. As far as I can see, this verse is not contained the printed editions of the *Padmapurāṇa*. One chapter of the *Padmapurāṇa* does, however, deal in detail with branding on the upper arms. There, in complete contrast to the quotation cited in the *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa*, only those Brahmans with a branding are described as “true followers of Viṣṇu.”¹¹⁵ Similarly, in a citation from the *Padmapurāṇa* in *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa* 107.2–11 the Pāñcarātrins are accused of being “without loving devotion (*bhakti*)” towards the god, as branded, and as being the lowest of the Brahmans. The statement in the printed edition of the *Padmapurāṇa* is considerably more tolerant. There it reads that god is to be worshipped as taught by one’s teacher. The Pāñcarātrin and Vaikhānasa are there explicitly ranked equally.¹¹⁶

Beyond the purāṇas most quotations in the *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa* come from the *Mahābhārata*. Many of the verses can also be found in similar form in the critical edition, mostly in the appendices. What is striking is that especially those quotations which explicitly mention the Vaikhānasas or Vikhanas are not given in the critical edition. Here and elsewhere the background to the differences in wording between diverse recensions of the same text would repay investigation. For example Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita presents the difference in Vaikhānasa and Pāñcarātra ideas of the manifestations (*mūrti/vyūha*) of god with a passage from the so-called Vaiṣṇavadharma from the *Mahābhārata*.¹¹⁷ According to his quotation here, the Vaikhānasas worship god in five forms as Viṣṇu, Puruṣa, Satya, Acyuta and Aniruddha, while the Pāñcarātrins worship god in four forms as Sañkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna, Aniruddha und Vāsudeva (DHN^D 23.19–24.2). Exactly the

114 Many passages from the purāṇas mentioned by name cannot be verified on the basis of the printed editions available to me.

115 See PadmaP, uttarabhāga, 224.42–80.

116 See PadmaP, uttarabhāga, 253.54–56.

117 The so-called Vaiṣṇavadharma of the *Mahābhārata* is only preserved in the southern recension (see Grünendahl 1984: 51–54 and 1997: 233f.). On the vyūha concept(s) in some passages of the Pāñcarātrasaṃhitās, see Bock-Raming 2002 (esp. chapters 4 and 5); for critical assessments of Bock-Raming’s work see Padoux 2004, Rastelli 2004, and Colas 2005a.

same passage from the Vaiṣṇavadharma is later cited anew in the *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa*—this time in order to show that the Vaikhānasas also know the division into four vyūhas (DHN^D 44.22–45.2). The forms of god worshipped by the Vaikhānasas are now listed as Puruṣa, Satya, Acyuta and Aniruddha, unlike the four forms worshipped by the Pāñcarātrins named Saṅkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna, Aniruddha und Vāsudeva. It is quite clear here that the source text is re-interpreted and its wording even altered according to need.

The category of texts which Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita calls “smṛti” is not easy to grasp. Often he himself does not name his source. As a text, *Smṛtyarthasāra* is named, as authors he names Vṛddhamanu, Bhāradvāja, Śaṅḍilya, Pracetas, Sumanu, Mārkaṇḍeya, more commonly Hārīta, Śaṅkha and Likhita, Yama, Vasiṣṭha, Viṣṇu, Manu especially often, Yājñavalkya and Vṛddhayājñavalkya. Here too, is much that cannot be found in printed editions that are available. At times, however, it is clear that Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita interprets the cited texts detached of their original context. Thus, in an effort to show that only the Vaikhānasas have niṣeka as first saṃskāra (“reason five”), Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita quotes from the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* (DHN^D 83.9–10) which in its original context refers to the three twice-born varṇas. Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita reinterprets this to refer only to the Vaikhānasas. Only by removing the quotation from its original context is Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita able to use it as a proof of his argument.

In his *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa* Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita frequently refers to saṃhitās of his own tradition. A quotation from the *Ānandasamhitā* occupies almost the whole of the fourth chapter, covering almost five printed pages.¹¹⁸ Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita bases his account of the origin of the Vaikhānasas on this quotation. Nārāyaṇa’s commission to Vikhanas to take care of his worship is described in this quotation, which also explicitly prescribes the viṣṇubali ritual for the Vaikhānasas, forbids branding and deals with the question of why the Vaikhānasas are not devalakas. In many cases the *Ānandasamhitā* passages in the *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa* agree with those of the *Purātantra* (not available in print), which is likewise quoted at length.¹¹⁹ Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita refers more seldom to the other Vaikhānasasamhitās mentioned by name, such as *Yājñādhikāra* (DHN^D 120.16–19), *Vāsādhikāra* (DHN^D 46.6–8) and *Jñānakāṇḍa* (DHN^D 97.11–14). Occasionally Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita also quotes from the so-called Bhagavacchāstra, i.e. from a Vaikhānasasamhitā without indicating its precise source,¹²⁰ or he names only the

118 DHN^D 10.17–15.7, see 53.21–22, 53.24–54.8. A whole section of this passage in the *Ānandasamhitā* is given in the Telugu edition, but missing in the DHN^D.

119 DHN^D 4.8–9; 8.4–6; 32.20–39.32; 83.21–22; 103.14–17; 106.20–21.

120 DHN^D 10.4–5; 31.6–32.9; 60.21–61.1; 63.5–63.9; 71.5–9.

author and not the work.¹²¹ In the *Tātparyacintāmaṇi*, by contrast, Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita quotes the *Ānandasamhitā* only once. In his text, he refers considerably more often to Bhṛgu (35 times) although without indicating a specific text. Overall Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita ascribes as much authority to the Vaikhānasasamhitās as to the other vedic texts for they—as works of the disciples of Vikhanas/Nārāyaṇa—likewise have vedic authority.

Although it is quite clear from the content of the *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa* that the Vaikhānasas had to draw a dividing line between themselves and other vaiṣṇava movements, the text contains relatively few references to specific texts of other groups. At those places where Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita makes reference to the rival group of the Pāñcarātrins or their authoritative texts, he very decidedly subordinates them to the Vaikhānasa tradition, for the most part, however, without directly attacking them. Occasionally he is at pains to prove that the Pāñcarātrins acknowledge the superiority of the Vaikhānasas, too. Thus a verse quoted from the apparently no longer extant (Pāñcarātra) *Ātmasamhitā* (DHN^D 4.4–5)¹²² speaks of Vikhanas as “cause of the world.” Respect and acknowledgment toward the Vaikhānasas emerges also from three further quotations from the Pāñcarātrasamhitās. The Vaikhānasas are there represented as admirable ācāryas.¹²³ A verse from the *Pauṣkarasamhitā* quoted repeatedly praises the Vaikhānasas as truth-loving devotees, who take Viṣṇu as the highest god.¹²⁴ In the printed text of the *Pauṣkarasamhitā*, however, a similar verse praises not the Vaikhānasas, but rather those Brahmans who have “only one goal,” whereas I could not make out the verse quoted by Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita.¹²⁵ Conversely, according to the *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa* it follows from another quotation from the *Viṣvaksenasamhitā* that for the Pāñcarātrins Nārāyaṇa is interchangeable with Gaṇeśa (DHN^D 47.21–48.6). Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita repeatedly refers to the differences between Pāñcarātrins and Vaikhānasas (DHN^D 23.14–24.4): the Vaikhānasas worship five forms (*vyūha*) of Viṣṇu, the Pāñcarātrins by contrast four. Moreover, while the

121 DHN^D 120.11–15: “Bhṛgu”; DHND 120.20–23: “Kāśyapa.”

122 One *Ātmasamhitā* is not among the texts listed by Schrader (1916: 6–12), nor is it mentioned in H.D. Smith/K.K.A. Venkatachari (1980) or in the 2002 *Catalogue of Pāñcarātra Samhitā*.

123 The quotations come from *Kapīñjalasamhitā* (DHN^D 62.16–19, 93.4–9) and *Pārameśvarasamhitā* (DHN^D 43.22–25).

124 DHN^D 24.6–8, 42.25–43.2, 48.18–19, 118.12–15.

125 DHN^D reads: *viprā vaikhānasākhyā ye te bhaktās tattvam ucyate*, PauṣkaraS 36.260cd reads instead: *viprā ekāyanākhyā ye te bhaktās tattvato 'cyute*. It might however be that the verse cited in the DHN^D is contained in the second volume of the *Pauṣkarasamhitā*, which was printed in 2006 and is not yet available to me.

Vaikhānasas know the correct method of worship of Viṣṇu's forms, the Pāñcarātrins perform this worship differently (DHN^D 44.22–45.4). A long quotation from the Pāñcarātra text *Pādmasaṃhitā* on the division of the day into five ritual sections (*pañcakāla*; DHN^D 49.2–51.15)¹²⁶ serves to present this description as incomplete and faulty in comparison with the corresponding Vaikhānasa idea. Likewise in order to show that the Vaikhānasa system is the better of the two a verse is cited from the *Saṅkarṣaṇasaṃhitā* according to which the Pāñcarātra system leads to salvation, whereas the Vaikhānasa system brings salvation *and* fulfills all desires (DHN^D 24.19–20). Unlike the Vaikhānasa ritual system, Pāñcarātra worship is performed without vedic mantras (DHN^D 24.17–19). Therefore the system of the Vaikhānasas is to be preferred. The idea of inferior “tantric” Pāñcarātrins in contrast to superior “vedic” Vaikhānasas in one form or another permeates the whole of the *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa*.¹²⁷ Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita also differentiates between the “tantric” Pāñcarātra mode of “taking refuge (in Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa)” and the “vedic” Vaikhānasa mode. A further quotation, the source of which is also given as “Pāñcarātra,” states that the “tantric” taking refuge in Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa involves abandoning the Veda (DHN^D 105.6–7). This motif is very important in Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita's argument for viṣṇubali and against the Pāñcarātra branding (see 2.2.4–6). Occasionally Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita allows criticism towards the Pāñcarātrins to come from the mouths of others. Thus he introduces some quotations from the purāṇas, according to which those initiated in the Pāñcarātra—just like, for example, Śaivas and Buddhists—are outside of the vedic tradition and are therefore the lowest of the Brahmans, especially since they bear a branding (DHN^D 107.1–11). The citation continues that the Pāñcarātra is a doctrine for those who have deviated from the way of the Veda (DHN^D 107.12–108.15) and that whoever follows the Pāñcarātra doctrine has to undergo the same expiatory acts (*prāyaścitta*) as those who depart from the Veda (DHN^D 108.16–109.4). Following the Pāñcarātra as well as being marked with the disk and the conch is connected with the moral decline of the world in the Kaliyuga (DHN^D 109.15–110.11). Accordingly, argues Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita, the traditions which demand branding have not universal validity. It should be noted that the quotations discrediting the Pāñcarātrins are not found in the editions of the texts available to me.

126 On *pañcakāla* see Rastelli 2000 and 2006: 63–90.

127 A quotation “from the Pāñcarātra” (*pāñcarātre*) deals with the origin of the two traditions. According to this, the Pāñcarātra system of Viṣṇu worship is “tantric,” while by contrast that of the Vaikhānasas is based upon the Veda (DHN^D 30.13–31.3).

However, the depiction of the Pāñcarātra is not entirely derogatory: Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita describes the Pāñcarātrins as Vaiṣṇavas and occasionally characterizes them as *śuddha*, “pure” (DHN^D 25.16–24). At one point, on the basis of non-verifiable quotations from the Pāñcarātra tradition, he sketches the following picture of the Pāñcarātrins: they are adherents of the Kātyāyanasūtra (a branch of the white Yajurveda) and belong to five gotras, namely Aupagāyana, Śāṇḍilya, Bhāradvāja, Gautama, and Mauñjāyana (DHN^D 66.9–13). This sketch is close to but not identical with the depiction of those eligible to perform worship “for others” (*parārtha*) in some of the later Pāñcarātrasaṃhitās. The *Pādmasaṃhitā*¹²⁸ names only “Aupagāyana and so on,” whose descendents are either *mādhyandīnas* (a vedic school) or belong to the vedic *kāṇva śākhā* (so-called mantrasiddhāntins or bhāgavatas). They are the only group eligible to do worship for others.¹²⁹ The *Lakṣmītantra* says in an inserted passage (see Rastelli 2006: 233, note 682) which is explicitly based on the *Pādmasaṃhitā*, that those eligible to do “worship for others” follow the Kātyāyanasūtra, belong to the vedic *kāṇva* or *mādhyandīna* schools, and are descendents of Kāśyapa, Gautama, Bhṛgu, Aśvalāyana and Aṅgiras (see Rastelli 2006: 235f.). A 14th century insertion into the *Jayākhyasaṃhitā* names Aupagāyana and Kauśika, additionally Śāṇḍilya, Bharadvāja and Mauñjāyana, all of whom study the vedic *kāṇvī śākhā*.¹³⁰ In the *Parāśarasamhitā* (44.149–155)¹³¹ other Ṛṣis are mentioned. There it is stated that only those who belong to four gotras (ParāśaraS 1.51–54), namely Vedaśiras (Bharadvāja), Bhārgava (Vasiṣṭha), Marīcīpa (Viśvāmitra) und Kavaṣa (Kauṇḍinya),¹³² are able and eligible to worship Viṣṇu “for others” (*parārtha*)—even those who have undergone an initiation (*dīkṣā*) cannot so this. The *Īśvarasaṃhitā*¹³³ (21.536cd) names the same Ṛṣis as the *Lakṣmītantra*, namely Śāṇḍilya, Aupagāyana, Mauñjāyana-

128 The *Pādmasaṃhitā* was composed before Veṅkadeśika (trad. dates 1270–1369), and before the *Pārameśvarasaṃhitā* (after 1100–1300?: see Rastelli 2006: 54): it is quoted by both. Internal evidence also suggests that it is one of the younger Pāñcarātrasaṃhitās, because it emphasises temple ritual and elaborates on the pañcakāla (see Rastelli 2006: 51f.).

129 PādmaS 21.2–13; see Rastelli 2006: 229f.

130 Jayākhyas adhika pāṭha 13; see Rastelli 2006: 237ff.

131 The *Parāśarasamhitā* was compiled before the 15th century CE (see Smith/Venkatachari 1980: 188).

132 Interestingly, these four Ṛṣis are said to have undergone a “garbhādīkṣā,” an initiation in their mother’s womb (ParāśaraS 1.51–54).

133 While H.D.Smith/K.K.A. Venkatachari (1980: 85) estimate that the origin of this text is to be placed about the 10th century CE, Rastelli (2006: 54 and 59, and note 55) convincingly argues that it cannot have been composed before 1100 to 1300, the time of the composition of the *Pārameśvarasaṃhitā*.

na, Kauśika and Bharadvāja. They are listed in the following context: Śāṅḍilya conveyed the teachings to the four other Munis. Since then they—with Śāṅḍilya as their leader—practise the worship of Hari (Viṣṇu) according to the so-called Sātvataśāstra and confer initiation according to this śāstra upon their disciples, who belong to their clans and who learn the *kāṇvī-sākhā*.¹³⁴ Thus the description of the Pāñcarātrins in the *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa* is very close to the presentation in the *Īśvarasaṃhitā* and *Lakṣmītantra*. Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita's text might therefore have been composed only after the *Īśvarasaṃhitā*, that is after 1300 CE.

In addition to the tendency to demarcation and ranking, a ban on assimilation to the Pāñcarātrins is added in some places in the *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa*: a Vaikhānasa who undergoes the Pāñcarātra initiation is labelled a devalaka (see 2.1.2). Conversely, as a Pāñcarātrin one may only perform worship of god once one has undergone initiation (*dīkṣā*) (DHN^D 63.14–15). Even the four Pāñcarātra schools which each have their own initiation, should on no account be mixed, according to one quotation from the *Pādmasaṃhitā* (DHN^D 66.1–15).¹³⁵ Every type of conversion is thus rejected by Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita.

While he does allow the Pāñcarātrins a place among the Vaiṣṇavas, this is only in the non-vedic area. The Pāñcarātrins are thus, by contrast to the Vaikhānasas, depicted as being not “true” Brahmans, “outside the Veda” and therefore also as having only limited right to perform rituals.¹³⁶

While Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita deals extensively with other vaiṣṇava traditions, only a few śaiva texts are quoted in the *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa*.¹³⁷ Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita

134 ĪvaraS 21.552–555; see Rastelli 2006: 239f.

135 On these four siddhāntas in the Pāñcarātra literature, see Rastelli 2006: 185–255, and references there.

136 It should be mentioned that the Pāñcarātrins were also criticised for their being tāntrika not only by Vaikhānasas but also by others (e.g. Śāṅkara and Kumāṛila). There is ample evidence of this criticism in Yāmuna's *Āgamaprāmāṇya*. Rastelli (2006: 235ff.) is even able to show that such criticism also came from within the Pāñcarātra tradition.

137 In one place the *Suprabhedāgama* (DHN^D 25.4–14) is quoted. Here Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita is not concerned with the content of the other tradition, but rather tries to prove that even there the precedence of the Vaikhānasas, who are described there as “vedic” (*vaidika*), is established. It is said there that the worship of Hari in larger settlements should take place according to the Vaikhānasa ritual system. Moreover, according to this passage, the Vaikhānasas are “equipped with the saṃskāras which begin with niṣeka.” The printed text of the *Suprabhedāgama* does not contain this passage. However, the list of saṃskāras in this text could well have been inspired by the Vaikhānasasūtra (see SuprabhedĀ, caryāpāda, chapter 5; see Brunner 1967).

does not concern himself with the content of śaiva doctrine or ritual.¹³⁸ For him the Śaivas are quite clearly not opponents. They are invoked primarily to disparage other vaiṣṇava groups by being placed on the same level (see DHN^D 106.2–6). Thus, according to a quotation from the *Kurmapurāṇa*, Rudra (Śiva) created the śaiva śāstras, which—like other śāstras—are designed for those who do not have the capacity to follow the (better) vedic path (DHN^D 109.15–111.3). The Śaivas are twice referred to when Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita seeks to prove that different traditions each have their own idea of *adhikāra*, of “entitlement (to perform rituals),”¹³⁹ and that the existence of such a concept does not *per se* mean that “those entitled to worship” are to be perceived as devalakas (DHN^D 53.5–19). He concerns himself with the consecration (*pratiṣṭhā*) of a śaiva cult image and its worship only in connection with the *Baudhāyanagr̥hyaśeṣasūtra*. He quotes the relevant parts of it in order to demonstrate that the Baudhāyanins—in contrast to the Vaikhānasas—do not accept Nārāyaṇa as the highest god (DHN^D 97.19–98.15).¹⁴⁰ In some places Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita reinterprets eulogies referring to Rudra or Śiva as referring in fact to Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa.¹⁴¹

To sum up, when dealing with the śaiva tradition, Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita is concerned above all to prove that Viṣṇu is more powerful than Śiva/Rudra (see DHN^D 111.1–8).¹⁴² It is quite clear that for Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita the superiority of the vaiṣṇava traditions over against others is self-evident. The much more important area of debate concerns other (competing) vaiṣṇava groups.

Apart from the canonical texts of the tradition, the Vaikhānasasūtra and the Vaikhānasasamhitās, Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita conspicuously does not relate at all to other works by Vaikhānasa authors. He does not refer directly to the other important Vaikhānasa scholar, Nṛsiṃha Vājapeyin, in any of his works. The commentator Nṛsiṃha Vājapeyin most probably lived considerably earlier than Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita: diverse teacher-pupil succession lineages place up to nine generations of scholars between the two (see Appendix 1). Two works by Nṛsiṃha

138 In a quotation from the *Padmapurāṇa* the śaiva purāṇas are categorized as *tāmasa*. Here too the content is of no concern to Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita (DHN^D 88.4–5).

139 On *adhikāra* in a śaiva context see Gengnagel 2001.

140 Here Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita also blames the Āpastambins for following different gods and doctrines (DHN^D 98.16–99.2 and 99.11–12).

141 See, for example, the eulogies of Śiva in the *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad*, referred to and re-interpreted in DHN^D 99.23–101.12, 111.9–14.

142 Rudra is also implicitly subordinated to Nārāyaṇa in DHN^D 81.7ff. There it is reported that Rudra himself originated through *niṣeka*. Most such quotations are found toward the end of the *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa*. These sections of the text have a rather edifying character: rather than difficult lines of argument with many technical terms, here instructive and didactic tales are told (see DHN^D 111.15–115.21 and 116.13–22).

Vājapeyin on domestic ritual have been handed down and printed. These are a sūtra commentary *Vaikhānasakalpasūtrabhāṣya* and the handbook *Vaikhānasa-grhyasūtradarpaṇa*. In the sūtra commentary the author primarily explains the wording of the *Vaikhānasmārtasūtra*; the handbook, by contrast, covers in somewhat more detail the sequence of rites and matters not dealt with in the sūtra. Although Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita does not refer directly to Nṛsiṃha Vājapeyin, in his *Tātparyacintāmaṇi* he obviously picks up on the function of the prenatal life-cycle ritual (protection of the unborn child) which is introduced by Nṛsiṃha Vājapeyin (see 2.2.2.2). Passing over an earlier scholar of his own tradition in this manner is of a piece with Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita's usual way of proceeding, namely to refer only to works generally accepted to be authoritative, which are not ascribed to particular historical authors. The evident purpose is to borrow the “timeless” authority for his own text, and thus to transcend his own historical and sectarian context.

Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita does not refer to other historical Vaikhānasa authors, and other authors do not refer to his works. The only exceptions are Pārthasārathi Bhaṭṭācārya's commentary and his Telugu gloss. Within Vaikhānasa literature the *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa* is, not surprisingly, closely related to another text by Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita, the *Vaikhānasamahimamañjarī* (VMM), which is likewise concerned with highlighting the superiority of the Vaikhānasas. The *Vaikhānasamahimamañjarī* was edited in 1918 in Telugu script, together with a commentary by Sundararāja Bhaṭṭācārya called *Candrikā*, as volume (*kusuma*) 6 of the series *Śrīvaikhānasagranthamālā*. A reprint of this text was published in Tirupati in 1998. The work has so far attracted little attention, even among Vaikhānasa scholars. It mainly deals with the Śrīvaiṣṇava soteriological concept of “taking refuge in Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa” (*śaraṇāgati*, *prapatti*). For long stretches the *Vaikhānasamahimamañjarī* agrees word for word with the *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa* though without explicitly noting the reliance.¹⁴³ Themes mentioned only briefly in the *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa* are deepened and further developed. Thus in the *Vaikhānasamahimamañjarī* Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita identifies elements of the “taking refuge”—primarily the mantras used in it—with ritual elements of the Vaikhānasas' prenatal life cycle ritual viṣṇubali (see 2.2.5.3).

143 VMM 16.26–27 / DHN^D 103.6–7; VMM 16.28 / DHN^D 103.10–11; VMM 16.29 / DHN^D 103.24; VMM 16.29–7.1 / DHN^D 104.21–24; VMM 17.1–4 / DHND 103.14–15; VMM 17.27–28 / DHN^D 104.15–16, VMM 17.28–18.1 / DHN^D 104.17–20; VMM 18.1–5 / DHN^D 104.21–24; VMM 18.6–8 / DHN^D 105.1–5; VMM 18.9–13 / DHN^D 105.6–10; VMM 19.2–14 / DHN^D 105.11–106.7; VMM 19.14–15 / DHN^D 106.14–16; VMM 19.15–21 / DHN^D 106.17–24.

On the one hand the central themes of the *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa* (the right to temple service, the obligation to be branded, the method of taking refuge in Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa, etc.) show that the work itself is a reaction to burning questions of Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita's time, on the other hand in the *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa* he never explicitly refers to these discussions as current in his time. The objections raised against the Vaikhānasa tradition and named in the *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa* are not ascribed to any identifiable personality or tradition. We find there always "if one says ..." or "... this is what is in doubt." Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita thereby transcends the historical conditions of his own life time and shifts the objections as well as his refutations to the "vedic" level, to the level of divine revelation. Conversely, this is also the reason why hardly any later authors explicitly refer to Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita's *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa*, even though the arguments developed therein continue to be used up to the present: the significance of the *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa*, which otherwise has left hardly a trace in the Vaikhānasa literature and the contemporary tradition, lies above all in providing these "timeless" lines of argument.

As shall be argued in what follows, it was not their immediate rivals whom the Vaikhānasas had to resist but rather the Śrīvaiṣṇava religious leaders. The latter are therefore the audience to which the *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa* is addressed. These were not only important for their religious impact, but also for their influence on the rulers. As Appadurai (1978) clearly shows, in South India, between 1350 and 1700, temples were fundamental for the maintenance of the kingship. In this situation the sectarian leaders provided the links between kings and temples: endowments by the king were not necessarily made directly but through them. This dynamic set of relationships between warrior-kings, Śrīvaiṣṇava leaders and temples had important consequences not only for the sectarian development but also for the temples and their "staff," the priests. On the plane of king and sectarian leaders basically an exchange of politics and economics took place: the kings "linked themselves to the temple as a source of honor, through the patronage of sectarian leaders and the re-allocation of land and cash to these sectarian figures" (Appadurai 1978: 62). The temples and with them the priests were dependent on the Śrīvaiṣṇava leaders who were to provide or deny the temples the means to maintain or even enhance their ritual schedule. It is against this background that the discussion raised in the *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa* has to be understood. In Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita's time evidently the idea prevailed that being a 'true Vaiṣṇava' inevitably meant "taking refuge in Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa," which went hand in hand with a branding of the upper arms of the adept. Those who were branded stood higher in the religious hierarchy than those without a brand. Most likely it was the Śrīvaiṣṇavas who pressed the Vaikhānasas to be branded so that in the speci-

al situation of temple worship they were not dependent on priests who were in a ‘unfit’ to perform worship and, most importantly, who did not accept the Śrīvaiṣṇavas as their religious leaders. Since conferring an initiation implies that the initiate is (and forever remains) in the inferior position, the acceptance of the branding on the side of the Vaikhānasas would have established a subordinate position with respect to the Śrīvaiṣṇavas. Although the Vaikhānasas evidently managed to maintain their more independent position, Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita clearly sought to avoid attacking prominent representatives and religious leaders of the Śrīvaiṣṇavas. On the one hand this was surely for diplomatic reasons, especially since they were certainly socially and economically dependent on the Śrīvaiṣṇavas, on the other hand, however, it was also for exactly the reason given above: the arguments became irrefutable and timeless, as they were raised to the “vedic” level.

2 Rituals in the *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa*

2.1 Domestic ritual and temple ritual in the *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa*

2.1.1 The Vaikhānasas' entitlement to perform temple ritual

The ritual tradition of the Vaikhānasas practices both its own repertoire of domestic ritual—codified in the *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra*—and its own repertoire of temple ritual—codified in the *Vaikhānasasaṃhitās*. During Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita's life time the Vaikhānasas were evidently mostly temple priests. Yet in the *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa* temple ritual itself is only marginally dealt with. In both *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa* and *Tātparyacintāmaṇi*, Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita is primarily concerned with the domestic rituals of the Vaikhānasas. However, he does postulate a close connection between domestic and temple ritual: only a Vaikhānasa who has undergone the domestic life-cycle rituals (*saṃskāra*) is entitled to perform temple ritual. A temple priest of the Vaikhānasa tradition must have undergone the eighteen *saṃskāras* listed in the *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra* (see 2.2). According to the *Vaikhānasasaṃhitās* these *saṃskāras* are even more important than other qualifications for the priestly office such as learnedness, knowledge of the Veda etc. (see, e.g. ĀS 3.24). Familial origin—expressed and confirmed through the *saṃskāras*—is thus presented as the primary legitimation to practice the priestly office in the Vaikhānasa tradition. Qualifications subsequently acquired such as learning, skillfulness, etc. can only be supplementary but are not the fundamental prerequisite. The Vaikhānasa *saṃskāras* thus represent, as it were, a bridge between two apparently irreconcilable “ritual disciplines.” As “vedic” rituals the *saṃskāras* confirm the Vaikhānasas' accordance with the Veda. At the same time they entitle them to carry out temple ritual, which is at best only marginally mentioned in the vedic textual corpus. This close connection of vedic ritual and temple ritual is taken further in those *saṃhitā* passages where temple ritual is equated with the performance of vedic śrauta sacrifice.¹⁴⁴ The charge of neglecting the performance of śrauta ritual and the study of the Veda (see Kane 1974b:

144 See Ramachandra Rao 1990: 72–73; Colas 1996: 49, 193, 283f., 350f.; Varadachari 1982: 107. In the *Vaikhānasasaṃhitās* the five vedic sacrificial fires are identified with the five *mūrtis* in the temple (see Krick 1977: 88; see also Colas 1996: 267ff). Another strategy is adopted in *Ānandasāṃhitā* 4.44ff. There Viṣṇu is said to have ordained that the rituals in *sūtra* and *smṛti* which are not carried out by the Vaikhānasas, are still to be considered as “being performed,” because they are performed by the Ṛṣis on the Vaikhānasas' behalf.

711) is thus countered by including temple ritual, too, in the “vedic” realm for the Vaikhānasas.

2.1.2 Temple priests as *devalakas*

Some of the Vaikhānasasamhitās and certainly the *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa* make clear that a legitimization of sorts through the authority of the Veda was absolutely necessary. The temple priests had long had a low status among the different Brahman subcastes, and were labelled with the pejorative term *devalaka*. In several places in the *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa* Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita seeks to demonstrate that the Vaikhānasas are by no means *devalakas*. The Vaikhānasas’ approach to what appears at first sight to be an irresolvable dichotomy between vedic ritual and temple priesthood will be considered here on the basis of the discussion of the idea of *devalaka* in the *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa*. In order to clarify the basic issue, a short account of the usages of the word *devalaka* follows.¹⁴⁵

Already in the oldest layers of Brahmanic literature differences between diverse Brahmans are described. These differences rest on relative purity and impurity which depends, among other things, on their activities. By no means all Brahmans are or were “priests,”¹⁴⁶ nor are all “priests” Brahmans. Those Brahmans whose activities were non-religious were often assigned a lower status by the texts (see Kane 1974b: 130). There were however also divisions which rested solely on religious or ritual differences. Some of these factors change the status of a Brahman for the better,¹⁴⁷ but some are polluting factors, which result in a diminished status. Here Kane (1974a: 132) quotes a statement of one Śāṭātpa, according to whom six groups of born Brahmans cannot be counted as such. These are, for example, Brahmans who sacrifice “for many,” who sacrifice “for the whole village,” or who are “employed by a village or town.” Here, ritual activity for others, or as a profession, is regarded negatively. However, the term *devalaka* is not used there. While *devalaka* in its original meaning referred most probably—without disparaging connotation—to a person who carries a divine image,¹⁴⁸ *devalaka* is used in a broader sense, namely as temple priest, in many

145 In what follows I rely above all on Colas 1996: 133ff.

146 I use the term “priest” here throughout for ritual specialists who perform rituals on behalf of others.

147 See, for example, the diverse categories of Brahmans mentioned in *Baudhāyanagrhyasūtra* 1.7 or in *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra* 1.1 (see 2.2). This division is also referred to by Devala (quoted by Aparārka; see Kane 1974a: 131f.).

148 See Banerjea 1956: 40. However, in the *Sātvatasamhitā* of the Pāñcarātra tradition, which is one of the older samhitās, the meaning “bearer of an image of god” is used

smṛti texts. In many cases the texts place a negative accent on the term.¹⁴⁹ In two commentaries a passage is cited according to which devalakas “live off god’s wealth,” which here is clearly meant negatively. Some commentators on Manu distinguish more carefully, in that they do not disparage the devakala in general. According to them a devalaka is the servant of an image of god. These are differentiated on the basis of their conduct: only those devalakas who practice their office as a profession for more than three years are judged negatively.¹⁵⁰ Yāmunācārya, a predecessor of Rāmānuja, also takes a position on the devaluation of the devakalas in his *Āgamapramāṇya*. In his account the practice of worshipping of god for a living is a family tradition of the devalakas.¹⁵¹ In general a negative connotation attaches to the term *devalaka* when it is understood to refer to a professional temple priest. Other texts, such as the vaiṣṇava and śaiva āgamas and saṃhitās but also many smṛtis, put the devalaka in a low category on the basis of the school followed, not on the basis of the profession as temple priest. These devalakas are regarded as ritually impure and the doctrine represented by them is not recognized or is subordinated to one’s own doctrine. It emerged from conversation with several Vaikhānasas that today the accusation that they are devalakas is never, or only seldom, raised. However, although the term is not used, even today temple priests have a rather low status. Throughout India they are far below the diverse other Brahman subcastes in the socio-religious hierarchy.¹⁵² Only the Brahmans responsible for the funeral rituals have a lower status.¹⁵³

Then as now, this low view of temple priests is conditioned by several factors. Michaels (1994: 305–310) provides an outline explanation. The vedic religion knew no permanent temple and the place of sacrifice existed only for the

throughout in a pejorative sense. There it is said that one should neither see, touch nor speak with a devalaka. Moreover it is said of the devalaka that he earns a living by going around with the image of Viṣṇu (Colas 1996: 133; see SātvataS 21.19–20). This passage is repeated *verbatim* in the *Īśvarasaṃhitā* (22.19–20). Colas (1996: 134) points out that the old etymological derivation of the term *devalaka* as bearer of an image was probably not originally connected with the temple cult, but rather with an itinerant cult, which can still be observed in India today.

149 Thus according to Manu (ManuDhŚ 3.152) devalakas are not even to be invited to death rituals (see Kane 1974b: 711). Devalakas are also represented negatively in the *Mahābhārata* (see MBh 12.77.8, 13 App. 4.3251–2, 13.24.14 and 13.90.10).

150 See Kane 1974a: 109, note 232; see also Colas 1996: 135, fn. 2.

151 See Colas 1996: 134; see Pratap 1995: 50–51.

152 Presler (1978) gives an informative account and analysis of the efforts of the South India Arcaka Association in the second half of the twentieth century to counter the low regard for the arcakas. See also Fuller 2003: chapter 5.

153 See Bhattacharya 1896: 25; Fuller 1984, chapter 3; Reiniche 1989: 170–173.

duration of the sacrifice itself and was afterwards dissolved. By virtue of their birth, the priests were in a position to summon the gods. The maintenance of this exclusivity was made more difficult by an increasingly sedentary way of life and the ethnic and cultural mixture thus brought about.¹⁵⁴ This was accompanied by, on the one hand, an ever more polished art of sacrifice, and on the other, by an intensified critique of vedic sacrifice and the position of priests. These are the roots, Michaels argues, of the continuing Brahmanic scepticism toward temples: a temple as a permanent place for the gods requires the worshipper to leave the house which is comparatively secured against ritual impurities. It implies contact with strangers and their impurities, and the difficulty of preserving relative purity in general. Those who are permanently exposed to these impurities, the temple priests, were therefore viewed with suspicion. The acceptance of gifts, which is normally polluting, also plays an important role here. While the status of the temple priests is high in so far as they act as intermediaries between believers and god, it is nevertheless low in that contact with the devotees and their gifts is ritually polluting: the relative impurity of the giver is accepted together with the gift (see also Colas 1996: 135). Moreover, unlike the domestic priest, the temple priest is rarely in the position to choose the giver. This explains why in the above-mentioned negative judgements of temple priests in ancient Indian literature regular “payment” (gifts) to priests is criticized most of all. Other explanatory models for the low status of temple priests refer to the differences from the “ideal Brahman.” Thus Kane (1974b: 711) states that the low view of the temple priest is connected with the fact that they have neglected the “principal” duty of a Brahman, namely the performance of śrauta rituals.¹⁵⁵ The response of the Vaikhānasas to these reproaches is discussed here.

The accusation that the Vaikhānasas are *devalakas* is first countered in the *Vaikhānasasamhitās*, as Colas shows. The terms *devala* and *devalaka* are used more often in the later than in the earlier *saṃhitās*.¹⁵⁶ In what follows I summarize Colas’s findings.

154 This may also be connected with the fact that, as Baines (1912: 27) suspects, the deities worshipped in temples were originally “non-aryan” and were only gradually accepted into the Brahmanic pantheon.

155 As convincing as these explanatory models are, group-specific and regional factors are also influential in ranking within the caste hierarchy, as is clear from the example of the Brahman priests of the Mīnākṣī temple (see Fuller 1984: 49–54).

156 I could identify no response to such an accusation in the *Pāñcarātrasamhitās*. Apart from the above-mentioned passages in the *Sātvata-* and *Īśvarasamhitā* only the *Parāśarasamhitā* 1.42–43 deals with this issue: “He who worships Viṣṇu for three days on behalf of others in return for payment, is in truth to be called *devalaka*, and is excluded from all

In *Kriyādhikāra* 36.32–33 the term devalaka is used in a negative sense for temple priests who practice their office for money or material goods. Here the followers of the Vaikhānasasūtra are not explicitly excluded from this negative evaluation. In the *Prakīrṇādhikāra* we find two different definitions of a devalaka: according to *Prakīrṇādhikāra* 35.477–483 a devalaka carries out worship for money and is therefore to be excluded from all rituals. Notable here is that the fault is put on the sponsor of the ritual (*yajamāna*), whose duty it is to give the temple priests land, and not money or goods, in return for their service. In *Prakīrṇādhikāra* 18.24 a devalaka is described as a non-Vaikhānasa Brahman who worships Viṣṇu in the temple. He is excluded from all rituals. This definition is repeated almost word for word in *Ānandasamhitā* 3.23,¹⁵⁷ where it is also demonstrated in detail why the Vaikhānasas are to be excluded from this accusation. As the Vaikhānasas are explicitly said to be Vaiṣṇavas even before birth (*garbhavaiṣṇava*, see 2.2.3) and, as it were, born to do temple service, this accusation does not apply to them. In order to explain why only the Vaikhānasas are eligible to be temple priests, and cannot be devalakas, *Ānandasamhitā* 3.24ff. argues that the Vaikhānasasūtra is the only vedic sūtra which prescribes worship on behalf of others (*parārtha*) as well as worship for oneself (*ātmārtha/svārtha*).¹⁵⁸ The question of whether the Vaikhānasas may make a living from temple service is dealt with in *Ānandasamhitā* 4.84–85: Viṣṇu himself permitted the Vaikhānasas to use his goods. The possessions of the god serve not only the rituals of the shrine, but also the Vaikhānasa priests and their families. *Ānandasamhitā* 17.14 goes still further: Viṣṇu himself has said that benefitting from his possessions brings spiritual liberation to a Vaikhānasa, provided it is accompanied by worship and meditation on Viṣṇu's name. Should misfortune make it necessary, the Vaikhānasas may sell land belonging to the temple and even the image of the god (see ĀS 4.87).

Colas summarizes that in particular the later Vaikhānasasamhitās defend the Vaikhānasas against the accusation of being devakalas. The most important ar-

rituals. He who worships Viṣṇu, the rich, in order to fulfill his desires or for riches, is in truth to be called devakala and is excluded from all rituals.”

157 *Ānandasamhitā* 4.79–82 distinguishes between kalpadevalakas, karmadevalakas and śuddhadevalakas. A kalpadevalaka strives for worldly pleasures, a karmadevalaka is a temple priest who has not been initiated and has held the office for three years without having been appointed to it by an ācārya, and the śuddhadevalaka carries out worship in a village or in the houses of others, as a result of which he is excluded from all rituals. Colas (1996: 136 and note 6) suggests—with reference to the quotation from the *Saṅkṛṣāṇasamhitā* in DHN^D 63.10–19—that this is a borrowing from a non-Vaikhānasa source.

158 Here reference is made to *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra* 4.10–12; see Colas 1996: 137f.

guments are, as we could see, the “vedic” character of the tradition and the privileges granted by Viṣṇu himself.

These statements in the later Vaikhānasasamḥitās pave the way for Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita’s understanding of devalaka. He leaves no room for doubt that the Vaikhānasas could not possibly be devalakas.¹⁵⁹ In considering the fundamental question of who then should be considered a devalaka, Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita begins from a definition of the devalaka as a temple priest who, for a period of more than three years, makes a living from worship of the deity (DHN^D 52.22–23). He argues first that not all worship of a deity makes the performing person a devalaka, for this would include even domestic worship, which is repeatedly prescribed in śruti, smṛti, purāṇas etc. (DHN^D 52.24–53.2). Next he quotes some passages from the *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra*, *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* and the *Ṛgvedasamḥitā* which in his interpretation lay down that the deity should be worshipped in his five forms (*mūrti*). Defying authorities such as these is “fruitless” (DHN^D 53.6–17). Once it has been clarified that the worship of Viṣṇu does not, of itself, result in one being described as a devalaka, Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita turns to the next question, namely whether in principle those who “use the goods of others” in order to carry out the ritual in the temple (DHN^D 53.17) are devalakas. This Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita denies, as this too is prescribed in many places in the śruti, smṛti and the purāṇas (DHN^D 53.18–19). As evidence he quotes the section of the *Ānandasamḥitā*, according to which the Vaikhānasas can very well make use of “the goods of the deity” and may even sell the image of the deity (DHN^D 54.4–5).

Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita’s basic position is thus clear: neither the worship of Viṣṇu in the temple, nor the living thereby derived implies that the Vaikhānasas are devalakas. Here, however, reference to other groups is missing.¹⁶⁰

The question of what then actually makes a devalaka is discussed elsewhere by Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita. Descent (birth) or conduct (ethics / morality) are the alternatives suggested (DHN^D 56.1–5). Since it is nowhere stated that “birth” makes a person a devalaka, “action” is considered. Here, “action” is classified into “prescribed action” and “not prescribed action.” Actions prescribed by authorita-

159 He does not cite the relevant passages from *Kriyādhikāra* and *Prakīrṇādhikāra*, dealt with above.

160 The situation is similar in *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa* 61.13–16, where Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita again explicitly takes up the question of whether the Vaikhānasas are to be considered devalakas. Here he quotes a passage from the *Mahābhārata* which describes the devalakas as impure persons, who are not suitable for certain rituals (MBh 13.90ff.). This passage of the *Mahābhārata* cannot, however, be referring to the Vaikhānasas for, as Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita explains, Vyāsa, the narrator of the *Mahābhārata*, has therein describes the Vaikhānasas as “dear to Indra.”

tive texts cannot possibly result in a negative judgement of the concerned persons, for this would imply that one denies the authority of śruti, smṛti, itihāsa, sūtra and purāṇa. The closing verse demonstrates that Viṣṇu himself has ordained that śruti and smṛti are to be followed unconditionally. It is explicitly stated there that the “loving devotion toward the deity” (*bhakti*) alone is not sufficient (DHN^D 56.6–7). Accordingly, Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita concludes that only actions *not* prescribed in śruti and smṛti, or contravention of these regulations makes one a devalaka (DHN^D 56.8). With these two passages Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita clears the ground for his own devalaka concept. He goes into detail on this issue from page 63 of the *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa*. Implicitly he assumes that a devalaka may be described as one who carries out “acts not prescribed in śruti and smṛti” or acts in a way contrary to them. The question remains whether what is said in śruti, smṛti and purāṇa about the Vaikhānasas is valid for all (DHN^D 63.1–3). The answer is introduced with a definition of a devalaka from within the Vaikhānasa tradition (DHN^D 63.5–9): a non-Vaikhānasa Brahman who worships Viṣṇu in the temple is a devalaka and is therefore excluded from the sacrifice. Moreover one who is born in a Vaikhānasa family but has undergone a Pāñcarātra initiation counts as belonging neither to the Vaikhānasa nor to the Pāñcarātra tradition, but as a devalaka—just like one who performs temple service out of greed, hate or blindness. Here it is not the Pāñcarātrins in general, but once again rather non-Vaikhānasa Brahmans and, for the first time, especially “apostates” from the Vaikhānasa to the Pāñcarātra tradition, who are described as devalakas. Here once again the primary criterion for settling the question of whether or not a temple priest is to be described as a devalaka is that a person must above all follow the prescriptions given in his own authoritative texts and must not act contrary to “what is said in śruti, smṛti and purāṇas.” To follow one’s own rules is each Brahman’s first duty. For the Vaikhānasas this first duty is directly connected to their descent. Although a vedic branch is not in principle connected to the family, in the case of the Vaikhānasīśākhā this is actually the case, for one can only be a Vaikhānasa when both one’s father as well as one’s mother stem from a Vaikhānasa family. Those who do not come from the Vaikhānasa tradition are excluded from the entitlement or obligation to worship Viṣṇu in the temple as a temple priest. Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita later tries to lend an air of universal validity to his own concept by having recourse to other traditions. He quotes some other definitions of devalaka,¹⁶¹ offering them as evidence for his own definiti-

161 First he quotes the Pāñcarātrasaṃhitā *Saṅkaraṣaṇasaṃhitā* (DHN^D 63.10–19) and the śaiva text *Śivaśekharatantra* (DHN^D 63.21–64.7). Both texts include a division between the three categories karmadevalaka, kalpadevalaka and śuddhadevalaka which are, how-

on, according to which a devalaka is a person who worships god in a way not prescribed in his śāstra or a person who worships gods other than Viṣṇu (DHN^D 64.18–19).

Then he lays the foundation for the central point of his own position: he explicitly establishes the connection between “not being in agreement with the Veda” and devalakas on the basis of an etymology of the word devalaka.¹⁶² In this way he prepares the ground for the argument that the Vaikhānasas, who have established the vedic worship of Viṣṇu, can on no account be considered devalakas. Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita then cites a verse from one Atri in the text *Smṛtyarthasāra* which serves as a summary and proof of his own statements on devalaka. This verse refers to worship in accordance with the Veda and to motivation—the worship should not be carried out for material goods. Precisely these are the two key issues: on the one hand the ethicization of the entitlement to performance of temple service through the reference to the motivation, on the other hand accordance with the Veda which in the case of the Vaikhānasas refers ultimately to their descent. What is new here, however, is the element of loving devotion (*bhakti*) to Viṣṇu as a precondition for not being considered a devalaka (DHN^D 65.5–6):

The one who worships Viṣṇu in the manner prescribed by the Vedas with bhakti, without pride and greed, he is not a devalaka.

This understanding of devalaka clearly implies that nobody apart from the Vaikhānasas is eligible to worship Viṣṇu in a temple, as does the following statement (DHN^D 38.4–38.15):

The invocation of Hari in a temple by Brahmans who do not follow the Vaikhānasasūtra leads to the destruction of all the worlds. If worship is performed by non-Vaikhānasa Brahmans in the temple out of ignorance or out of greediness or

ever, differently described. Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita does not, however, mention the corresponding division in the *Ānandasamhitā* (4.79ff.). He goes on to quote the corresponding definitions from the *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāna*, the *Viṣṇupurāna* and a *smṛti* (DHN^D 64.8–17). I was not able to find any of these quotations in the printed texts.

162 DHN^D 64.20–24: “Moreover: ‘*dharma* is called *vṛṣa* and he who causes its destruction (*laya*), the gods know him as *vṛṣa-la*, he is lower even than one who cooks dog’s meat.’ As the word *vṛṣala* is derived in the sense of the cause of the destruction of the way prescribed by the Vedas and śāstras, so is it possible to derive the word *devalaka* in the sense of promoting the destruction of way prescribed by the vedas from the root *div*, which connotes *krīḍā-vijigīṣā-vyavahāra-dyuti-stuti-moda-mada-svapna-kānti-gati*. And as *gati* is a synonym of *mārga* (way; therefore the word *devalaka*) it being opposite to those who establish the way prescribed by the Vedas i.e. the Vaikhānasas, is completely inapplicable to them.” Here Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita refers to the root *div*, from which *deva* is derived.

even out of fear, (this leads to the) destruction of everything. If a non-Vaikhānasa Brahman performs worship in a temple, after six months he falls and even goes to the hell. If a non-Vaikhānasa Brahman, even if versed in the four Vedas together with its secondary components [‘limbs’ of the Vedas i.e. *śikṣā*, *kalpa*, *chanda*, etc.], performs worship in a temple, then that devala falls immediately. The Brahman who is a non-Vaikhānasa and worships Hari in a temple, he is called devalaka and is excluded from all (ritual) actions. One should avoid speaking with such a Brahman, to see him and especially to touch him, and even to invite him for śrāddha etc.

“The Brahman falls after six months,” “he immediately falls, he is called devala,” even if he “knows the four Vedas.”¹⁶³ Not even knowledge of the Veda (with its auxiliary sciences) protects a non-Vaikhānasa from being seen as a devalaka. Being in accordance with the Veda (*vaidikatva*), which the Vaikhānasas time and again claim for themselves, is thus only a secondary virtue, which is only effective when combined with membership of the Vaikhānasa tradition.¹⁶⁴

In Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita’s opinion such definitions of devala/devalaka rest on the idea of “one’s own dharma”: worship of the deity “for oneself” (*ātmārtha*) as well as “for others” (*parārtha*) is prescribed only for the vedic Vaikhānasa tradition. However, as this vedic school is inseparably bound up with the Vaikhānasas’ descent, anyone who provides service in a Viṣṇu temple who is not from a Vaikhānasa family is regarded as a devalaka. In these passages, the term nevertheless does not refer to a specifically mentioned group. Elsewhere Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita is more precise and describes both the followers of other sūtras, as well as the Pāñcarātrins, as devalakas. The context there is discussion of whether the Pāñcarātrins and those who belong to a sūtra other than the Vaikhānasasūtra follow the division of the day into five ritual sections (*pañcakāla*). Pañcakāla is a means to worship Viṣṇu, structuring the daily individual ritual, and at the same time the basic model for the daily schedule of temple rituals.¹⁶⁵ According to Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita this is in fact an important criterion for being a true adherent of

163 Moreover, should it actually come about that a temple cannot be attended to entirely by Vaikhānasas, even after after six months the Vaikhānasas’ claims to worship therein is not invalidated. Measures are named for removing the impurities contracted by the image of the deity through the touch of a person outside the Vaikhānasa tradition, and the degree of impurity and thereby also the required expiation are determined by the duration of the unauthorized worship (see DHN^D 38.16–39.9).

164 Here we find a structural correspondence with the processes which Michaels (1998) has identified for Hindu religions at large: “the social order is largely determined by identifications indicating systems of kinship and community life, originally derived from sacrificial rituals and then transferred to lineage.”

165 See the detailed discussion in Rastelli 2000 and 2006: 63–90.

Nārāyaṇa. He nevertheless also mentions several other criteria, which make a person “not entitled (to temple service)” (*anadhikārin*) and thereby a devalaka (DHN^D 47.13–19):

But, in those (other) sūtras there is not even the explanation of the real meaning etc. of the twelve-syllabic (mantra).¹⁶⁶ Then by the reasoning that ‘(only where) a wall is, (can one) paint a picture (on it)’, for those following other sūtras which are devoid of the explanation of (the right way) of wearing the sacred thread, of worship during dusk,¹⁶⁷ and of invoking the Adorable One etc., there is not even the smell of the complete devotion of pañcakāla etc. (Likewise) those who follow the sūtras which propagate the worship of other gods like Rudra etc. as equal to Nārāyaṇa, because there is the absence of the knowledge about the division into four vyūhas and about the real nature of invoking the Adorable One. The devalaka character of the one who does not have the entitlement (to perform Viṣṇu’s worship) is propounded, (since) he invokes the Adorable One according to the way prescribed in other (than the Vaikhānasa) sūtras, or according to the way prescribed by the Pāñcarātra (system of worship).

Then Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita seeks to prove that the Pāñcarātrins are deficient with regard to the god(s) they worship. According to quotations from the Pāñcarātra text *Viṣvaksenasamhitā*, which are in part given in the printed edition of the text, for the Pāñcarātrins the iconography of Nārāyaṇa and Vighneśa (Gaṇeśa) are all but interchangeable (DHN^D 47.21–48.6). Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita concludes that Nārāyaṇa is not actually the highest god in this tradition. This leads him to a second point: if the Pāñcarātrins do not accept Nārāyaṇa unconditionally as their highest god, they cannot possibly perform pañcakāla (DHN^D 48.7–10). Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita thus posits a direct connection between the recognition and worship of other gods and the “correct” execution of pañcakāla.¹⁶⁸ In this understanding it is only by following pañcakāla that a person who performs temple rituals can avoid being considered a devalaka.

Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita concludes by falling back on the argument developed in *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa* 56.1–5: only those who act contrary to the instructions in the śāstras can be described as devalakas. Being a temple priest cannot in itself make one a devalaka, for otherwise the relevant rules in the authoritative texts would be meaningless (DHN^D 65.7–8). Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita moreover refutes the objection that even worship of Viṣṇu carried out in ignorance leads to heaven, and hence that worship carried out “without śāstra” or worship carried out

166 The twelve syllabic mantra is: *om namo bhagavate vāsudevāya*.

167 Sandhyopāsana or sandhyāvandana; see Colas 1996: 253.

168 A similar idea is given in the *Pārameśvarasamhitā* 9.48: temples erected by Brahmans devoted to pañcakāla and the four vyūhas alone are “the best” (see Rastelli 2006: 83).

without entitlement must likewise lead to heaven, by noting that such worship is contrary to the commands of Viṣṇu (DHN^D 65.9–10).¹⁶⁹

In his *Daśavidhaheturirūpaṇa* Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita presents a truly coherent concept of a devalaka. He does not question the traditional definition as a negative term for a temple priest as such. Rather he excludes only the Vaikhānasas from this definition in that implies that such criticism is quite legitimate, but only if directed at non-Vaikhānasas.¹⁷⁰ In this way he uses the accusation that the Vaikhānasas are devalakas for establishing a demarcation over against other groups, which rests on membership of their tradition and therefore also on the Vaikhānasas' birth status. While doing so he appeals to the incontestable authority of the Veda and thereby seeks to make the position of the Vaikhānasas itself incontestable. Thus he claims that the Vaikhānasas confirm with the “prescriptions in śruti, smṛti, purāṇas etc.,” which attests to their *vaidikatva*, their “being in accordance with the Veda.” Only for them it is prescribed “by the Veda” that they should worship the deity “for themselves” and “for others” (*ātmārtha/parārtha*). Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita thus constructs a specific Vaikhānasa identity, which is derived from the regulations in their authoritative texts, but which is also inseparably bound up with their group membership and thus ultimately from their origin or descent. This identity has an almost “physical” quality (see Giesen 1999: 19f.), and certainly has physical consequences: Viṣṇu himself not only commissioned the Vaikhānasas to worship him, but even allow them to live “from his goods.” Conversely Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita emphasizes repeatedly that all those who do this without the corresponding commands in their own authoritative texts are in fact devalakas. Such a line of argument in principle is applicable also to the Pāñcarātrins, whose entire saṃhitā literature—like that of the Vaikhānasas—contains regulations for the worship of Viṣṇu in the temple. Nevertheless, Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita explicitly categorizes the Pāñcarātrins as devalakas, arguing that for the Pāñcarātrins Nārāyaṇa is not actually the highest god. This renders them devalakas. The Vaikhānasas, by contrast, recognize Nārāyaṇa as the highest god, as he

169 Yet another qualifying characteristic, namely taking refuge in the lotus feet of Viṣṇu (here: *viṣṇupādābhjaśraya*), is certified by Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita for the Vaikhānasas in a quotation from the *Vṛddhahārītasṃṛti* (DHN^D 65.3–4). This “taking refuge in Viṣṇu” (*prapatti*) according to Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita takes place in the Vaikhānasa tradition through the prenatal saṃskāra viṣṇubali (see 2.2.5.2–3). On the basis of this passage Eggers (1929: 17) suggests that the *Vṛddhahārītasṃṛti* is closely related to the Vaikhānasas. See also Krick 1977: 90f.

170 The only exception he mentions here is a Vaikhānasa who converted to the Pāñcarātra tradition.

shows in his discussion of the ritual division of the day into five sections (*pañcakāla*).

The appeal to the traditional authority of the Vedas is also reflected in Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita's method: he quotes above all from non-sectarian texts of almost pan-Indian significance and authority. Despite this certainly intentional non-sectarian and "timeless" approach, these passages in the *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa* clearly point out that Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita was concerned with burning issues of his time, and was reacting to criticism of his tradition.¹⁷¹ However, on the basis of the texts of the tradition it is entirely unclear whether, and to what extent, Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita's explanations on this topic were received directly by his contemporaries. It is evident, however, that through his work Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita made important arguments available to the Vaikhānasas with which they later did respond to similar challenges.¹⁷²

2.2 Vaikhānasa life-cycle rituals (*saṃskāra*)

The life-cycle rituals (*saṃskāra*) of the Vaikhānasas are very important in Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita's *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa*. Two of the "ten reasons why the Vaikhānasas are superior" refer directly to the *saṃskāras*: "5: because (the Vaikhānasasūtra) has *niṣeka* as its first ritual; 6: because it teaches the eighteen bodily *saṃskāras*." Indirect reference is also made to the *saṃskāras* in the explanation of some of the other reasons: the Vaikhānasasūtra is supposed to follow the way of the *śruti* in all (its) rituals, it teaches all its rituals with mantras, and it contains the totality of rituals together with their components. And indeed the *saṃskāras* of the Vaikhānasas do play a significant role in defining the religious and

171 It may be gathered from his remarks that profiting from the goods received by the god or the temple had also been challenged. Such criticism is probably to be expected from the donors rather than from competing groups in temple service such as the Pāñcarātrins, since they also derived their living from temple service.

172 In the literature after the *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa* the "devalaka" theme seldom plays a role. It is dealt with in passing in the sixth chapter of the *Mokṣapāyapradīpikā*, in Bharadvāja Nṛsiṃhācārya's *Arcanatilaka* (2.24) and in Rāghavācārya's *Gṛhyasūtradharmanirṇaya* (pp. 20f. and 48–51). Two very short works by Mahārāja Vatsapāyin Jagapatirāju Rāya (*Vaikhānasāropitadevalakatvanirākaraṇa* and *Vaikhānasadharmacandrikā*) in Sanskrit and Telugu are concerned primarily with the devalaka accusation. They use obviously identical quotations to Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita and similarly come to the conclusion: "It is proven a hundred times over that the Vaikhānasas are not devalakas." The text *Vaikhānasavijaya* of Uttamur T. Vātsyasaccakravartī Vīra Rāghavācārya (Tirupati 1963), deals briefly with devalaka, without adding anything new to the discussion.

ritual identity of this group on both the conceptual level and on the level of performance.

Then as now the performance of saṃskāras is based on the way they are presented in the *Vaikhānasmārtasūtra*, which is referred to repeatedly. Before a detailed analysis of the treatment of one specific saṃskāra central to the Vaikhānasa's self-understanding, namely viṣṇubali (2.2.2ff.), a few words shall be said on saṃskāras as life-cycle rituals in general and among the Vaikhānasa in particular, since these do in fact differ from other sūtra traditions. Here special attention shall be given to the prenatal saṃskāras.

Saṃskāras are life-cycle rituals which are carried out for a male member of the three twice-born varṇas: when he reaches a new stage of life, the transition is accomplished and marked by a saṃskāra.¹⁷³ These are social as well as ritual events to which the family in a broader sense is invited. The ritual parts are led by a priest (*bṛhaspati*, *purohita*, *ācārya*). By far the best known, most costly and most important saṃskāras are the initiation of a boy into the study of the Veda (*upanayana*), and marriage (*vivāha*), which makes the Veda student into an independent householder with the right (and duty) to perform sacrifices on his own. The marriage simultaneously marks the transition of the woman into the family of her husband and is often described as “the first saṃskāra” for a woman. The rituals connected with death (*antyeṣṭi*) also remain important for both women and men.

The term saṃskāra is rendered “life-cycle ritual” here. In the older vedic literature the word saṃskāra does not appear, although verb forms derived from *saṃ-s-kr* do. These are for the most part used in the sense of “perfecting” or “making fit.”¹⁷⁴ Domestic rituals, for which there is already evidence in the vedic saṃhitās, are only later referred to by the term saṃskāra (see M.S. Bhatt 1987: 103ff.). The only gṛhyasūtra which uses the term saṃskāra for these domestic life-cycle rituals is the *Vaikhānasmārtasūtra*, the latest of the gṛhyasūtras. However, although these rituals are not termed saṃskāra in most gṛhyasūtras, these texts deal systematically and in detail with what later came to be called saṃskāras, and later works on domestic rituals refer constantly to the gṛhyasūtras when they discuss the saṃskāras and their performance. Various purposes, functions or meanings are ascribed to these life-cycle rituals. In the *Pūrvamīmāṃsāsūtra* of Jaimini saṃskāra refers to a purificatory act in the context of sac-

173 This statement is only true for Brahmanic ritual texts. In practice, however, there are in fact many life-cycle rituals also performed for women (girls) and “non-twiceborn” castes.

174 See Kane 1974a: 190f. Kapani (1992/93: 5) adds that in the brāhmaṇas the verbs *saṃ-s-kr*- and *abhi-saṃ-s-kr*- are used in close connection to sacrificial activity.

rifice. In one place *saṃskāra* stands for the specific life-cycle ritual *upanayana*.¹⁷⁵ The commentator on this work, Śabara, explains that *saṃskāras* qualify one for particular actions. According to the *Tantravārttika* the *saṃskāras* are those actions or rituals which “make one fit” in that they create new qualities.¹⁷⁶ In the extensive encyclopedia *Vīramitrodaya* of Mitramiśra, *saṃskāra* is defined as a special quality which inheres in the soul or in the body and which is activated through the performance of rituals prescribed in the *śāstras* (see Kane 1974a: 191).

A *saṃskāra* is thus perceived by most authors as qualifying a person for particular actions or/and eliminating ritual impurities. As Kane (1974a: 192) summarizes: “The *saṃskāras* had been treated from very ancient times as necessary for unfolding the latent capacities of man for development and as being the outward symbols or signs of the inner change which would fit human beings for corporate life and they also tended to confer a certain status on those who underwent them.” The *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra* presents a hierarchy of Brahmins on the basis of the *saṃskāras* they have undergone, clearly illustrating these functions of the life-cycle rituals:¹⁷⁷

A *putramātra* (“only a son”) is one who is just born from a Brahmin out of a Brahmin woman;¹⁷⁸ he is endowed with the *saṃskāras* from *niṣeka* to *jātaka*. He who is endowed with (the *saṃskāra*) *upanayana* is a *Brāhmaṇa*, because of the study of the *savitṛī* (mantra). Having learnt the *Veda*, being endowed with the *saṃskāras* relating to the body up to marriage (*pāṇigrahaṇa*), he is a *śrotriya* as soon as he is also offering the sacrifices of cooked food (*pākayajña*). One who has kindled his fire, who is keen on studying (the *Veda*), through the sacrifices of *havis* (*haviryajña*) is an *anūcāna*. Through the sacrifices to soma (*somayajña*) he is even a *bhrūṇa*. Being endowed with these *saṃskāras*, due to (the practise of) *niyama* and *yama*, he is a *Rṣikalpa* (“equal to a *Rṣi*”).¹⁷⁹ Because of (the knowledge) of the four *Vedas* with their limbs, because of *tapas* and *yoga*, he is a *Rṣi*. One whose highest goal is *Nārāyaṇa*, without *dvandva*,¹⁸⁰ is a *Muni*. Thus, in

175 See Kane 1974a: 190, with reference to *Pūrvamīmāṃsāsūtra* III.8.3 and VI.1.35.

176 See Kane 1974a: 190f.; see B.K. Smith 1989: 91f.

177 *VaikhSmS* 1.1: *niṣekād ā jātakāt saṃskṛtāyām brāhmaṇyām brāhmaṇāj jātamātraḥ putramātraḥ. upanītaḥ sāvitṛyadhyayanād brāhmaṇo. vedam adhītya śārirair ā pāṇigrahaṇāt saṃskṛtaḥ pākayajñair api yajan śrotriyaḥ. svādhyāyapara āhitāgnir haviryajñair apy anūcānaḥ. somayajñair api bhrūṇaḥ. saṃskārair etair upeto niyamayamābhyaṃ ṛṣikalpaḥ. sāṅgacaturvedatapyogād ṛṣiḥ nārāyaṇaparāyaṇo nirdvandvo munir iti saṃskāravīśeṣāt pūrvāt pūrvāt paro varīyān iti vijñāyate.*

178 On the significance of the *saṃskāras* for the mother, see 2.2.2.

179 These are the terms “discipline” and “restraint” from *yoga* (see Colas 1996: 31f.).

180 Caland translates with reference to Nṛsiṃha Vājapeyin’s *Bhāṣya* (1929: 2 and note 35): “Being intent on *Nārāyaṇa* (i.e. *Viṣṇu*) and indifferent to opposite pairs of feelings (pleasure and pain, etc.) he becomes a *Muni*.”

consequence of the particularity of each preceding saṃskāra respectively, he becomes the most excellent, thus it is taught.

This hierarchy is thus directly derived from the saṃskāras a (potential) Brahman has undergone (*śārīra*) or has himself carried out (*yajña*).¹⁸¹ The categories Ṛṣi-kalpa, Ṛṣi and Muni have in addition special physical and mental capacities, and exclusive devotion to (Viṣṇu as) Nārāyaṇa is described as the best quality of all.¹⁸² Thus according to the *Vaikhānasaśmārtasūtra* the minimal qualification for being a Brahman is to be born as the child of a Brahman couple and to have undergone the upanayana initiation. Maintaining the daily ritual fire and performance of the several categories of sacrifices is evidently optional, as is full devotion to Nārāyaṇa.

The conception of the saṃskāras expressed here is summarized by B.K. Smith (1989: 83) as follows: “Humans [...] are the result of both their inborn potential and their realization of it, and these two components come in unequal portions. Intrinsic, inherent potential and the actualization of that potential through a personal record of ritual performance combine to create distinctions in the ‘competence’ (*adhikāra*) of particular individuals.” Humans are ritually “constructed.” They are not human by biological birth, but rather become human, or their humanity gradually develops, through the saṃskāras.¹⁸³ This applies specifically to the Vaikhānasas: the Vaikhānasas not only gradually become “better” Brahmans through the saṃskāras prescribed in their sūtra, it is only through the saṃskāras that they become Vaikhānasas at all.

Since in most grhyasūtras the saṃskāras are not labelled as such, it is left to the much later commentaries, nibandhas, paddhatis and prayoga texts to designate as saṃskāras the rituals described. In the *Vaikhānasaśmārtasūtra*, by contrast, the author of the sūtra himself lists the forty saṃskāras right in the first sentence, and classifies them as saṃskāras “relating to the body” (*śārīra*) and as

181 On the subdivision of the saṃskāras into “bodily saṃskāras” and “sacrifice” see 2.2. *Baudhāyanagrhyasūtra* 1.7.1–8 contains a related passage on garbhādhāna where similar categories are mentioned. This description is, however, closely connected to the actual ritual performance. There explanations are given as to how garbhādhāna should be enacted in order to ensure that the son to be born will belong to one of these categories (BaudhGrS 1.7.9–21).

182 The commentator Nṛsiṃha Vājapeyin adds here that the qualifications mentioned in addition to the saṃskāras refer to the vānaprastha and sannyasin stages of life (see NVB, p. 8).

183 B.K. Smith (1989: 82–86 and 92) therefore calls the saṃskāras “rituals of healing and of construction.” See also Michaels 1998b: 88f., and Krick 1977: 74, 96.

sacrifices (*yajña*) respectively.¹⁸⁴ The *saṃskāras* “relating to the body” are the life-cycle rituals.

The eighteen “bodily” *saṃskāras* listed in the *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra* represent a quite high number of life-cycle rituals. In other *gṛhyasūtras* for the most part eleven to thirteen such rituals are listed (see Pandey 1949: 31f.). The *dharmaśūtras* and *smṛtis* recognize eleven to fifteen *saṃskāras* and in most later *smṛtis* and *nibandhas* sixteen *saṃskāras* are listed. The more recent ritual handbooks, *paddhatis* and *prayogas*, still count only ten to thirteen *saṃskāras* and moreover state that several *saṃskāras* can be performed at once, provided that the appropriate acts of atonement (*prāyaścitta*) for “going beyond the proper time” are carried out. Thus according to these works the prenatal *saṃskāras* can be performed together, the childhood *saṃskāras* likewise (up to *upanayana*) and also the subsequent *saṃskāras*, which are then carried out immediately before marriage (*vivāha*). This is in fact the contemporary practice, even in families with an “orthodox” lifestyle (see Kane 1974a: 199).

The eighteen *śārīra-saṃskāras* of the *Vaikhānasas* are (1) *niṣeka*, the first sexual intercourse of the newlywed couple in the fourth night after the marriage rituals, (2) *ṛtusamgamana*, sexual intercourse during the first “fertile period” (*ṛtu*) of the married woman after the marriage rituals, which is to take place monthly from this point on, (3) *garbhādhāna*, the ritual confirmation of pregnancy, (4) *pumsavana*, a ritual securing male offspring, (5) *sīmanta/sīmantonayana*, the “parting of the (wife’s) hair” in the eighth month of her pregnancy, which is connected with the emergence of consciousness in the child, (6) *viṣṇubali*, a *bali* offering to and worship of, *Viṣṇu* as *Nārāyaṇa* (see 2.2.2), (7) *jātakarman*, birth rituals, (8) *utthāna*, when the mother gets up from childbed, (9) *nāmakaraṇa*, naming the newborn, (10) *annaprāśana*, first feeding of solid food to the child, (11) *pravāsāgamana*, the child’s first outing and return to the house, (12) *piṇḍavardhana*, “increasing of rice-balls,” i.e. the incorporation of the son into the potential ranks of the family ancestors through feeding with rice, (13) *cauḍaka/cauḷa*, the first tonsure of the child in preparation for his “second birth,” (14) *upanayana*, the initiation into Vedic studies, (15) *pārayaṇavratibandhavisarga*, taking on and giving up of different observances, connected with the various objects of study, (16) *upākarma*, the annual ritual of taking up of studies, (17) *samāvartana*,

184 Other texts which use the term *saṃskāra* for life-cycle rituals also tend to classify them. Thus the *Hārītaḍḍharmasūtra* (I, p. 13) distinguishes *brāhma-* and *daiva-saṃskāras*. The *saṃskāras* which begin with *garbhādhāna* are called *brāhma*, and sacrifices are described as *daiva* (see Kane 1974a: 193). Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita also refers to this classification in *Tātparyacintāmaṇi* 4.6–7 and 10 (see Hüsken 2005: 178, note 93). Sacrifices are also described as *saṃskāras* in the *Gautamaḍḍharmasūtra* (7.14.20–21).

the returning home after the completion of the Vedic studies, and (18) pāṅgrahaṇa, the “grasping of the (future wife’s) hand” (marriage).

Following the list of these eighteen “bodily” saṃskāras, the sacrifices which one should perform as a married householder are named as further twentytwo saṃskāras of the Vaikhānasas.¹⁸⁵ Thus a total of forty saṃskāras are given in the *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra*. Saṃskāras for the deceased and rituals which serve to incorporate the deceased into the ranks of the ancestors are not among them, although they are also dealt with in the *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra* (5.1–15). This is because death is a powerful cause of ritual impurity, with the result that the death rituals are usually described separately, and that the Brahmans responsible for their performance have a still lower status than the temple priests.¹⁸⁶

Before dealing in more detail with the prenatal Vaikhānasa saṃskāras, a few words shall be said on the structure of the text and on the order of the saṃskāras’ description in the *Vaikhānasasmārtsūtra*. Like many other rituals, saṃskāras can be described as consisting of building blocks: most rites are not unique to this specific event but are employed (at times in a different order) in other rituals as well.¹⁸⁷ These recurring elemental ritual units which form the “basis” of the saṃskāras are described once in the sūtra and are not explained for each saṃskāra. Instead, after the enumeration of the saṃskāras at the start of the sūtra, some general rules and the common building blocks (the preliminaries) for the life-cycle rituals are given. These are applicable to the individual saṃskāras, for which then only their specific ritual actions (the so-called pradhānahoma,

185 VaikhSmS 1.1: *yajñās ca dvādaśiṃśat brahmayajño devayajñāḥ pitṛyajño bhūtayajño manuṣyayajñās ceti pañcānām aharaharanuṣṭhānaṃ sthālīpāka āgrayaṇam aṣṭakā piṅḍapitṛyajño māsiśrāddham caityāśvayujīti sapta pākayajñāḥ agnyādheyam agnihotraṃ darśapūrṇamāsāvāgrayaṇeṣṭīś cāturmāsyo nirūḍhapāśubandhaḥ sautrāmaṇīti sapta haviryajñāḥ agniṣṭomo ’tyagniṣṭoma ukthyāḥ ṣoḍaśo vājapeyo ’tirātro ’ptoryāma iti sapta somayajñā ity ete catvāriṃśad bhavanti*. The way these sacrifices are carried out is the subject of the *Vaikhānasaśrautasūtra*. On the number of the Vaikhānasa saṃskāras and their interpretation by Bloch (1896), Caland/Vīra (1941: v), Kane (1974a: 195ff.) and Pandey (1949: 17–23), see Hüsken 2005: 157f.

186 See Parry 1994, see also Buss 2006. This is also the reason why *śmaśāna* is not dealt with at all by Gautama and in other gr̥hyasūtras. Today the death rituals and the auspicious rituals are often dealt with in separate handbooks. According to many Vaikhānasas, it is nowadays difficult to convince priests of the Vaikhānasa tradition to perform death rituals at all.

187 See, for example, Müller 1992: 35. Hillebrandt (1897: 72f.) and, more clearly, Caland (1897: 282ff., and 1908: vif.) convincingly argue that domestic rituals and sacrifices follow a definite pattern, derived from the structure of the new- and full-moon sacrifices.

“main offering”) are described in their respective sections. I follow this pattern here and first list the elements common to the prenatal saṃskāras.

According to the sūtra the performer first of all attains purity by taking a ritual bath (snāna) and ritually sipping water (ācamana; VaikhSmS 1.2–5). He is also instructed on the daily twilight rituals (sandhyā) and on how to wear the sacred thread (VaikhSmS 1.3–5). Saṃskāras should always be performed on an auspicious and meritorious day.¹⁸⁸ That it is such a meritorious day is determined by five invited Brahmans, led by an ācārya, in a ritual called puṇyāha (see VaikhSmS 1.6–7).¹⁸⁹ At the end of puṇyāha the “priestly gift,” dakṣiṇā, should be given to the Brahmans.¹⁹⁰ With this gift they take on the potential ritual impurity of the yajamāna (the officiator), and simultaneously the “fruit” of the ritual accrues now to the yajamāna, not to the priest. The saṃskāras are always accompanied by offerings into the fire (VaikhSmS 1.16–21). *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra* 1.8 gives an account of the place and requisites for the domestic fire (*āgnyāyatanam*). Each offering into the fire begins with the āghāra, an offering of clarified butter.¹⁹¹ In addition, for all bodily saṃskāras—except ṛtusamgamana¹⁹²—a nān-dīmukhaśrāddha is carried out, a sacrifice for the “happy-faced” ancestors.¹⁹³ The detailed description of the main offerings (pradhānahoma) for the individual saṃskāras begins at *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra* 2.3. The sequence of the life-cycle rituals described now in the *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra* does not correspond to the list at the beginning of the sūtra: there niṣeka is listed as first saṃskāra, whereas here upanayana is dealt with first (VaikhSmS 2.3ff.). This is followed by description of the rituals which are performed daily by those who are then newly initiated (VaikhSmS 2.18). Then comes the description of the marriage rites

188 Following the detailed account of the bath, *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra* 1.2–5 reads: *snātvā puṇye 'hani saṃskārahomaṃ juhuyād iti vijñāyate*.

189 Caland (1929: 14, note 10) assumes, that these Brahmans, called “ṛtviks,” are the same as the invited “śrotriyas.” On the ācārya Caland comments (1929: 13, note 1): “The spiritual teacher of the person on whose behalf the act takes place. It is he that performs all the acts.” However, I argue that this passage does not necessarily indicate that the “officiator” (yajamāna, the father of the unborn child) does not himself perform the ritual. On this see 4.5.3–4.

190 VaikhSmS 1.7: *atra dakṣiṇādānādāne tatraivaṃ syād iti vakṣyate*. See M.S.Bhatt 1987: 103–105.

191 VaikhSmS 1.9–15; the section ends with: *... iti sarvahomānām ādir āghāro vijñāyate*. For *āgnyāyatanam*, see 4.2.

192 VaikhSmS 2.1: *atha śārīreṣu saṃskāreṣv ṛtusamgamanaavarjaṃ nān-dīmukhaṃ kuryāt*.

193 VaikhSmS 2.1–2. See also Colas 1996: 290. Nān-dīmukhaśrāddha is an offering to those generations of ancestors who have transcended the liminal, unhappy and dangerous stage of the deceased. This śrāddha is performed on auspicious occasions.

(VaikhSmS 3.1ff.). For the remaining saṃskāras only the main rites are given in detail, that is, the ritual acts which distinguish that particular saṃskāra from the other rituals in the same category.¹⁹⁴ Only these main rites as they are given in the *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra* will be referred to here in the description of the individual prenatal saṃskāras.

2.2.1 Prenatal life-cycle rituals (garbhasaṃskāra)

At six, the number of prenatal saṃskāras (niṣeka, ṛtusamgamana, garbhādhana, puṃsavana, sīmanta and viṣṇubali) in the *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra* is very high.¹⁹⁵ It is debatable whether the prenatal saṃskāras are directed at the child or at the mother.¹⁹⁶ However, in the Vaikhānasa tradition they are understood as making the child “perfect” and “fitting” and at the same time having an effect on the mother. Thus in the hierarchy of the Brahmans presented in *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra* 1.1 (see 2.2), the prenatal saṃskāras and the birth rituals refer grammatically to the mother, although they are directed at the child.¹⁹⁷ Even more explicit is Nṛsiṃha Vājapeyin who emphasizes the importance of the saṃskāras for the mother in that he calls the prenatal saṃskāras kṣetrasaṃskāras “saṃskāras for the field [= for the body of the mother].”¹⁹⁸ Today it is generally assumed that the prenatal saṃskāras are directed to the child, but are carried out through the mother.¹⁹⁹

194 For the description of other rites which are not given in detail here but which nevertheless play a substantial role in the contemporary performance of these saṃskāras, see 4.2.

195 Most gṛhyasūtras enumerate three prenatal saṃskāras: garbhādhāna, puṃsavana, and sīmanta (see Kane 1974a: 194f.). On the question whether niṣeka and ṛtusamgamana are one and the same ritual in the Vaikhānasa tradition, see Hüsken 2005: 157ff.

196 See Pandey 1969: 56; see also Kane 1974a: 205. An important question in this debate is whether the garbhasaṃskāras are to be performed in the first pregnancy only or in every pregnancy (see Pandey 1949: 62). In the *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra* the opinion of “some” is voiced in the prāyaścitta section: according to them the prenatal saṃskāras are only carried out in the first pregnancy (VaikhSmS 6.3: *garbhinyāḥ prathame garbhe kṛtā garbhasaṃskārās, tasyāḥ sarvagarbhāṇāṃ saṃskārā bhavantīty eke*). This is also the current practice, not only in the Vaikhānasa tradition.

197 On the present day agreement among the Vaikhānasas that children from a union of a Vaikhānasa father and a mother of a family which follows another sūtra tradition are considered “half pure,” see Hüsken 2005: 191.

198 NVB, p. 6: *niṣekād ā jātakād ity atra maryādāyām. niṣekādayaḥ ṣaṭkṣetrasaṃskārāḥ.*

199 This fact is explicitly expressed by later texts on the domestic rituals, where the “formal declaration” (*saṃkalpa*) which initiates the respective ritual, is given. The performer (husband) says: “I will endow this wife [...] with the saṃskāra [...]” (*enām patnīm [...] saṃskariṣye*).

Niṣeka²⁰⁰

Niṣeka in the *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra* is the first sexual intercourse of a newly married couple. Literally niṣeka means “pouring (of semen).” However, the term niṣeka is not uniformly used in the gṛhyasūtras for this first sexual intercourse. Other gṛhyasūtras have instead garbhādhāna (“giving of a foetus”), ṛtusamgamana (“coming together during the fertile period”), and caturthīvrata (“vow of the fourth night [after marriage]”) or caturthīkarman (“the ritual of the fourth night [after marriage]”). The *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra*, in contrast, lists niṣeka and garbhādhāna and ṛtusamgamana. In the *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra* niṣeka is indeed different from ṛtusamgamana, and is given—among other rites—as part of the procedures subsumed under the heading caturthīvāsa (VaikhSmS 3.8). Niṣeka is “the first saṃskāra” of an unborn child in the Vaikhānasa tradition, as is clear from the opening sentence of the *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra*: “We will now explain the saṃskāras, which begin with niṣeka” (*atha niṣekādisaṃskārān vyākhyāsyāmah*).²⁰¹ This use of the term niṣeka may be inspired by Manu’s *Dharmaśāstra*: in three śloka he uses the expression *niṣekādi*^o to summarize the saṃskāras, albeit without describing them (ManuDhŚ 2.16, 2.26 and 2.142).

In the subsequent Vaikhānasa literature niṣeka has long remained an important topic. Thus the Vaikhānasasaṃhitās frequently refer to niṣeka as the first saṃskāra of the Vaikhānasas when defining the characteristics of a priest (*arca-ka*) who legitimately carries out the rituals in a Viṣṇu temple: *vaikhānasena sūtreṇa niṣekādikriyānvit*^o, “endowed with the saṃskāras as laid down in the Vaikhānasasūtra, beginning with niṣeka.”²⁰² The saṃskāras beginning with *niṣeka*

200 In a 2005 article, I track the textual history and present day concept of *niṣeka*, which played an important role in establishing and maintaining the uniqueness and superiority of the Vaikhānasa tradition within the vaiṣṇava groups of South India. The summary given here is mainly based on this article (Hüsken 2005).

201 See also VaikhSmS 6.1: *atha niṣekādisaṃskārānāṃ prāyaścittam vyākhyāsyāmah*, “we now will explain the atonement for the saṃskāras beginning with niṣeka.” However, there is also evidence that occasionally within the *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra* ṛtusamgamana and niṣeka are treated as one and the same ritual (VaikhSmS 6.2). Moreover, some passages indicate that the impregnation (*niṣekalṛtusamgamana*) in some cases is also referred to as garbhādhāna (see VaikhSmS 3.11 and 12). This hints at a potential interchangeability of the terms for these prenatal saṃskāras. It is possible that niṣeka as the first cohabitation of the newly married couple initiates the regular monthly sexual union during the fertile period of the wife, and thus is directly connected to procreation, but also contains the aspect of defloration. Thus it encompasses two aspects which are also expressed separately by the terms caturthīvāsa and ṛtusamgamana.

202 This phrase frequently appears in the saṃhitās; see ĀS 4.73ab, 9.2ab, 11.13cd, 13.37cd, YA 51.2cd, 51.33cd, SA 27.10ab, 65.122cd, KhA 1.38cd, 16.3ab, 41.6cd, KrA 1.22cd,

are then contrasted with the initiation (*dīkṣā*) of other vaiṣṇava groups. Only rarely is niṣeka not explicitly mentioned there. However, not a single passage in the entire *Vaikhānasasamhitā* literature dwells upon the question as to how and when niṣeka is performed.

Nevertheless, in the commentarial literature the question is frequently discussed whether niṣeka is identical with ṛtusaṃgamana or garbhādhāna. Nṛsiṃha Vājapeyin rejects this opinion. He claims that the first sexual intercourse of the newly married couple, which is described under the heading *caturthivāsa* in *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra* 3.8, is in fact niṣeka, whereas the other rites given there are *caturthivāsa* “proper.” Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita, in his *Tātparyacintāmaṇi* and in the *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa* labels niṣeka as the first saṃskāra and as a peculiarity of the *Vaikhānasas*. It is therefore, he argues, a characteristic mark of those who are able and eligible to perform the worship of Nārāyaṇa.²⁰³ Niṣeka is the first of the saṃskāras, but is described in the chapter on marriage (*vivāha*), because it is the ritually performed sexual intercourse described in the *sūtra* under the heading *caturthivāsa* (*VaikhSmS* 3.8). At the same time Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita offers an alternative procedure, during which the “intercourse” simply consists of uttering the mantras, applicable at a marriage with a girl before maturity (*kanyā*).²⁰⁴

In the subsequent *Vaikhānasa* literature only a very few texts deal with niṣeka in more detail. One of them is Pārthasārathi Bhaṭṭācārya’s commentary on the *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa*. The other group of texts are the handbooks (*prayoga*) used by domestic priests (*brhaspati*) as guidelines for the actual performance of the rituals. Pārthasārathi Bhaṭṭācārya’s commentary on the *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa* is very informative regarding the contemporary performance and interpretation of the saṃskāra niṣeka. While commenting on the *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa*’s “fifth reason,” Pārthasārathi Bhaṭṭācārya explicitly says that niṣeka is performed at the end of the vow called *caturthivrata*. He clearly subscribes to the view first expressed in Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita’s *Tātparyacintāmaṇi*, that the last sentence in the *caturthivāsa* (= niṣeka) section of the *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra* refers to a case where the wife has not yet reached maturity. In that case niṣeka is performed by only reciting the relevant mantras, which differ from the mantras to be uttered when a man marries a grown-up woman. Pārthasārathi Bhaṭṭācārya evidently considers the “mantra-version” of niṣeka the regular procedure. How-

PrA 11.2ab, 18.4ab; see also ĀS 4.45–49 and 70–73; see also YA 23.11, and 51.33–34; see also YA 51.1–7.

203 See DHN^D 14.7–8, quoting ĀS 4.47–49, 4.72–73; DHN^D 20.6–8; 25.5–11. Only once does he mention “the saṃskāras beginning with niṣeka of the Pāñcarātrins” (DHN^D 66.9–13).

204 DHN^D 13.19–21, TPC 402.4–5 and 7–8.

ever, at the same time it is evident that he sees viṣṇubali as a much more important defining element of Vaikhānasa identity than niṣeka. In his commentary on the *Ānandasamhitā* he gives eight authoritative descriptions of viṣṇubali by different authors (see 2.2.3.3–2.2.4.7) whereas he offers not a single description of niṣeka. The idea that niṣeka as the first saṃskāra defines Vaikhānasa identity is perpetuated in the Sanskrit prayoga texts, ritual handbooks for practitioners which are in use today. In the *Pūrvaprayoga*, in use in Tamil Nadu (see 4.3.2), ṛtusamgamana and niṣeka are however depicted as one and the same ritual, whereas in the text *Sūtrānukramaṇikā* (2, p. 124; see 4.3.1) niṣeka is dealt with in the section on vivāha, under the heading caturthīhoma. There we also find a footnote on niṣeka, discussing its performance when it only consists of the recitation of mantras. Even today many Vaikhānasas share the opinion that being a Vaikhānasa is defined as “being endowed with the saṃskāras, beginning with niṣeka.” Many practising domestic priests told me that niṣeka is performed immediately after the marriage rituals, or three days later. However, nowadays niṣeka is evidently rarely in fact performed—and if so, it frequently consists of the recitation of mantras at the end of the vivāha ceremonies.²⁰⁵ In some performances the husband is made to touch the belly of the wife. However, on a conceptual level, where the main concern is the eligibility to perform the temple rituals in vaiṣṇava temples, even today it is of great importance that a Vaikhānasa is in fact “endowed with the rituals beginning with *niṣeka* according to the Vaikhānasasūtra.” Thus, while the practice as well as the meaning attributed to niṣeka evidently always were at variance, it remained important as a label for a Vaikhānasa identity among ritual specialists.

Ṛtusamgamana

In many gṛhyasūtras the first sexual union of a couple in the fourth night after the marriage ceremony and the couple’s sexual intercourse during the woman’s first “fertile period” after marriage (*ṛtusamgamana*) are combined under the concept of garbhādhāna.²⁰⁶ Since it involves three days of chastity²⁰⁷ brought to

205 A connection between the marriage age of girls and the actual performance of the niṣeka ritual is also drawn by the bṛhaspatīs. One bṛhaspati told me that in former times niṣeka was performed when the couple had not reached puberty. At that time niṣeka consisted of reciting mantras. Most probably this opinion stems from Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita’s expositions, which introduced a distinction between *niṣeka* as first sexual intercourse and niṣeka as act consisting of mantra recitations.

206 Thus Bodhāyana and Kāṭhaka (see also Slaje 1997: 215 and 217f.).

an end by a ritualized sexual intercourse, ṛtusaṃgamana as described in the *Vai-khānasasmārtasūtra* in fact resembles niṣeka (VaikhSmS) or garbhādhāna (other grhyasūtras).²⁰⁸ For ṛtusaṃgamana the period of chastity begins with the married woman's period, for niṣeka/garbhādhāna with the wedding ceremonies. The observances which the married woman should follow during the first three days of her period are described in *Vai-khānasasmārtasūtra* 3.9.²⁰⁹ She should not bathe for three days, eat only once a day, from an earthen or iron vessel—or out of the hands—, but never from a copper plate. She may not look at the planets, or sleep during the day. On the fourth day she cleans her teeth, bathes in perfumed water, wears a white gown, applies make-up and jewellery, speaks neither to another woman nor to a śūdra and does not look at other men, for the child to be conceived will resemble the first man she sees after her bath. Then the best nights for conception are named, and instructions are given for this saṃskāra's main ritual acts. According to the *Vai-khānasasmārtasūtra*, the central act is that a certain paste made from different plants²¹⁰ is smeared in a nostril of the wife. The *Vai-khānasagrhyapariśiṣṭasūtra* (see 1.4) adds that the paste is to be made by virgins, and that they smear it in the nose with the tip of a new garment. This is in fact current practice today. Moreover, the woman usually changes clothes after this ritual and dresses in this new sari for the remaining ceremonies.

Garbhādhāna

Following the list of saṃskāras at the beginning of the sūtra, and the commentary, Caland uses garbhādhāna as the heading for *Vai-khānasasmārtasūtra* 3.10. In fact, however, the term garbhādhāna itself is not used in this section. The ritual described there is a confirmation of pregnancy.²¹¹ It is carried out when the woman shows the following signs: swelling of the stomach, weariness, aversion toward her husband, loss of appetite, increased production of saliva, hoarseness

207 Slaje (1997: 221, note 63) notes that in some grhyasūtras the period of chastity is extended. Thus Bodhāyana (BaudhGrS 1.7.9ff.) draws a connection between the ability of the offspring to learn the Veda and the length of the period of chastity.

208 On the connection between the two rituals see Slaje (1997: 222ff.).

209 On this see Slaje 1997: 219; see also Hüsken 2001a. On menstruation as a period of fertility, see Slaje 1995: 119, 122 and 126 and 1997: 207–234.

210 The nyagrodha (fig-tree), lakṣmī and sahadēvī plants are mentioned.

211 Bloch (1896) describes this saṃskāra correctly as a “special ceremony once pregnancy is perceptible,” Caland (1929: 80) and Kane (1974a: 196) speak of a “ceremony to secure conception.”

and a quivering uterus.²¹² The main sacrifice is as follows: the husband places some barley corns into the the pregnant woman’s hand. Then he gives her the “threefold food,” namely milk, sour curds, and melted butter to eat and brushes her belly three times with a darbha grass bundle. This saṃskāra resembles the garbharaṣaṇa ritual from the *Śāṅkhāyanagrhyasūtra* (1.21.1–2) and the anavalobhana ritual of the *Āśvalāyanagrhyasūtra* (1.13.1.5–7). These rituals serve to protect the embryo, and to avert a miscarriage (see Kane 1974a: 196).

The performance, timing and quite clearly also the meaning attributed to this ritual differs from the corresponding accounts in other grhyasūtras, where the first sexual intercourse of the couple during the fourth night after the marriage ceremony is called garbhādhāna. However, also the *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra* is not consistent in this respect: it calculates the correct time for the performance of other prenatal saṃskāras from garbhādhāna, but here the “conception” of the child must be meant, not the confirmation of pregnancy which follows about three months later. A ritual confirming pregnancy can take place in the second month, or perhaps even the third month, at the earliest. Then, however, the prenatal saṃskāras sīmantonnayana and viṣṇubali cannot take place, as specified in the sūtra, “in the eighth month counted from garbhādhāna” (VaikhSmS 3.12 and 13), as this would be the tenth to eleventh month. In the *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra* evidently the term garbhādhāna is first used for the ritual confirming pregnancy, but in other places for the conception of the child.

Puṃsavana

The next prenatal life-cycle ritual in the *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra* is puṃsavana (VaikhSmS 3.11). The aim of this ritual is to influence the sex of the child.²¹³

212 Comparable signs of pregnancy are identified by Dr Osiander, director of the Göttingen maternity hospital in his work “Dr. Friedrich Benjamin Osianders Grundriß der Entbindungskunst, Teil 1: Schwangerschafts- und Geburtslehre” (Göttingen, 1802: 173–5): “Shivering immediately after conception, [...] aversion toward the begetter, [...] revulsion at certain foods and drinks, saliva flow and a tendency to much spitting, [...]” See Schlumbohm 2002: 131ff.

213 Zinko (1998: 218–220) states that each act of procreation as such has as its purpose the engendering of male descendants. Against this must be set the two options given in the *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra* for ṛtusaṃgamana: if sexual intercourse takes place on an even number of days after the onset of menstrual flow, a boy will be conceived, on an uneven number of days by contrast, a girl. Moreover the choice of the nostril, into which the woman receives the plant paste, also influences the sex of the child. From this it follows that a daughter is not unwanted from the outset in principle. Already Chaudhuri (1938) notes that puṃsavana also serves to protect the child, regardless of whether it is male or

This ritual should be carried out “in the fourth month after garbhādhāna.” Zinko (1998: 220–223) discusses this saṃskāra in detail on the basis of comparison of different sūtra traditions and detects a common structure. The majority of the texts give the second to third month of pregnancy as the right time, and it should be performed under a male constellation. The objects used are mostly a nyagrodha branch, barley, mustard seeds, beans²¹⁴ and milk products. The nyagrodha stems are often crushed and the paste is put into the right nostril of the woman. In the *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra*, however, the ritual element of the pulverizing and the insertion of the paste into the nostril is prescribed for ṛtusaṃgamana. According to the description of puṃsavana in *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra* 3.11, the woman receives some barley corns and mustard seeds in the right hand (or beans and wheat in their place), together with a mixture of three dairy products (milk, sour curds, and melted butter). She eats this mixture and the husband touches her stomach while mantras are recited.

Sīmantonayana

According to *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra* 3.12 sīmantonayana (also called sīmanta)²¹⁵ is performed in the eighth month after garbhādhāna. Several meanings are attributed to this ritual: like the other prenatal saṃskāras it serves to protect the unborn child, but it is also connected to the arising of consciousness in the foetus (see Pandey 1949: 64). Hārīta says that sīmantonayana removes the “taint derived from the parents” from the foetus (see Kane 1974a: 199) and many contemporary Vaikhānasa scholars opine that while the hair is parted mantras are spoken, which call into being the consciousness of the child.²¹⁶ The process is described in the *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra* (3.12) as follows: while mantras are recited the husband takes a porcupine quill with three white stripes, to which, with a blade of darbha grass, a branch of an udumbara plant (*ficus oppositifolia*) with shoots, leaves and unripe fruit and kuśa grass are tied. Placing this on the parting line of the woman, the officiator (yajamāna) draws it along the parting toward the rear. The woman has to wear a garland and should have applied fragrant un-

female. Moreover, in puṃsavana *puṃs* can refer to both sexes, and allows the possibility to alter the grammatical form of the mantras if a daughter was desired, he argues.

214 According to Zinko (1998: 224) the objects symbolize the male genitals.

215 A detailed discussion of the origin of sīmanta/sīmantonayana as part of the marriage rituals is given by Gonda 1956.

216 Gonda (1956: 14) refers to Vicor Henry (*La magie dans l'Inde antique*, Paris, 1904: 16) who assumed that “the parting of the hair was the path along which the soul of the child could easily enter the body of the expectant mother.”

guments on her body. The husband then touches the stomach of the woman and gives her a mixture of barley, milk, sour curds, and melted butter to eat. According to the *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra* the next saṃskāra (viṣṇubali) immediately follows this ritual, and in all three performances which I was able to observe and document, sīmanta was in fact carried out together with viṣṇubali. Moreover, it was also performed together with an atonement ritual (prāyaścitta) for “not carrying out the prenatal saṃskāras at the prescribed time.” This atonement ritual makes good for any other deficiency that might have occurred during the performances (VaikhSmS 6.3).²¹⁷ This ritual involved that a piece of gold (suvarṇa-garbha; ideally in the form of an embryo) was tied around the belly of the pregnant women (see 4.4.3). In Tamil Nadu sīmanta is nowadays often performed together with the “bangle ceremony” (*valaikāppu*), which is supposed to ward the evil eye off the woman and her child, and to keep the women in a cheerful mood. The importance given to women during and around this ceremony might reflect the instruction in the *Āśvalāyanagrhyasūtra* (1.14.8) that “old Brahman women, whose husbands and children are alive” are authorities for this ritual (see Gonda 1956: 13).

Among the prenatal saṃskāras especially niṣeka and viṣṇubali, the first and last of the garbhasaṃskāras, play an important role in Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita’s *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa* and the subsequent ritual literature, as they are always used to define and demarkate the Vaikhānasas’ specific identity.

2.2.2 Viṣṇubali

The phrase *vaikhānasena sūtreṇa niṣekādikriyānvit*^o, “equipped with the saṃskāras which begin with niṣeka” is often used in the *Vaikhānasasaṃhitās* as an distinguishing characteristic of the Vaikhānasas over against other vaiṣṇava groups. There the expression serves to describe a person entitled to perform rituals in a Viṣṇu temple.²¹⁸ Only after niṣeka can one be a Vaikhānasa; membership of the group is established through the performance of this ritual. It is often equated with initiation (*dīkṣā*) among other Vaiṣṇavas, and the Pāñcarātrins are occasionally mentioned in this context.²¹⁹ Following a change of power relations in South Indian temples after the 11th century CE, the emphasis on identification

217 Information I could collect in the Tirunelveli district also indicates that this is nowadays the normal procedure.

218 In some *Vaikhānasasaṃhitās*, the Vaikhānasa saṃskāras are mentioned as precondition of being employed even as a cook or a helper in the temple.

219 See YA 51.4ff., KrA 1.17f. and 36.32.

and demarkation shifted from niṣeka to the last prenatal Vaikhānasa saṃskāra viṣṇubali. The Vaikhānasas evidently had to explicitly mark out their identity as distinct from and as superior to other vaiṣṇava traditions. While the formal defining characteristic (“endowed with niṣeka and so on”) was retained, the focus was actually placed on viṣṇubali. It changed in its performance, but also with regard to the meaning attributed to it. This process will be followed up here.

Viṣṇubali is the last of the Vaikhānasas’ prenatal saṃskāras named and described in the *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra*.²²⁰ According to this text viṣṇubali is to be performed in the eighth month of pregnancy, directly after sīmantonnyana. However, already in the sūtra this prenatal life-cycle ritual shows some uncommon features: it comprises a sacrificial fire as well as a pūjā directed towards the god Viṣṇu, and includes the feeding of the god during this worship (naivedyam) as well as the feeding of the god through sacrifice within the frame of the domestic fire offering.²²¹

The commentaries on the sūtra and the prayoga texts further elaborate on the performance of viṣṇubali. There particular significance is attached to a rite which comes at the end of this life-cycle ritual, namely when milk porridge is offered to Viṣṇu, after which the pregnant wife receives the remainder. A detailed investigation of the relevant texts makes plain that after the redaction of the sūtra and before or during Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita’s time this rite was enriched with elements taken over from an initiation called pañcasamskāra that was prevalent among other Vaiṣṇavas. In short: the branding of the upper arms of the pāñca-samskāra initiation was included as the branding of the milk porridge in the viṣṇubali saṃskāra. This process was accompanied by a new interpretation of the ritual, according to which in the course of this rite Viṣṇu himself marks the unborn child on the upper arms. The child thereby becomes a *garbhavaiṣṇava*, an adherent of Viṣṇu while still in the womb. Viṣṇubali thus came to bear features of an initiation, while its basic characteristic as prenatal life-cycle ritual was retained. In its modified form viṣṇubali thus developed into the ritual representation of the Vaikhānasas’ specific identity: it came to express on the one hand their membership of the group of Vaiṣṇavas, and on the other their claim to superiority within these groups.

220 Two other gr̥hyasūtras mention viṣṇubali or “a bali offering to Viṣṇu” (*viṣṇave bali*): the *Bodhāyanagr̥hyasūtra* 1.11 and AgniGS 2.7 (see Krick 1977: 90 and note 85).

221 Krick (1977: 86 and 80, note 45) argues that structurally both rituals are similar, since both the vedic yajña and the Hindu pūjā serve to honour and entertain the god as a guest. Both rituals periodically renew the alliance with the god, which is interpreted and enacted as identity with the god in the course of initiation (*dīkṣā*).

On the basis of the relevant texts it will be shown here how those responsible for handing down the tradition re-interpreted the ritual according to the need of their actual socio-religious context. In this process, erstwhile innovations quickly became tradition and thereby the point of reference for succeeding (re-)interpretations.

The following passages on viṣṇubali are arranged according to content. They are taken from texts belonging to different literary genres.²²² Their authors adopt different approaches and place the emphasis differently in their interpretations.²²³ It is, however, not possible to reconstruct an historical ordering of the texts on the basis of internal evidence. Rather, it will be shown at what points viṣṇubali has changed from the way it is described in the *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra*, and to what extent these changes in ritual practices and standards are accompanied by a change in the meaning attached to the ritual. I will thus apply here a method which Strong (1992: xii) calls “exegetical exploration”: taking a particular issue as focal point for presenting and discussing the key issues of a given tradition. The different interpretations of the viṣṇubali saṃskāra in the texts reveal a wide diversity of opinion and thereby also a high degree of variation and flexibility with respect to the ritual components and their sequence. The reference point in the texts is invariably—explicitly or implicitly—the depiction of viṣṇubali in *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra* 3.13. This text is therefore discussed first, and compared with the corresponding passage from the *Baudhāyanagr̥hyasūtra*, which also lists and describes viṣṇubali as a prenatal life-cycle ritual (see 2.2.2.1). Then follow those commentaries and handbooks which closely follow the sūtra without introducing new ritual elements (see 2.2.2.2–3). Next comes the *Vṛtti* of Vasantayājīn, which is strongly influenced by the Bodhāyana tradition, but is at the same time is also very close to Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita’s sūtra commentary *Tātparyacintāmaṇi* (see 2.2.2.4). The next text to be discussed establishes a connection between viṣṇubali and a ‘prenatal vaiṣṇava nature’ (*garbha-*

222 The passages are taken from sūtra texts, from sūtra commentaries, from Vaikhānasa and Pāñcarātra saṃhitās, and from more recent ritual handbooks. The passages cited below (Sundararāja’s *Prayogavṛtti*, Vasantayājīn’s *Vṛtti*, Sañjīvayājīn’s *Nibandhana*, Veṅkaṭayogin’s *Nibandhana*, Gopanācārya’s *Sūtrānukramaṇikā*, and Kodaṇḍarāmayajvan’s *Smārtakarmānukramaṇikā*) are not preserved as independent works. The passages on viṣṇubali are quoted here as they occur in Pārthasārathi Bhaṭṭācārya’s commentary on the *Anandasam̐hitā* (ĀS [1998], pp. 95–100).

223 Some authors do not concern themselves with particular elements of the ritual. This, however, does not necessarily imply that according to these texts these rites may not or must not be performed. As is shown below, they may well have been excluded from consideration as uncontentious and taken for granted.

vaiṣṇavatva). It is the *Tātparyacintāmaṇi* by Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita (see 2.2.3). This text also introduces an additional ritual element, namely the branding of the milk porridge which the pregnant woman is given to eat. This rite corresponds to the physical branding of the upper arms in other vaiṣṇava groups in the course of their initiation, called *pañcasamṣkāra*.

A brief account of *pañcasamṣkāra* among Pāñcarātrins and Śrīvaiṣṇavas plus some references to the *Vaikhānasaśaṃhitā* literature dealing with this issue will be followed by a discussion of the detailed description of *viṣṇubali* in the *Vaikhānasa* text *Ānandasamṃhitā* (see 2.2.4.2). Herein the branding of the milk porridge is clearly presented over three chapters as the ritual expression of the *Vaikhānasa*'s equivalent to the "five *saṃskāras*" (*pañcasamṣkāra*) prescribed for other *Vaiṣṇavas*. Further *Vaikhānasa* ritual handbooks will then be presented which take up the connection between *viṣṇubali* and *pañcasamṣkāra* (see 2.2.4.4–7). Last to be considered are those textual passages which not only posit a correspondence between *viṣṇubali* and *pañcasamṣkāra* but also explicitly identify *viṣṇubali* as the ritualized "taking refuge in *Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa*" (*samāśrayaṇa/prapatti*) of the *Vaikhānasa*s, a soteriological concept of Pāñcarātra and Śrīvaiṣṇava origin (see 2.2.5.1–4). The chapter ends with a depiction of the connection drawn between *viṣṇubali* and *prapatti* in the 1905 *Vaikhānasa* work *Mokṣopāyapradīpikā*, and with a short account of the views of several contemporary *Vaikhānasa* scholars from Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh (see 2.2.5.5).

First, however, a brief comment on mantras. In the texts dealt with here two types of these formulae can be distinguished. There are formulae which the acting priest (or main performer) has to adapt to the context through appropriate grammatical adjustment.²²⁴ These are grammatically correct and their content is directly connected to the ritual act during which they are pronounced, or to the meaning which is attached to this ritual act. Nevertheless, the understanding of

224 Thus the instructions in BaudhGṛS 1.11 [pāyasahoma]: "*amuṣmai svāhā namo*" "*muṣmai svāhā namaḥ*" *iti dvādaśabhir yathāliṅgam* indicate that the performer/priest should recite both "Keśavāya svāhā" and "Keśavāya namaḥ" and form the corresponding mantras with the other eleven names of the god, too. Another example: BaudhGṛS 1.11 [pāyasaprasāna] reads: *vyāhṛtibhiḥ puruṣam udvāsayaṃity udvāsyaṇnaśeṣam patnīṃ prāśayet*, "After he has released (the god) with (mantras consisting of) the *vyāhṛtis* (and) "I release *Puruṣa*" he gives the remainder of the food to his wife to eat." The *vyāhṛti* mantras are *om bhūḥ*, *om bhuvah*, *om suvah* and *om bhūr bhuvah suvah*. The officiator should therefore recite: *om bhūḥ puruṣam udvāsayāmi*, *om bhuvah puruṣam udvāsayāmi*, *om suvah puruṣam udvāsayāmi*, *om bhūr bhuvah suvah puruṣam udvāsayāmi* and then give the remainder of the milk porridge to his wife to eat. The term for this adaptation is *ūhaḥ*. Patañjali gives the need to be able to do *ūhaḥ* as one of the reasons for the science of grammar (see *Mahābhāṣya*, p. 1).

the mantras by those who recite them is of secondary importance: the main issue is here the correct structure, and their correct intonation during the corresponding ritual act. Except for the account of contemporary performance in 4.4, these formulae will be translated here. Mantras of the other type are quotations from the vedic saṃhitās. These are compiled in the *Vaikhānasamantrapraśna* (see 1.1) and are quoted in the ritual texts in so-called *pratīka* form, i.e. the beginning stands for the entire mantra, knowledge of which is assumed. The content of the mantra itself is also connected to the related ritual act. Thus mantras directed to the god Viṣṇu are prominent in viṣṇubali. Here, even more than in the first type of mantras, it is rather a matter of flawless and complete recitation than of understanding the content of the vedic words. Nowadays only few among those taking part in the ritual acts are actually aware of the literal meaning of these mantras, which are not translated here. Their source and full wording will be given in footnotes, and the translations of these source texts may be referred to for translations of the mantras. What Humphrey & Laidlaw (1994: 74) say of speech acts within ritualised actions in general is true also for the recitation of these mantras: “[...] the communication here is not intrinsic to the *ritual* character of these acts. It belongs rather to the ‘pre-existing’ linguistic act which has been ritualized.”

2.2.2.1 Viṣṇubali in the sūtras

Both the *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra* and the *Baudhāyanagrhyasūtra*²²⁵ provide a detailed description of a saṃskara named viṣṇubali or “bali sacrifice to Viṣṇu.”²²⁶ The close connection between the Baudhāyana and the Vaikhānasa tradi-

225 Kane (1974a: 196 and 226f.) mentions a passage from Aṅgiras and quotations of Vasiṣṭha and Āśvalāyana in the *Saṃskāraprakāśa* which likewise refer to a ritual called viṣṇubali. As I did not have access to these works I rely on Kane’s description here. Viṣṇubali as portrayed by Vasiṣṭha (quoted in *Saṃskāraprakāśa*: 178) takes place in the eighth month of pregnancy. Āśvalāyana adds that the ceremony serves to avert harm to the foetus and to enable an easy delivery. 64 oblations of boiled rice and ghee are offered to Viṣṇu on an altar in the shape of a lotus or svastika, set up to the south of the fire. “Then to the north-east of the fire, a square plot should be smeared with cowdung and be divided into 64 squares with white dust and 64 offerings of boiled rice should be offered [...] and in their midst one ball of rice should be offered to Viṣṇu with the mantra loudly uttered ‘namo Nārāyaṇa’ and the husband and wife should partake separately of two balls of the same rice. Then the offering to Agni Sviṣṭakṛt should be made, dakṣiṇā should be distributed and brāhmaṇas should be fed” (Kane 1974a: 226).

226 Depending on context *bali* may describe a food sacrifice to gods, to divine beings or to spirits, or to the dead (for details, see Kane 1974b: 745f.). By contrast with *prasāda* (a term for offerings which are in part subsequently distributed to devotees) this refers to a gift which is not returned to those who offer it.

tions, which later is expressed as rivalry in the *Vaikhānasasamhitās*, has already been dealt with in 1.4.²²⁷ In the post-sūtra literature however, only in the *Vaikhānasa* tradition *viṣṇubali* becomes ever more prominent. Only the *Vaikhānasa*s actually perform this life-cycle ritual up to the present.²²⁸ This specific development of the *Vaikhānasa* tradition is closely connected to the fact that maybe already from the late 14th century CE onwards they sought to bind up their profession as temple priest with their specific sūtra tradition, and here especially with their prenatal life-cycle ritual *viṣṇubali*. As the description of *viṣṇubali* in the sūtra forms the basic framework for its further treatment in other texts, in what follows first the relevant portions of the *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra* will be presented and compared in a table with the corresponding account in the *Baudhāyanagr̥hyasūtra*.²²⁹ The ritual is here subdivided into different phases or rites which are labeled by key words. To facilitate comparison, reference will be made to these keywords throughout this work when discussing other texts in so far as they correspond to the depiction of *viṣṇubali* in the sūtra.²³⁰

227 Krick (1977: 81ff.) moreover lists several structural similarities of *viṣṇubali* and *nārāyaṇabali*. Both rituals are given in the *Vaikhānasa* and *Baudhāyana* traditions.

228 Many *Smārta* and *Śrīvaiṣṇava* Brahmins in contemporary South India follow the *Baudhāyanasūtra*. However, as many practising *bṛhaspatīs* in Tamil Nadu told me, *viṣṇubali* is not performed among them today.

229 In the *Baudhāyanagr̥hyasūtra* *garbhādhāna*, *puṃsavana*, *sīmantonayana* and *viṣṇubali* are listed as prenatal *saṃskāras*. According to *BaudhGrS* 1.1 and 1.11 the *saṃskāras* “relating to the body” are included in the list of seven *pāka* sacrifices, and are in this tradition perceived as domestic sacrifices. In contrast, in the *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra* a clear distinction emerges between the *saṃskāras* relating to the body (*śārīra*) and sacrifices (see also Pandey 1949: 29f.).

230 In what follows these key words in square brackets refer to the diverse ritual sequences in the texts, corresponding to the key words given in the table here.

<i>Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra</i> 3.13: viṣṇubali	<i>Baudhāyanagrhyasūtra</i> 1.11: ²³¹ viṣṇave bali
[introduction]	
<i>atha viṣṇubaliṃ</i>	<i>viṣṇave balir aṣṭame māsi pūrvapakṣa- sya saptamyām dvādaśyām rohiṇyām śroṇāyām vā</i>
Now (we will explain) viṣṇubali.	(Viṣṇubali is) the offering to Viṣṇu. (It is to be performed) in the first half of the eighth month, on the seventh or twelfth day during the rohiṇī or śroṇā [śravaṇa?] lunar mansion.
[punyāha]	
	<i>brāhmaṇān annena pariviṣya punyā- haṃ svasti rddhim iti vācayivā</i>
	After having served food to the Brahmans, and having made them to proclaim that it is an auspicious day (while uttering the words:) “(May you attain) well-being!” (and) “(May you attain) prosperity!”, ²³²
[puruṣāvāhana]	
<i>uttaraprañidhāv agnyādīn devān oṃ bhūh puruṣam oṃ bhuvah puruṣam oṃ suvah puruṣam oṃ bhūr bhuvah suvah puruṣam cety āvāhya</i>	<i>atha devayajanollekhanaprabhṛty ā prañitābhyah kṛtvā upotthāyāgreṇāg- niṃ daivatam āvāhayati oṃ bhūh puru- ṣam āvāhayāmi oṃ bhuvah puruṣam āvāhayāmi oṃ suvah puruṣam āvāha- yāmi oṃ bhūr bhuvah suvah puruṣam āvāhayāmiti āvāhya</i>

231 A short summary of viṣṇubali is already given in BaudhGrS 1.10.13–17: *aṣṭame māsi viṣṇave āhutīr juhōti “viṣṇor nu kam” ity etena sūktena. viṣṇave baliṃ upaharati. vaiṣṇavo hy eṣa māso vijñāyate. viṣṇur hi garbhāsyā devatā:* “In the eighth month he commends an oblation into the fire (while he recites) the (Viṣṇu)hymn (beginning with) ‘viṣṇor nu kam.’ He offers the bali offering to Viṣṇu. For this month is known as belonging to Viṣṇu. Because Viṣṇu is the deity of the foetus.” Only later, in *Baudhāyanagrhyasūtra* 1.11, is the performance of viṣṇubali described in more detail.

232 On punyāha, see Kane 1974a: 216ff. The punyāha rite of the Baudhāyana tradition is described in *Baudhāyanagrhyaparibhāṣāsūtra* 1.4 (pp. 127f.) and *Baudhāyanagrhyāśeṣasūtra* 1.10 (pp. 191–193). For the Vaikhānasas punyāha is described in detail in *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra* 1.6–7; see also 2.2.

After having invoked the gods beginning with Agni in the praṇidhi pot, ²³³ (placed) north (of the fire), and after having invoked: “ <i>Oṃ bhūḥ</i> (I invoke) Puruṣa, <i>oṃ bhuvah</i> (I invoke) Puruṣa, <i>oṃ suvah</i> (I invoke) Puruṣa, <i>oṃ bhūr bhuvah suvah</i> (I invoke) Puruṣa”	Now, after having done (the rites which) begin with drawing the lines, (thus assigning the place) for the offering to the god, ²³⁴ up to (placing) the praṇītā-pots (at the side of the fire pit), ²³⁵ he stands up and in front of (the fire pit) he invokes the deity Agni. After having invoked thus: “ <i>Oṃ bhūḥ</i> I invoke Puruṣa, <i>oṃ bhuvah</i> I invoke Puruṣa, <i>oṃ suvah</i> I invoke Puruṣa, <i>oṃ bhūr bhuvah suvah</i> I invoke Puruṣa!”
[nirvāpana, āghāra]	
<i>tathaiva nirvāpādyāghāraṃ hutvā</i>	<i>paridhānaprabhṛtyāgnimukhāt kṛtvā daivatam arcayati</i>
In a similar manner, after having performed the oblations, beginning with bestowing (the clarified butter to the god) up to the āghāra rite	He worships the deity, after having performed (the rites) beginning with the placement (of darbha-grass) up to the agnimukha ritual. ²³⁶
[dvādaśanāmāvāhana]	
<i>[a]gneḥ pūrvasyāṃ darbhāsaneṣu keśavaṃ nārāyaṇaṃ mādhaveṣu govindaṃ viṣṇuṃ madhusūdanaṃ trivikramaṃ vāmanaṃ śrīdharaṃ hr̥ṣīkeṣaṃ padmanābhaṃ dāmodaraṃ iti nāmabhir devaṃ viṣṇuṃ āvāhy[a]</i>	
After having invoked the god Viṣṇu on seats made of darbha-grass, east of the fire, by the names Keśava, Nārāyaṇa, Mādhaveṣu, Govinda, Viṣṇu, Madhusūdana, Trivikrama, Vāmana, Śrīdhara, Hr̥ṣīkeṣa, Padmanābha, Dāmodara	
[snapana]	
<i>āpo hiranya pavamānaiḥ snāpayitvā</i>	<i>āpo hi śthā mayobhuvah iti tiṣṛbhīḥ hiranyavarnāś śucayaḥ pāvakaḥ iti catasṛbhīḥ pavamānas suvarjanaḥ ity ete-</i>

233 This is the vessel named *praṇītā* in other traditions, filled with praṇīta-water (see Bloch 1896: 2).

234 This ritual preparation of the fire-place is described in Kane 1974a: 207–210.

235 The vessels with water are placed to the north and south of the fire place respectively.

236 According to HirGrS 1.2.18 agnimukha are four offerings of clarified butter to the fire, following āghāra and ājyabhāga.

	<i>nānūvākena mārjayitvā</i>
he gives a bath (to the god while reciting the mantras beginning with) <i>āpo ...</i> ²³⁷ , <i>hiranya ...</i> ²³⁸ , <i>pavamāṇa ...</i> , ²³⁹	After having washed (the god while reciting) thrice <i>āpo hi śthā mayobhuvah ...</i> (and then) four times <i>hiranyavarṇāś śucayaḥ pāvakaḥ ...</i> (and reciting) this one passage <i>pavamānas suvarjanaḥ ...</i>
[arcana]	
<i>tattannāmnārcayaty</i>	<i>athād̥bhis tarpayati keśavaṃ tarpayāmi nārāyaṇaṃ mād̥havaṃ govindaṃ viṣṇuṃ madhusūdanaṃ trivikramaṃ vāmanaṃ śrīdharaṃ hr̥ṣīkeśaṃ padmanābhaṃ dāmodaraṃ tarpayāmi iti. etair eva nāmadheyair gandhapuṣpadhūpadīpaiḥ amuṣmai namo 'muṣmai namaḥ ity abhyarcya</i>
He worships (the god) by reciting his respective names.	Now he refreshes (the god) with water: "I refresh Keśava, Nārāyaṇa, Mād̥hava, Govinda, Viṣṇu, Madhusūdana, Trivikrama, Vāmana, Śrīdhara, Hr̥ṣīkeśa, Padmanābha, I refresh Dāmodara." And he worships these named deities with scent, flowers, incense and light (while reciting:) "Salutations to this one, salutations to that one!"
[viṣṇusūkta / vaiṣṇavasūkta]	
<i>ato devādyair viṣṇor nu kaṃ tad asya priyaṃ pra tad viṣṇuḥ paro mātrayā vicakrame trir deva iti dvādaśāhutir ājyena hutvā</i>	<i>atha viṣṇava āhutir juhōti viṣṇor nu kaṃ tad asya priyaṃ pra tad viṣṇuḥ paro mātrayā vicakrame trir devaḥ iti</i>
After having offered the twelve offerings with clarified butter (while reciting the mantras beginning with) <i>ato deva ...</i> ²⁴⁰ <i>viṣ-</i>	He now offers the oblations to Viṣṇu (while reciting the mantras beginning with) <i>viṣṇor nu kaṃ ...</i> , <i>tad asya priyaṃ</i>

237 This mantra is also called *prokṣamaṇtra*; ṚV 10.9.1–3{5}, TS 5.6.1.4.3=1 [TS 4.1.5.1], TA 4.4.2.4–5, AV 1.5.1, SV 2.1187, KS 16.4, VMP 1.4.19.

238 TS 5.6.1.1.1–6; MS 1.2.1: 9.12, 2.13.1: 151.7, AV 1.33.1, VMP 1.2.7.

239 TB 1.4.8.1, 2.6.3.4; VMP 1.3.9.

240 This series of six mantras is called *vaiṣṇavasūkta*. The mantras are: (1) *ato devā avantu no yato viṣṇur vicakrame pṛthivyāḥ saptadhāmabhiḥ* (RV 1.22.16.1–2{07}, VMP 1.27.85), (2) *idaṃ viṣṇur vicakrame tredhā nidadhe padam samūlhamasya pāṃsure* (RV 1.22.17.1–2{07}, TS 1.2.13.1, VMP 1.34.112); (3) *trīṇi padā vicakrame viṣṇur go-pā adābhyah ato dharmāṇi dhārayan* (RV 1.22.18.1–2{07}, 8.12.27; TB 2.4.6.1); (4) *viṣṇoḥ karmāṇi paśyata yato vratāni paspaśe indrasya yujyah sakhā* (RV 1.22.19.1–2{07}); (5) *tad viṣṇoḥ paramaṃ padam sadā paśyanti sūrayaḥ divīva cakṣurātataṃ* (RV 1.22.20.1–2{07}, TS 1.3.6.2, 4.2.9.3); (6) *tad viprāso vipan yavo jāgrvāṃsaḥ samindhate viṣṇor yat paramaṃ padam* (RV 1.22.21.1–2{07}).

<i>ṅor nu kaṃ ..., tad asya priyaṃ ..., pra tad viṣṇuḥ ..., paro mātrayā ..., vicakrame ... (and) trir deva ...</i> ²⁴¹	<i>..., pra tad viṣṇuḥ ..., paro mātrayā ..., vicakrame ... (and) trir devaḥ ...</i>
	<i>jayaprabhṛtisiddham ā dhenuvarapradānāt</i>
	(the procedure) is to be followed from <i>jaya</i> up to the rite giving a fine cow (?)
[pāyasanivedana]	
<i>pāyasam ājyasamyuktaṃ havir devaṃ nivedya</i>	<i>atha guḍapāyasaṃ ghṛtamiśraṃ annaṃ nivedayati</i>
After having presented the milk porridge mixed with clarified butter to the god as offering	He now offers the sweet milk porridge mixed with clarified butter as food (to the god),
[pāyasaḥoma]	
<i>dvādaśanāmbhīr ato devādyair viṣṇor nu kādyair ājyamiśraṃ pāyasaṃ juhuyād</i>	<i>amuṣmai svāhā namo 'muṣmai svāhā namaḥ iti dvādaśabhīr yathāliṅgam</i>
with (the recitation of the mantras containing) the twelve names (and the mantras) beginning with <i>ato deva</i> ... (and) beginning with <i>viṣṇor nu kaṃ</i> ..., he should commend the milk porridge mixed with clarified butter into the fire.	(reciting the mantras containing) the twelve (names) respectively: "To that one, hail! Salutations! To that one, hail! Salutations!"
[vedamantra]	
<i>ṛgyajuḥsāmātharvabhīr mantrair vaiṣṇavair devaṃ saṃstūya</i>	<i>vaiṣṇavībhi ṛgyajussāmātharvabhis stotrais stutībhis stuvanti</i>
After having praised the god with vaiṣṇava mantras from Ṛg-, Yajur-, Sāma- and Atharvaveda,	They praise (the god) with eulogies and praises, with the vaiṣṇava (mantras) from Ṛg-, Yajur-, Sāma- and Atharvaveda

241 This series of six mantras is called viṣṇusūkta. The mantras are: (1) *viṣṇor nu kaṃ vīryā-ṇi pra vocaṃ yaḥ pārthivāni vimame rajāṃsi yo askabhāyad uttaraṃ sadhasthaṃ vicakramāṇas tredhorugāyas / viṣṇor arāṭam asi viṣṇoḥ pṛṣṭham asi viṣṇoḥ śnyapre sthas / viṣṇoḥ syūr asi viṣṇor dhruvam asi vaiṣṇavam asi viṣṇave tvā* (ṚV 1.154.1; TS 1.2.13.3.2–7; TB 2.8.3.2; VMP 1.18.59); (2) *tad asya priyaṃ abhi pātho aśyāṃ [asthām] / naro yatra devayavo madanti / urukramasya sa hi bandhur itihā / viṣṇoḥ pade parame madhva uthsas* (ṚV 1.154.05.1–2{24}, TB 2.4.6.2 + 2.8.3.2); (3) *pra tad viṣṇuḥ tava te vīryāya mṛgo na bhūmah kucaro giriṣṭhāḥ / yasyoruṣu triṣu vikramaṇeṣv adhi-kṣiyanti bhuvanāni viśvā* (ṚV 1.154.2; TB 2.4.3.4); (4) *paro mātrayā tanu vā vṛdhāna na te mahitvam anv aśnuvanti / ubhe te vidma rajasī pṛthivyā viṣṇo deva tvaṃ paramasya vitse* (ṚV 7.99.1); (5) *vi cakrame pṛthivīm eṣa etām / kṣetrāya viṣṇur manuṣedaśa-syaṇ / dhruvāso asya kīrayo janāsaḥ / urukṣitīḥ sujanīm ā cakāra* (ṚV 7.100.4; TB 2.4.3.5); (6) *trir devaḥ pṛthivīm eṣa etām vicakrame śatarcasam mahitvā / pra viṣṇur astu tava saḥ stavī yān tv eṣaṃ hy asya sthvirasya nāma* (ṚV 7.100.3; TB 2.4.3.5 + 2.8.3.3).

[praṇāma]	
<i>namontair nāmabhiḥ pranamet</i>	
He should bow (to the god while reciting the mantras) ending with “salutations to” (and which contain) the (god’s respective) names.	
[pāyasaprāśana]	
<i>pāyasaśeṣaṃ patnīm prāśayati</i>	<i>vyāhṛtibhiḥ puruṣam udvāsayāmīty udvāsyaṅnaśeṣaṃ patnīm prāśayet</i>
He gives the remainder of the milk porridge to his wife to eat.	After he has released (the god) with (mantras consisting of) the vyāhṛtis (and) “I release Puruṣa” he gives the remainder of the food to his wife to eat.
[outcome of the performance]	
	<i>pumān asyai jāyata iti vijñāyate</i>
	It is understood that a male child is born to her.

The two texts correspond in many places, albeit that the *Baudhāyanagṛhyasūtra* is more detailed than the *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra*, especially on the preparations for viṣṇubali. In the *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra* it is tacitly assumed that viṣṇubali is performed immediately after sīmanta. Therefore it is not necessary to give the precise time in the [introduction].²⁴² Moreover, the performance of puṇyāha is not mentioned, as this ritual is carried out before sīmanta and the same ritual arena is used. Overall the *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra* is shorter, for example in [arcanā]: while Bodhāyana goes into detail on the different means for worship of god, the *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra* is content to note that god should be worshipped. Both sūtras unanimously prescribe in [puruṣāvāhana] that the god Puruṣa is to be invoked.²⁴³ The twelve forms of Viṣṇu are more often referred to in the *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra* than by Bodhāyana.²⁴⁴ while in [dvādaśāvāhana] the god is in-

242 The eighth month of pregnancy as the time for the performance of sīmanta is specified at the start of *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra* 3.12. For the choice of the right fortnight and day further reference is made to puṃsavana (*VaikhSmS* 3.12: *atha garbhādhānādyasṭame māsi sīmantonayanam kuryāt. pakṣo dinaṃ ca vyākhyātam*).

243 As Krick (1977: 81 and note 46; 83 and note 82) remarks, there is a strong interconnection between Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa and Puruṣa. Nārāyaṇa, she argues, can be seen as Puruṣa *par excellence* and the puruṣasūkta is a central element of Nārāyaṇa worship (see Krick 1977: 91ff.).

244 As Krick argues, the worship of these twelve forms of Viṣṇu most probably did not originate in the Vaikhānasa or Baudhāyana tradition, but stems from a sacrifice which is originally described as lasting for one year, mentioned in *Viṣṇusmṛti*, *Ṛgvidhāna* and

voked in these twelve forms on the darbha seats, according to Bodhāyana he is simply worshipped once the fire has been kindled. This may also be connected with the fact that in [vaiṣṇavasūkta / viṣṇusūkta] the *Baudhāyanagr̥hyasūtra* prescribes the recitation of only the six mantras of the viṣṇusūkta, and not the six mantras of the vaiṣṇavasūkta for the offering of the clarified butter. By contrast the Vaikhānasas recite twelve mantras, so that each form is assigned a mantra of its own. The two sūtras also differ in [pāyasahoma] on the mantras to be used: while according to the *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra* the milk porridge is offered into the fire accompanied by recitation first of mantras containing the twelve names, and then while reciting vaiṣṇava- and viṣṇusūkta, Bodhāyana ordains that one should use the twelve names of the god for the sacrifice into the fire. In addition to the laudatory verses and hymns in [vedamantra], in [praṇāma] the *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra* requires the performer to bow before the twelve forms of the god. Further differences between the two descriptions are minor.

It is however significant that *Baudhāyanagr̥hyasūtra* [pāyasaprāśana] explicitly states that the god is first to be dismissed and only then is the wife to be fed the remainder of the milk porridge. Although it is to be assumed that the god is also dismissed at the end of the ritual in the tradition of the Vaikhānasas, in Bodhāyana's text this passage serves to make clear that the woman does not eat the milk porridge in the presence of the god. Here the Vaikhānasa tradition does not specify a precise end to the ritual. This fact possibly encouraged the later development of, and the emphasis on, the rite of giving of the milk porridge to the wife. A further central difference between the two texts is that the [outcome of the performance] is found only in the *Baudhāyanagr̥hyasūtra* where the purpose of viṣṇubali is stated. Here it is said to be, like pūṃsavana, a saṃskāra to predetermine the sex of the unborn child: "a male child is born to her." At no point in the *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra* is any statement made about the goal which is supposed to be attained through viṣṇubali. It is just this openness which permitted the interpretation of viṣṇubali as a ritual for the transmission of *garbhavaiṣṇavata* among the Vaikhānasas, of being a Vaiṣṇava already before birth, as expressed in later texts.

2.2.2.2 Viṣṇubali according to Nṛsiṃha Vājapeyin

Two texts by the commentator Nṛsiṃha Vājapeyin dealing with the saṃskāra viṣṇubali have been handed down. These are his commentary on the *Vaikhāna-*

Mahābhārata. Thus, a pūjā involving Viṣṇu's twelve forms replaces a one-year-long cycle of sacrifices (Krick 1977: 87ff.).

sagr̥hyasūtra, named *Vaikhānasakalpasūtrabhāṣya* (NVB),²⁴⁵ and the *Vaikhānasagr̥hyasūtradarpaṇa* (SD). While in his *Vaikhānasakalpasūtrabhāṣya* Nṛsimha Vājapeyin's primary concern is to explain some of the words and phrases used in the *Vaikhānasagr̥hyasūtra*, the *Vaikhānasagr̥hyasūtradarpaṇa* is a handbook with more details on the sequence of the rites and on points not dealt with in the sūtra. The text and translations of the sections on viṣṇubali are presented in what follows one after the other (first NVB, then SD).

Viṣṇubali in the *Vaikhānasakalpasūtrabhāṣya* (NVB)

NVB 1, 142.3–6 [saṃkalpa], [outcome of the performance]

atha viṣṇubaliḥ garbhādhānād aṣṭame māsy eva śuklapakṣe śuddhe 'hani kartavyam asyāḥ garbharaḥsārthaṃ viṣṇubaliṃ kariṣya iti saṅkalpya āghāraṃ kṛtvāvāhanakāle

Now viṣṇubali should be done in the eighth month after garbhādhāna, on a pure day of the bright fortnight. After (having expressed) the formal declaration: “I shall perform viṣṇubali for the sake of protection of her [= my wife's] foetus,” (and) after having done the āghāra, at the time of invocation (of the god)

NVB 1, 142.15–16

uttarapraṇidhāv agnyādīdevān sarvadevān āvāhayāmītyantam āvāhya. ante oṃ bhūḥ puruṣādīn āvāhya

In the praṇidhi vessel standing at the northern side (of the fire), having invoked all the gods beginning with Agni, ending with the words “I invoke ...,” and having concluded by invoking Puruṣa and the rest (with the mantras beginning with): “*Oṃ bhūḥ, ...*”

NVB 1, 142.16–17 [nirvāpa, āghāra]

yathāvāhanaṃ tathaiva nirvāpam. svāhākāraṃ ca kṛtvaivam āghāraṃ hutvānte

As the invocation, in the same manner the bestowing (of the clarified butter should be done). In the end, after having recited the syllables *svāhā* and thus offered the āghāra into the fire,

NVB 1, 142.17– 20 [dvādaśanāmāvāhana]

'gneḥ pūrvasyām caturasram hastamātraṃ taṃḍulaiḥ sthaṅḍilam kṛtvā tadūrdhve prāgrān darbhān udagantam āstūrya teṣu darbhāsaneṣu pratyānimukhān keśavādidvādaśa-mūrtīn uttarāntaṃ nāmbaliḥ devaṃ viṣṇuṃ krameṇāvāhya

After having prepared a square platform from rice to the east of the fire, cubit-sized, and after having scattered on it the darbha grass blades so that their tips point towards the east, ending (the row) on the northern side (of the platform), he invokes on these darbha grass blades the god Viṣṇu, (in his) twelve forms of which Keśava is the first, (with man-

245 Quotations here are taken from the text printed in Telugu script.

tras containing) the (twelve) names, so that they face west, ending (the invocation) at the northern side (of the platform).

NVB 1, 142.20–21 [arcana]

puṣpagandhādyaīḥ ṣoḍaśopacāraiḥ tattannāmnā praṇavādinamontenārcayati

He worships (them) with the sixteen offerings beginning with flowers and incense, with (mantras consisting of) the respective names, preceded by *om* and followed by *namaḥ*.

NVB 1, 143.1 [vaiṣṇavasūkta / viṣṇusūkta]

ato devādi viṣṇor nu kādidvādaśāhutīr ājyena hūtvā

After having poured the twelve oblations with clarified butter into the fire (while chanting the mantras) beginning with *ato deva* ... (and) *viṣṇor nu kaṃ* ...

NVB 1, 143.1–5 [pāyasanivedana]

payasā pakvaṃ annaṃ pāyasam ājyasamyuktaṃ ghr̥tāplutaṃ hūyata iti haviḥ pratyekaṃ pātre vikṣīpya devaṃ keśavādyaṃ sarvaṃ viṣṇuṃ nivedya samarpya dvikarmako 'yaṃ dhātuh devāya nivedya ity arthaḥ tannānneti jātyekavacanaṃ.

Milk porridge is rice cooked in milk; mixed with clarified butter is overflowing with clarified butter; what is given into the fire is havis; (and) having placed for each into a vessel (a portion of) havis, namely pāyasam. i.e., rice cooked with milk, drenched with ghee, (this being called havis by derivation from the root hū, 'to offer into the fire') because it is offered into the fire, and after having dedicated (and) presented everything to the god Viṣṇu as Keśava and so on. This root [=ni-vid] takes two (accusative) objects, (therefore) the meaning is 'having offered to the god'; with the name of (each of) the various (deities) is (a case of the use of the) singular to refer (not to the entity but to several that together form) a class.

NVB 1, 143.5–6 [pāyasahoma]

dvādaśanāmbhiḥ ato devādibhir ājyamiśraṃ ghr̥tāplutaṃ pāyasam juhuyāt.

(While reciting mantras containing) the twelve names (and the mantras) starting with *ato deva* ..., he should offer the milk porridge, which is mixed with clarified butter, overflowing with clarified butter, into the fire.

NVB 1, 143.10–11 [vedamantra]

ṛgyajussāmātharvabhiḥ caturvedasambandhibhiḥ ādibhir mantraiḥ vaiṣṇavaiḥ sahasraśīrṣādyaīḥ devaṃ viṣṇuṃ samstūya stutvā samprārthya

After having praised, eulogised (and) petitioned the god Viṣṇu with the with the Ṛk, Yajus, Sāma, and Atharva, [i.e.] with the beginnings proper to (each of) the four Vedas, (and) with the vaiṣṇava mantras, beginning with the *sahasraśīrṣā* ...

NVB 1, 143.12–13 [praṇāma]

*namontaiḥ, namaśśabdaḥ ante yeṣāṃ tair nāmbhiḥ keśavāya nama ityādibhiḥ pratye-
kaṃ praṇamed danḍavan namaskuryāt.*

with *namaḥ* in the end (means): He should bow with the names followed by *namaḥ*, that is to say, he should do full prostration to each with (their) names followed by the word *namaḥ*, [i.e. with] *keśavāya namaḥ* (for the first) and so on.

NVB 1, 143.13–16 [pāyasapṛāśana]

*pāyasaśeṣaṃ niveditaṃ ca patnīṃ pṛāśayati bhojayati (sudarśanaḡāyatrīyā śaṃkhaḡāya-
tryā krameṇa patnīṃ pṛāśayatī lokānusāriṇāṃ keśāṃcid abhiprāyo nāsmākam).*

and he feeds his wife with the remainder of the milk porridge that was offered (to the god); he makes her eat it. (He feeds his wife (while reciting) the sudarśana ḡāyatrī and śaṃkha ḡāyatrī one after the other, according to the understanding of some who follow the popular practice, but not according to us).

NVB 1, 143.16–17 [on the fire]

*ete garbhasaṃskārāḥ laukikāḡnau aupāsanāḡnau vā kartavyāḥ pitur aupāsanāḡnau iti
eke iti vacanāt.*

According to some, these life-cycle rituals for the foetus should be done in the worldly fire, or in the aupāsana fire, according to the statement: ‘Some say in the aupāsana fire maintained by the father [of the foetus].’

Viṣṇubali in the *Vaiḡhānasagr̥hyasūtradarpaṇa* (SD)

SD 55.18 [introduction]

athāṣṭama eva māsi viṣṇubaliḥ

Now in the eighth month (of pregnancy and) only (then) is viṣṇubali (to be performed).

SD 55.18–22 [puruṣāvāhana]

*pūrvavad vadhūm upaveśya aḡnim upasamādhāya sarvadevāvāhanānte oṃ bhūḥ puruṣā-
dīn āvāhya*

After having made his wife sit down as before, (and) after having kindled the fire, at the end of the invocation of all the gods, he invokes (Puruṣa with the mantras) “*Oṃ bhūḥ* (I invoke) Puruṣa ...”

SD 55.20–21 [nirvāpa] [ājyabhāga]

juṣṭākārasvāhākārān kṛtvā ājyabhāḡānte

after having recited the words *juṣṭā* and *svāhā* [as components of mantras, indicating the nirvāpa], at the end of the ājyabhāga rite,

SD 55.21–56.2 [dvādaśanāmāvāhana]

agneḥ puratas sthaṇḍilam kalpayitvā uttarāntam prāgagrān darbhān āstīrya teṣu keśa-vādidāmodarāntān udgantam āvāhya

after having made a platform in front of the fire, spread the darbha grass blades on it with their tips pointing east and the last one in the northern direction, and after having invoked on them (the twelve forms of god) beginning with Keśava and ending with Dāmodara; the last one (invoked on the darbha grass blade) in the northern side,

SD 56.2–3 [snapana]

āpohiraṇyapavamānais snāpayitvā

after having bathed (the god) with (the mantras that begin with) *āpo*, *hiraṇya*, (and) *pavamāna*.

SD 56.3–4 [arcana]

praṇavādibhir namontais tattannāmabhir abhyarcya

after having worshipped (the god) with (mantras containing the twelve) respective names, beginning with *om* and ending with *namaḥ*.

SD 56.4–7 [vaiṣṇavasūkta / viṣṇusūkta]

ato devā idam viṣṇus trīṇi padā viṣṇoḥ karmāṇi tad viṣṇoḥ paramaṁ tad viprāso viṣṇor nu kaṁ tad asya priyaṁ pra tad viṣṇuḥ paro mātrayā vicakrame trir devaḥ pṛthvīm iti dvādaśājyāhutīr hūtvā

after having offered into the fire the twelve oblations of clarified butter (while reciting the mantras beginning with) *ato deva...*, *idam viṣṇuḥ ...*, *trīṇi padā ...*, *viṣṇoḥ karmāṇi ...*, *tad viṣṇoḥ paramaṁ ...*, *tad viprāso ...*, *viṣṇor nu kaṁ ...*, *tad asya priyaṁ ...*, *pra tad viṣṇuḥ ...*, *paro mātrayā ...*, *vicakrame ...*, (and) *trir devaḥ pṛthvīm ...*,

SD 56.7–8 [pāyasanivedana]

ghṛtamiśṛitam pāyasaṁ keśavādibhyo nivedya

after having offered the milk porridge mixed with clarified butter to the (twelve forms of the god, namely) Keśava etc.

SD 56.8–9 [pāyasaḥoma]

dvādaśanāmabhir ato devādyaiś ca pāyasaṁ hutvā

after having offered the milk porridge into the fire (while reciting mantras) with the twelve names and (the mantras beginning with) *ato deva ...*

SD 56.9–10 [vedamantra]

ṛgyajussāmātharvabhir mantrair vaiṣṇavair viṣṇusūktena samprārthya

With the (opening verses) of the Ṛg-, Yajur-, Sāma- and Atharvaveda and with the vaiṣṇava mantras, (and) with the viṣṇusūkta,

SD 56.10–11 [praṇāma]

namoṃtair nāmabhiḥ praṇamya

after having prostrated (while reciting the mantras containing the twelve) names, in which *namaḥ* comes at the end,

SD 56.11 [antahoma]

puṇyāham antahomaṃ hutvā

after having offered the puṇyāha (and) the antahoma,

SD 56.11–12 [pāyaśaprāśana]

śeṣaṃ pāyasaṃ patnīm prāśayed

he should feed the remaining milk porridge to the wife.

SD 56.12–13 [on the fire]

garbhādhānādiviṣṇubalyantam aupāsanāgnau kartavyaṃ laukikāgnau iti eke.

(The offerings during the life-cycle rituals) beginning with garbhādhāna up to viṣṇubali should be commended into the aupāsana fire; (and) according to some, into the worldly fire.

Both Nṛsiṃha Vājapeyin’s treatments of viṣṇubali are more detailed than that of the sūtra but remain very close to it. Thus in both [introductions] the eighth month is named as the right time, with NVB even adding the fortnight and day from the sīmanta- and puṃsavana sections of the *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra*. In these texts viṣṇubali clearly follows sīmanta: the sacrifice of clarified butter in the [introduction] of NVB is made into a fire which is apparently already burning, and SD prescribes in [puruṣāvāhana] that the sacrificial fuel should be commended into the fire. Furthermore in [dvādaśanāmāvāhana] both texts give details with regard to the position and sequence of the twelve “darbha seats” for the god on the platform, as well as the prescribed order for the invocation of the god. The ritual element of the “bathing” of the god in [snapana] seems to be the only rite which is described in more detail in the sūtra than in Nṛsiṃha Vājapeyin’s works.

However, one element is introduced by Nṛsiṃha Vājapeyin, namely the wording of the formal declaration (*saṃkalpa*). According to NVB [introduction] the officiator [= father of the unborn child] should say: “I perform viṣṇubali for the sake of protection of her [= my wife’s] foetus.” Protection of the unborn child is thereby specified as purpose of this life-cycle ritual. This clearly differs from the connection which the other commentator, Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita, establishes between viṣṇubali, the idea of a “prenatal vaiṣṇava nature” (*garbhavaiṣṇavatva*),

and the prenatal “taking refuge in Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa” (see below 2.2.3–6). Moreover, while in other texts the feeding of the wife with the remainder of the milk porridge in [pāyasapṛāśana] develops into the central moment of the ritual, it is precisely this rite which Nṛsiṃha Vājapeyin in his SD has follow only *after* the ritually marked end of viṣṇubali. The final sacrifice called antahoma marks the end of the ritual, and the god is dismissed.²⁴⁶ By placing [pāyasapṛāśana] after [antahoma] Nṛsiṃha Vājapeyin indicates that the feeding of the wife is a rather minor event. It might well be that he instituted this demarcation quite carefully, for in NVB [pāyasapṛāśana] he refers to it in the following remark which is placed in parentheses, probably by the editor:²⁴⁷ “He feeds his wife [while reciting] the sudarśana gāyatrī and śaṅkha gāyatrī one after the other, according to the understanding of some who follow the popular practice, but not according to us” The mantras sudarśana gāyatrī and śaṅkha gāyatrī are directed to the disk (*cakra*) and conch (*śaṅkha*). The custom described foreshadows the marking of the milk porridge with the disk and conch before it is administered to the wife, as described in the *Ānandasamhitā* and in Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita’s *Tātparyacintāmaṇi*. There it is clearly stated that the milk porridge is branded with the heated metal symbols of disk and conch while the two so-called sudarśana mantras and the two pāñcajanya mantras are recited. Whether the custom mentioned by Nṛsiṃha Vājapeyin represents an early stage or a regional variant of the marking of the milk porridge cannot be decided.²⁴⁸ It is, however, crucial that Nṛsiṃha Vājapeyin explicitly distances himself from this custom (“... but not according to us”). It may well be that Nṛsiṃha Vājapeyin represented a rather purist current among the Vaikhānasas, which opposed the growing Śrīvaiṣṇava influence on the Vaikhānasa tradition and which therefore also set itself against the adoption and integration of ritual elements which were felt to be foreign to that tradition.

246 In other sūtra traditions this part of the ritual is called ucchiṣṭahoma or sviṣṭakṛddhoma. On the factors which demarcate the ritual, such as saṅkalpa at the start and antahoma or visarjana (the “dismissal” of the god) as the endpoint for ritual actions see Michaels 2005.

247 The editor Pārthasārathi Bhaṭṭācārya does not explain why the sentence is placed in parentheses. It might also be that this sentence is itself a remark of the editor. I regard this, however, as improbable, for Pārthasārathi Bhaṭṭācārya himself was a vehement advocate of the idea of the prenatal vaiṣṇava nature of the Vaikhānasas (see 1.3) and his own father speaks similarly of the branding of the milk porridge with the heated symbols of the cakra and śaṅkha (see 2.2.4.7).

248 It might well be that Nṛsiṃha Vājapeyin did not live under direct Śrīvaiṣṇava influence. In some places (especially in southern Tamil Nadu) even nowadays disk and conch are either drawn with a darbha blade on the milk porridge, or the sudarśana and pāñcajanya mantras are spoken over the milk porridge before it is administered to the pregnant woman.

2.2.2.3 Sundararāja's *Prayogavṛtti* (SR-vṛtti)²⁴⁹

SR-vṛtti (ĀS [1998] 95.15) [introduction]

viṣṇubalāv api sakālotpanne ahani

(When) the right time and day comes, during the (performance of) viṣṇubali as well,

SR-vṛtti (ĀS [1998] 95.16) [puruṣāvāhana]

āghārādipariṣecanānte praṇidhāv uttare oṃ bhūḥ puruṣam ityādināvāhya

at the end of the sprinkling of the āghāra etc., after having invoked (the god Puruṣa) in the praṇidhi pot on the northern side (of the fire) with (the mantras) “*Oṃ bhūḥ* (I invoke) Puruṣa ...” etc.

SR-vṛtti (ĀS [1998] 95.17) [nirvāpa, āghāra]

nirvāpānte tais tair ājyaṃ svāhā taṃ hutvā

At the end of the bestowing [clarified butter, and] after having offered clarified butter into the fire with the respective [mantras ending with] *svāhā*,

SR-vṛtti (ĀS [1998] 95.17–21) [dvādaśanāmāvāhana]

agneḥ purato vrīhibhis taṇḍulair vā kṛte sthaṇḍile kūrcam uttarāgram nidhāyottaramukhaḥ prāṇān āyamyā gandhākṣatapuṣpayutair adbhiḥ praṇidhim āpūrya tatpraṇidhijale bhagavantaṃ dhyātvā tasmāt sthaṇḍile tajjalaṃ pavitreṇādāya srāvāyan dvādaśamūrtin āvāhayet. keśavam āvāhayāmūtyādi. asti ced grhārcābimbam agneḥ pūrvato viṣṭare prānimukhaṃ sthāpyārcayen nāmamantraih

after making the platform with vrīhi or taṇḍula rice in front of the fire, (and) after having placed the kūrcā bundle[s] on it in such a way that the tips are in the northern direction, and after having restrained his breath while facing the northern direction, he fills the praṇidhi pot with water containing scent, unbroken rice grain and flowers. After having meditated upon the Adorable One in the water of that praṇidhi pot, and while pouring the water from it on the sthaṇḍila after taking it with a pavitra, he should invoke the twelve forms of the god (with the mantras:) “I invoke Keśava” and so on. If there is an idol wor-

249 The text is mentioned by Pārthasārathi Bhaṭṭācārya both in the introduction to the Telugu edition of the *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa* (p. 2) and in the foreword to the *Tātparyacintāmaṇi* (p. iv). Caland mentions a copy of the Telugu manuscript in the Government Oriental Manuscript Library in Madras (Ms. No. 1610; Triennial Catalogue 2.1, Sanskrit C, p. 2272) in the edition of the *Vaikhānasaśmṛtiasūtra*. According to Eggers (1929: 18) the *Vaikhānasaśmṛtiasūtra* of Śiṅgārācārya (Ducr.C.Ms.Nr. 1608b) also mentions the *Grhyaprayogavṛtti* of Sundararāja. By his own report, Paṇḍit A. G. Krishnamacharyulu (Narsapur, West Godavārī District, Andhra Pradesh) is likewise in possession of a manuscript of this text. I did not consult the manuscripts, therefore I am not aware of any indication of the text's or even the manuscripts' dates. The text given here is quoted in Pārthasārathi Bhaṭṭācārya's commentary on the *Anandasamhitā* (ĀS [1998] 95.15–27).

shipped in the house, then after placing it on spread darbha grass in front of the fire, facing western direction, he should worship it with the mantras of the (twelve) names (of the god) [i.e. I.e. the twelve mantras each consisting of one of the twelve names in the dative case followed by *namah*].

SR-vṛtti (ĀS [1998] 95.21–22) [snapana]

pādyādināpohiraṇyapavamānais snānam

(He should perform) the bathing (of the deities) with water for washing feet etc., and with (the mantras beginning with) *āpo ...*, *hiranya ...*, (and) *pavamāna ...*,

SR-vṛtti (ĀS [1998] 95.22) [arcana]

annadānācamanakādyantāni (ca) nāmnāivārcayet.

and he should worship (the god) with (mantras containing the twelve) names (using) food, water for rinsing the mouth etc. at the end,

SR-vṛtti (ĀS [1998] 95.22–23) [vaiṣṇavasūkta]

athāto devādyair vaiṣṇavaiṣ ṣaḍbhiṣ cājyaṃ hūtvā

after having now offered the clarified butter into the fire while (reciting) the six vaiṣṇava mantras, beginning with *ato deva...*,

SR-vṛtti (ĀS [1998] 95.23) [pāyasanivedana]

devasya saghṛtaṃ pāyasaṃ nivedayati.

He offers to the god milk porridge with clarified butter.

SR-vṛtti (ĀS [1998] 95.23–24) [pāyasaḥoma]

athāgnau saghṛtapāyasaṃ dvādaśanāmabhir ato devādibhir viṣṇor nu kādibhiṣ ca juhōti.

Then he offers milk porridge with clarified butter into the fire, (while reciting the mantras containing) the twelve names and (the mantras) beginning with *ato deva ...* and (the mantras) beginning with *viṣṇor nu kaṃ ...*

SR-vṛtti (ĀS [1998] 95.24–25) [arcana]

punar devasya pānīyācamanatāmbūlādīni datvā puruṣasūktena

Again, after giving the god drinking water, water for rinsing the mouth, betelnut etc., (while reciting) the puruṣasūkta,

SR-vṛtti (ĀS [1998] 95.25–26) [praṇāma]

dvādaśanāmabhir namaskāraṃ kṛtvā patnīm api praṇāmayet.

after having bowed while reciting the (mantras containing) the twelve names, he makes his wife bow as well.

SR-vṛtti (ĀS [1998] 95.26–27) [pūṇyāha / antahoma]

puṇyāham antahomaṃ ca kurvīta, dvādaśāvarān brāhmaṇān bhojayitvā,

He should perform the puṇyāha and antahoma rituals. After feeding twelve good Brah-
mans,²⁵⁰

SR-vṛtti (ĀS [1998] 95.27) [pāyasaprāśana]

viṣṇuniveditaśeṣaṃ pāyasaṃ patnīm prāśayitvā.

he should feed the wife with the rest of the milk porridge offered to Viṣṇu.

Sundararāja in his *Prayogavṛtti* gives more details and differs slightly from Nṛ-
siṃha Vājapeyin on the placement of the twelve forms of the god in [dvādaśanā-
māvāhana]. Moreover, here a domestic image (if available) is mentioned in the
ritual prescriptions and more details are given regarding the worship of the
twelve forms of Viṣṇu in [snapana] and [arcana]. Sundararāja clearly agrees
with the *Sūtradarpaṇa*'s [pāyasaprāśana] on one decisive point, namely the
feeding of the wife outside the actual ritual frame, after the [antahoma] and even
after the concluding feeding of the “good Brahmins.”²⁵¹

2.2.2.4 Vasantayājīn's Vṛtti (VY-vṛtti)²⁵²

VY-vṛtti (ĀS [1998] 96.11–15) [introduction] [purpose of the performance]

*atha viṣṇubalir iti. viśeṣakālanirdeśābhāvād anantaravād api atra ca garbhādhānādy-
aṣṭame māsi garbharakṣārthaṃ viṣṇubalir iti. tasmād garbhādhānādyāṣṭame māsi pūr-
vedyur abhyudayaśrāddhaṃ kṛtvā puṇye nakṣatre sīmantasyānte tantrayitvā viṣṇubaliṃ*

250 During nārāyaṇabali twelve Brahmins are invited who then represent the twelve forms
of Viṣṇu (see Krick 1977: 81ff.).

251 This closeness of Sundararāja's presentation to that of Narasiṃha Vājapeyin might indica-
te that the author of this passage is Sundarayājīn Paramaikāntin (Sundararājaka Bhaṭṭārya
/ Sundararājīṣendra / Sundararājācārya; see Appendix 1) who is named in three gurupa-
ramparās after Nṛsiṃha Vājapeyin and Bhāskara Bhaṭṭa, and before Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita.

252 Vasantayājīn's *Vṛtti* is mentioned by Pārthasārathi Bhaṭṭācārya in his introduction to the
Telugu edition of the *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa* (p. 2) and in the foreword to the *Tātpar-
yacintāmaṇi* (p. iv). A *Vaikhānasasaṃhitāvyaḥkhyāna* is cited in the India Office
Library Catalogue as a work of Vasantayājīn. The “Censure of the Pāñcarātra” (*Pāñca-
rātranirākāra*; SVUOI: 4965/2, 4984) is likewise ascribed to one Vasantayājīn. Accord-
ing to Eggers (1929: 18), this text was used by Śiṅgarācārya. It is however unlikely that
one and the same person is in question here, for the author of the vṛtti does not discuss
pañcasamskāra at all in connection with viṣṇubali.

*kuryāt. atra bodhāyanavacanam yathaitad dhṛto baliharanam viṣṇave 'ṣtame māse saptamyām dvādaśyām rohiṇyām śrāvaṇe veti.*²⁵³

(The section beginning with) “Now (begins) viṣṇubali”: in the absence of the direction for a particular time (for its performance in the sūtra), and also because it is (to be performed) immediately after (sīmantonayana), and because here it is stated: “in the eighth month after garbhādhāna,” (he should perform) “viṣṇubali for the sake of the protection of the embryo in the eighth month after garbhādhāna etc.” After having performed the abhyudayaśrāddha²⁵⁴ on the previous day, in an auspicious lunar mansion, at the end of sīmanta, he should perform viṣṇubali as a *tantram*.²⁵⁵ Bodhāyana has taught: “This namely is if offered (into the fire); it is the offering of bali to Viṣṇu. (It is to be performed) in the eighth month, during the seventh or twelfth day in the rohiṇī or śrāvaṇa lunar mansion.”

VY-ṛtti (ĀS [1998] 96.15–17) [puruṣāvāhana] [āghāra]

uttarapraṇidhāv agnyādīn ityādi? nirvāpyāghāram hutvetyantam. āghārahomakāle tad-uttarapraṇidhau devān agnyādisarvadevān āvāhya oṃ bhūḥ puruṣam ityādyaiś caturbhir viṣṇum api āvāhya

(Now the explanation of the sūtra-passage) beginning with “(invoking the gods with) Agni as first in the praṇidhi pot, placed north (of the fire)” and ending with “after having bestowed and then offered the clarified butter into the fire.” At the time of the āghāra-homa, after having invoked all the gods, beginning with Agni, in that praṇidhi pot placed north of this fire, and also having invoked Viṣṇu through the four (mantras) beginning with: “*Oṃ bhūḥ* (I invoke) Puruṣa ...”

VY-ṛtti (ĀS [1998] 96.18–21) [nirvāpa, āghāra]

tathājyaṃ nirvāpya āhutiś (hutvā) caruṇā homāntam āghāram hutvātha sīmantonayana-nāṃtaram tad eva vyāntahomaṃ? kṛtvādītenvamamsthā ityādyair antahpariṣekaṃ ca kṛtvā dvau ca tantrayitvā punar aditenumanyasvetyādyair mantrair ādipariṣekaṃ ca kṛtvā viṣṇubaliṃ kuryāt.

253 This is an abbreviated quotation of BaudhGrS 1.11: *yathaitad dhute baliharanam. [...]* *viṣṇave balir aṣtame māsi pūrvapakṣasya saptamyām dvādaśyām rohiṇyām śroṇāyām vā* “This namely is if offered (into the fire); it is the offering of bali ... (viṣṇubali is) the offering for Viṣṇu. (It is to be performed) in the eighth month, on the seventh or twelfth (day) of the bright half of the month, during the rohiṇī- or śrāvaṇa (?) lunar mansion.”

254 Abhyudayaśrāddha is another term for nāndimukha, see 2.2.

255 Professor Sanderson informs me that in Mīmāṃsaka technical language a *tantram* is a subsidiary action (*aṅgam*) that needs to be done only once and thereafter serves all principal actions (*pradhānam*). This is probably the sense of *tantrayitvā* here. The idea is that when he begins the viṣṇubali he does not need to repeat the subsidiary or subsidiaries that were performed at the beginning, i.e. before the sīmanta, but can go straight on to the viṣṇubali, the initial performance of the *tantram* serving this principal action too. A subsidiary (*aṅgam*) is an action necessary to the success of the principal (*pradhānam*).

Likewise, having bestowed the clarified butter, having offered the oblations into the fire, he performs the end of the homa, the āghāra, with the caru oblation. Now, immediately after śimantonnayana, he performs the anthoma for it, and after having performed in between the sprinkling (of water around the fire) with (the mantras) beginning with “Aditi, you gave your consent! ...,” and having provided for the two [rituals as separate acts?], he again performs the sprinkling of water (around the fire) in the beginning (while reciting the mantras) beginning with “Aditi! Give your consent! ...” (Now) he should perform viṣṇubali.

VY-vṛtti (ĀS [1998] 96.21–22) [puruṣāvāhana]

uttarapṛaṇidhāv oṃ bhūḥ puruṣam ityādyaiś caturbhīr viṣṇum āvāhayāmūti āvāhy[a]

After having invoked Viṣṇu in the pṛaṇidhi pot, placed north (of the fire), through the four (mantras) beginning with *oṃ bhūḥ puruṣam* ..., (and ending with) “... I invoke”

VY-vṛtti (ĀS [1998] 96.22) [nirvāpa, āghāra]

ājyaṃ nirvāpya caturājyāhutīr hutvā,

After having bestowed the clarified butter and having offered into the fire four offerings of clarified butter,

VY-vṛtti (ĀS [1998] 96.22–97.6) [dvādaśanāmāvāhana]

agneḥ pūrvasyām darbhāsana iti gṛhārcanārthaṃ tad viṣṇor bimbaṃ yađi syād agneḥ pūrvasyām viṣṭare sādhipāse darbhāsane pṛatyānmukhaṃ tad bimbaṃ sthāpayitvā bim-bābhāve svarṇasakalaṃ kūrcāṃ vā nidhāya tasmin kūrcākṣatādbhiḥ pṛaṇidhim āpūrya tadapsu taṃ devaṃ sakalaṃ dhyātvā kūrcā vādbhir dvādaśanāmabhir devaṃ viṣṇum āvāhya

(Now the explanation of the passage) ‘on the darbha grass seat, placed in front of the fire’: if an idol of Viṣṇu for worshipping in the home is available, then, after having placed this idol on a scented darbha grass seat in front of the fire, with the face (of the idol) in westward direction; or in the absence of an idol, after having placed on (the grass spread) either a piece of gold or a kūrcā bundle, (and) after filling the pṛaṇidhi pot with water, with a kūrcā bundle and with unbroken rice grains, and having visualized the deity in his manifest form in the water of that (pot) or on the kūrcā, (and) having summoned the god Viṣṇu with water using the twelve names

VY-vṛtti (ĀS [1998] 97.6–8) [snapana]

snāpayitvā tannāmnārcayati. āpo hi śṭhādyair hiraṇyavarṇādyaiḥ pavamānādyaiś ca bimbaṃ snāpayitvā tadabhāve snānam iti prokṣya

(Then follows): “after having bathed (the god), he worships him by reciting (the mantras containing) the respective names.” After having bathed the idol (while reciting the mantras) beginning with *āpo hi śṭhā* ..., *hiraṇyavarṇa* ..., (and) *pavamāna* ..., or, in the absence (of an idol), having sprinkled water (with a kūrcā bundle) while reciting *snānam*,

VY-vṛtti (ĀS [1998] 97.8–9) [arcana]

*dvādaśanāmabhiḥ pādyācamanasnānāplotavastrottariyābharanāyajñopavītācamanaṣ-
pagandhadhūpadīpārghyācamanaṣ arcayati.*

He worships (the god by reciting the mantras containing) his twelve names, with water for washing the feet, water for rinsing the mouth, bath, cloth, garment, upper garment, ornaments, the sacred thread, water for rinsing the mouth, flowers, scent, incense, light, arghya water, and with water for rinsing the mouth,

VY-vṛtti (ĀS [1998] 97.9–10) [vaiṣṇavasūkta / viṣṇusūkta]

*dvādaśāhutīr ājyena hutveti. ato devādyair viṣṇor nu kādyaiḥ ṣaḍbhiḥ ca dvādaśamant-
rair juhvājyena hutvā*

(Now the explanation of the passage) ‘after having offered into the fire the twelve clarified butter offerings’: after having offered the clarified butter offering into the fire with the juhū ladle (while reciting the mantras) beginning with *ato deva ...* and the six (mantras) beginning with *viṣṇor nu kaṁ ...*, (and the) twelve mantras.

VY-vṛtti (ĀS [1998] 97.10–12) [pāyasanivedana]

*pāyasam ājyena hutvā pāyasam havir dvādaśanāmabhir devaṁ nivedya pānīyācamana-
mukhavāsam dadyāt,*

(The passage) “After having offered the milk porridge with clarified butter into the fire” (means): after having offered to the god the milk porridge as oblation (while reciting the mantras containing) the twelve names, he should give drinking water, water for rinsing the mouth, and mouth-perfume.

VY-vṛtti (ĀS [1998] 97.12–13) [pāyasahoma]

*ājyamiśraṁ pāyasam juhuyād iti. keśavādyair dvādaśanāmabhir viṣṇor nu kādyair man-
traiḥ ca sājyaṁ śeṣaṁ pāyasam hastena juhuyāt.*

(The explanation of the passage) “He should offer into the fire milk porridge mixed with clarified butter”: he should offer into the fire with his hand [i.e. rather than with the juhū ladle] that leftover milk porridge mixed with clarified butter, (while reciting the mantras containing) the twelve names (and) the mantras beginning with *viṣṇor nu kaṁ....*

VY-vṛtti (ĀS [1998] 97.13–14) [praṇāma]

namontair dvādaśanāmabhir praṇāmān kṛtvā

after having made [twelve?] bows while reciting the (mantras that have) *namaḥ* as their end (and that contain) the twelve names

VY-vṛtti (ĀS [1998] 97.14) [pāyasaprāśana]

tac cheṣaṁ pāyasam patnīm bhōjayati.

he gives the remainder of that milk porridge his wife to eat.

VY-vṛtti (ĀS [1998] 97.14–15) [outcome of the performance]

tasyāṃ vidvān āyuṣyabalārogyayuk chrīmānt satputro jāyata iti.

To her a wise, long-lived, strong, healthy, wealthy and good son will be born.

Vasantayājīn’s *Vṛtti* has the character of a sūtra commentary rather than of a ritual handbook. Most sections begin with a short quotation or reference to the corresponding passages in the *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra*. In the [introduction] Vasantayājīn also quotes the *Baudhāyanagrhyasūtra* on the prescribed moment for performing viṣṇubali. In this respect it resembles the *Tātparyacintāmaṇi* (see below, 2.2.3). In the section on [pāyasahoma] we find another agreement with Bodhāyana: here, unlike the *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra*, only the recitation of the six mantras of the viṣṇusūkta, but not the vaiṣṇavasūkta is prescribed. In the final section on section the [outcome of the performance] Vasantayājīn follows the Bodhāyana tradition as well. There the birth of a “wise, long-lived, strong, healthy, wealthy and good son” is identified as the desired effect of viṣṇubali is, whereas in the *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra* no indication of the ‘purpose’ of this life cycle ritual is given. Vasantayājīn relies *verbatim* on Nṛsiṃha Vājapeyīn’s bhāṣya for the “formal declaration” which expresses another desired [outcome of the performance]: viṣṇubali serves to protect the foetus. Vasantayājīn, like Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita in the *Tātparyacintāmaṇi*, explicitly states that viṣṇubali follows immediately after sīmanta, but goes beyond it in that he comments in detail on the ritual marking of the boundary between sīmanta and viṣṇubali in his section on [nirvāpa, āghāra]. In contrast to the texts discussed up to this point, Vasantayājīn suggests in [dvādaśanāmāvāhana] that Viṣṇu’s domestic image is to be used *instead* of the twelve darbha grass seats to invoke Viṣṇu’s twelve forms.

Vasantayājīn’s account strongly relies on Bodhāyana and closely resembles Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita’s presentation of viṣṇubali in his *Tātparyacintāmaṇi*. However, unlike Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita, here the rite [pāyasaprāśana], the feeding of the milk porridge to the wife, is not further developed and the author does not mention the idea of garbhavaiṣṇavatva.

2.2.3 Garbhavaiṣṇavatva and viṣṇubali in the *Tātparyacintāmaṇi*

In contrast to the passages dealt with so far, the further extant texts on viṣṇubali speak of a “prenatal (Śrī)vaiṣṇava nature” (*garbhavaiṣṇavatva*, *garbhasya śrī-vaiṣṇavatva*) of the Vaikhānasas which is realised through the performance of the saṃskāra viṣṇubali. This concept invariably goes hand in hand with a specific rite, namely a branding or marking of the milk porridge, which the wife re-

ceives to eat after it has been offered to Viṣṇu. The first text to introduce this concept is Śrīnivāsa Dikṣita's sūtra-commentary *Tātparyacintāmaṇi* (TPC).²⁵⁶

TPC 434.3–8 [introduction] [outcome of the performance]

athetyādi. atha anantaram aṣṭame māsi viṣṇubaliḥ. atra bodhāyanaḥ: "yathaitad dhuto baliharaṇam. viṣṇave balir aṣṭame māsi pūrvapakṣasya saptamyām dvādaśyām rohinīyām śronāyām vā. iti. "vaiṣṇavo hy eṣa māso vijñāyate viṣṇur garbhasya devatā." iti. uktadināt pūrvedyuh nāndīmukhaṃ kṛtvā "asyā garbhapuṣṭyartham garbhasya śrīvaiṣṇavatvasiddhyartham ca viṣṇubalikarmaṇā saṃskariṣyāmi" iti saṃkalpya āghāraṃ hutvā, āvāhanakāle.

(The explanation of the passage) beginning with "now": now, immediately after (sīmantā), in the eighth month (of pregnancy), viṣṇubali (is performed). Here says Bodhāyana: "This offering to Viṣṇu among other offerings. The offering to Viṣṇu is (performed) in the eighth month, on the seventh or twelfth (day) of the bright half of the month, during the rohinī- or śravaṇa(?) lunar mansion" (and) "This month is known as belonging to Viṣṇu, Viṣṇu is the deity of the foetus." After having performed (the rite) nāndīmukha a day before the above mentioned day, he formally declares: "... for the sake of the full development of this foetus of hers [= my wife], and for the sake of attaining the Śrīvaiṣṇava characteristics of the foetus, I make (the foetus) perfect through the viṣṇubali ritual." After having performed the āghāra, during the time of invocation,

TPC 2 434.16–17 [puruṣāvāhana]

uttaretyādi. devaṃ viṣṇuṃ. viṣṇubalikarmatvāt devaṃ viṣṇuṃ ity uktam.

(Now the explanation of the passage) beginning with "in northern direction ...". (He invokes) the god Viṣṇu. Because it is the viṣṇubali ritual, "the god Viṣṇu" is mentioned.

TPC 434.17 [snapana]

snāpayitvā.

After having bathed (the god).

TPC 434.17–19 [arcana]

tataḥ vastrottariṅgapavītādīni dadyāt.

grhya: "hrdayād arkabiṃbād vā dhyātvāvāhya surūpiṇam / pīṭhe vā taṃḍule vātha kuśākūrce samarcayet //" iti.

Afterwards he should offer clothes, upper garments, the sacred thread etc.

The (*Vaikhānasa*)*grhya*(*pariśiṣṭasūtra*) says: "After having invoked the one who has beautiful form from his heart or the orb of the sun, after having visualized him (there), he should worship him either on a pedestal, or on rice grains, or on the bundle of kuśa grass."

256 TPC 434.1–435.12.

TPC 435.3–4 [vedamantra]

rgyajussāmetyādi. mantraiḥ vaiṣṇavaiḥ. puruṣasūktasya cāturvedikatvāt puruṣasūktena ca stotraṃ kṛtvā

(Explanation of the passage) beginning with “Rg-, Yajur-, Sāma- ...” (and) “with the vaiṣṇava mantras....” Because the puruṣasūkta is contained in the four Vedas, after having praised (the god) with the puruṣasūkta,

TPC 435.4–5 [praṇāma]

“keśavāya nāmaḥ” ityādyaiḥ namo ’ntaiḥ dvādaśanāmabhiḥ dvādaśakṛtvaḥ praṇāmya patnīṅ ca praṇāmaṃ kārayitvā

(With the mantras) “Salutation to Keśava” and so on: having bowed twelve times with (mantras containing) the twelve names and *namaḥ* in the end, he makes his wife (also) to bow (to the god),

TPC 435.5–6 [cakraśaṅkhapūjā, cakraśaṅkhatāpāna]

pūjitau sudarśanapāñcajanyaṃ tasminn agnau pratāpya tābhyāṃ prahutaśeṣe pāyase ’nkayitvā

After he worshipped the disk and conch, having them then heated in that fire, he marks with them the remainder of the offered milk porridge.

TPC 435.6 [pāyasapṛāśana]

pāyasaśeṣaṃ patnīm pṛāśayati.

He gives the remainder of the milk porridge to his wife to eat.

TPC 12 435.7–12 [outcome of the performance]

sīmantena sahaiva kṛte viṣṇubalau saṃkalpya pariśtīrya pariṣicya uttaraprañidhau “oṃ bhūḥ puruṣam” ity ādinā āvāhya nirvāpaṃ kṛtvā āghārau srāvya hutvā yathākramaṃ homaḥ puruṣādibhyaḥ. śeṣaṃ pūrvavat kuryāt.

yājñavalkya: “dauhrdasyāpradānena garbho doṣam avāpnuyāt / vairūpyaṃ maraṇaṃ vāpi tasmāt kāryaṃ priyaṃ striyāḥ //” [=Yājñavalkyasmṛiti 3.79] iti saṃkocenaśadhādika[ḥ].

When viṣṇubali is performed together with sīmanta, (the sequence of events is:) the formal declaration, scattering (the darbha grass blades around the fire place), sprinkling the water (around the fire place), invoking (the god) in the prañidhi pot standing north (of the fire) with (the mantras) beginning with *oṃ bhūḥ puruṣam ...*, bestowing (the clarified butter to the god), pouring the two āghāras, offering into the fire, (namely) the offering into the fire for Puruṣa and so on, in the right order. He should do the rest as before.

Yājñavalkya says: “As a result of not giving (her) whatever she craves during pregnancy, the foetus gets damaged, deformed or can even die. Therefore, that which is dear to the woman should be done.” This, in short, is the medicine etc.

Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita's statements on viṣṇubali in his *Tātparyacintāmaṇi* are rather short. Like Vasantayājīn, he explicitly recognizes Bodhāyana as an authority when in the [introduction] he relies on the *Baudhāyanagr̥hyasūtra* for the correct moment for viṣṇubali which is not stated in the *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra*. A further similarity to Vasantayājīn in content is also apparent in the section on [arcanā]. Here Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita quotes the *Vaikhānasagr̥hyaparīśiṣṭasūtra*, stating that the god's image can be set up for worship on a pedestal, on rice grains, or on a bundle of kuśa grass. However, the text does not mention whether the worship of Viṣṇu in his twelve forms on the darbha grass seats is substituted by the worship of the domestic image, as Vasantayājīn indicates. There is a further agreement between the *Tātparyacintāmaṇi* and Vasantayājīn's text on viṣṇubali: both describe how the procedure changes when sīmanta and viṣṇubali are performed together.

In contrast to the *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra*, where no purpose of viṣṇubali is set out, Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita twice refers to the [outcome of the performance]. According to a verse quoted from the *Yājñavalkyadharmasāstra*, viṣṇubali is said to avert dangers from the foetus, and the samkalpa given in the [introduction] names as another aim that it aids the "flourishing" of the foetus. Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita connects this with the attainment of a "Śrīvaiṣṇava nature" of the unborn child (*garbhasya śrīvaiṣṇavatvasiddhyartham*), also mentioned in the samkalpa. Along with this "prenatal Śrīvaiṣṇava nature" he thus introduces with a few brief words a new element into the viṣṇubali ritual, namely [cakrasaṅkhapūjā and cakrasaṅkhapratāpana]: disk (*cakra*) and conch (*śaṅkha*) are worshipped and heated in the fire. The milk porridge is then marked with these, and only then given to the wife to eat.

2.2.4 Viṣṇubali and pañcasamṣkāra

The connection Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita establishes in the *Tātparyacintāmaṇi* between the idea of garbhavaiṣṇavatva and the branding of the milk porridge clearly echoes the element of branding or marking which is a component part of an initiation of other vaiṣṇava groups: a branding is the first element of the so-called "five samskāras" (*pañcasamṣkāra*).

2.2.4.1 Pañcasamṣkāra and branding among Pāñcarātrins and Śrīvaiṣṇavas

An initiation called pañcasamṣkāra seems to have served as a conversion or initiatory ritual into the vaiṣṇava community from about the ninth century CE.²⁵⁷ It ideally consists of the following five rites:²⁵⁸ (1) branding of the upper arms of those to be initiated (*tāpasamṣkāra*) with heated metal symbols of two weapons of Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa, namely disk (*cakra*) and conch (*śaṅkha*),²⁵⁹ (2) applying the so-called ūrdhvaṇḍra marks on twelve places on the body (*puṇḍrasamṣkāra*),²⁶⁰ (3) receiving a vaiṣṇava name (*nāmasamṣkāra*),²⁶¹ (4) instruction in particular vaiṣṇava mantras (*mantrasamṣkāra*),²⁶² and (5) initiation into vaiṣṇava ri-

-
- 257 Varadachari (1982: 418ff.) states that pañcasamṣkāra could already have been in use from around 700 CE. Raman sees pañcasamṣkāra as “marker of vaiṣṇava identity” at least since the 9th century CE (2005: 92, and note 2). Both scholars refer here to Periyālvār, *Tirupallāṅṭu*, verse 7. See also Jagadeesan 1989a: 120, and Jagannathan 1994: 29.
- 258 The procedure referred to here is apparently only one of many possibilities. On diverse variants in contemporary performances, see Rangachari (1931: 34ff.), Gnanambal (1971: 130ff.), and Raman 2005.
- 259 Varadachari (1982: 416) refers to certain vaiṣṇava schools that mark the upper arms not by branding but by applying sandal paste (see also Ramachandra Rao 1990: 141). This mode of marking the body with Viṣṇu’s weapons was also pointed out to me in Tirunelveli as practiced daily by Mādhvas. However, I was not able to follow this issue up for the present work.
- 260 The first puṇḍra is painted on the forehead. Smith/Vekatachari (1980: 60) say that these puṇḍras are worn for the first time in the course of pañcasamṣkāra. Thereafter they should be self-applied daily. A number of texts deal with the right method of application. They unanimously state that the twelve forms of Viṣṇu (Keśava to Dāmodara) are invoked during application (see Rangachari 1931: 35). For two examples of contemporary methods of applying these ūrdhvaṇḍras in the course of female initiation as part of pañcasamṣkāra, see Raman 2005 (94 and 99). Today, it seems, a single ūrdhvaṇḍra is applied to a male child’s forehead the first time after his first birthday, when the ritual called āyushoma is performed. The full set of twelve ūrdhvaṇḍras, however, is worn only during and after pañcasamṣkāra.
- 261 This rite is nowadays omitted in vaiṣṇava families because the initiants usually already have a vaiṣṇava name.
- 262 Nowadays the following three mantras are transmitted to a Śrīvaiṣṇava in the course of pañcasamṣkāra: 1) the tirumantra (also called mūlamantra or aṣṭākṣara): *oṃ namo nārāyaṇāya*, 2) the dvaya mantra: *śrīmannārāyaṇācarāṇau śaraṇam prapadye; śrīmate nārāyaṇāya namaḥ*, and 3) the caramaśloka (BhGī 18.66): *sarvadharmān pratityajya mām ekam śaraṇam vraja; aham tvā sarvaṇḍraḥ mokṣayiṣyāmi mā śucaḥ* (see Mumme 1987b: 2f.). Mumme (1987b: 23ff.) reports that in addition two further so-called caramaślokas are taught today in the course of pañcasamṣkāra, namely the rāmāyaṇa

tual practice (*yāgasamṣkāra*), which occasionally takes place in connection with the transfer of a small cult image (*viṅraha*). Among these, the element of branding is seen as of special importance, for as *pars pro toto* it can stand for the whole initiation.²⁶³

How this initiation came into being has not yet been explored sufficiently. Colas (1995a: 121f.) suggests that the model of an earlier Pāñcarātra initiation could have contributed significantly to the formation of pañcasamṣkāra.²⁶⁴ One important congruence of the initiations prescribed in the early Pāñcarātrasamhitās and pañcasamṣkāra is that everybody, irrespective of caste / varṇa and gender, is eligible to be initiated.²⁶⁵ It seems that this practice went out of use and was then reinforced by Rāmānuja who made pañcasamṣkāra the initiation into Śrīvaiṣṇavism in the 11th/12th century.²⁶⁶ While in the beginning pañcasamṣkāra conferred eligibility to learn the vaiṣṇava doctrine and mantras, it later also included the acceptance of the philosophical doctrine of Viśiṣṭādvaita, with a general lifestyle based upon this doctrine. Today pañcasamṣkāra is seen as absolu-

caramaśloka and the varāha caramaśloka. This, however, seems not to be a general rule but based on local traditions.

- 263 Other terms used frequently for this branding are *taptamudrā*, *taptacakrāṅkana*, *tāpa-samṣkāra*, *bahistāpa* etc. Pañcasamṣkāra is dealt with in separate Śrīvaiṣṇava treatises such as *Saccarītrarakṣā* of Vedāntadeśika, *Siddhāntacandrikā* of Paravastu Vedāntācārya, and the anonymous *Sudarśanamīmāṃsā*. The texts *Taptamūdrāṅkaṇapramāṇasamgraha* of Campakeś(av)ācārya and the anonymous texts *Pañcasamṣkāraṅkaḷ*, *Pañcasamṣkāravidhi* and *Pañcasamṣkāraviṣayasaṃgraha* defend the practice of branding. These works were in turn the subject of commentaries in Maṇipravāla and Sanskrit (see Varadachari 1975: 461ff.).
- 264 In the Pāñcarātrasamhitās various initiations are described, and the accounts given vary from text to text, at times considerably. One cannot therefore speak of a uniform Pāñcarātra initiation. Instead, the individual texts require separate consideration, based on detailed in-depth studies. For an overview see the 1979 study by Sanjukta Gupta. Apart from pañcasamṣkāra many more philosophical and ritual motifs of the Pāñcarātrasamhitās were adopted by the Śrīvaiṣṇavas (see Colas 1995a: 121).
- 265 Krick (1977: 77) remarks that cult of Nārāyaṇa-Viṣṇu evidently always had been remarkably inclusive. Thus, for example SāvataS 16.17–22; 19.42–45 states that everybody can receive initiation. The later Pāñcarātrasamhitās, however, distinguish clearly between an initiation that confers the right to perform ritual for one's own sake (*svārtha/ātmārtha*), and the initiation that confers eligibility to perform rituals for others (*parārtha*). The second type is not open for all and even the first type never extended beyond "pure" Sūdras. See also Hüsken 2009.
- 266 See Jagannathan 1994: 175. See also Raman (2007) on the post-Rāmānuja hagiographic accounts of pañcasamṣkāra which rather depict it as an initiation or conversion ritual of sorts of a male elite. However, as she rightly cautions, the hagiographic accounts are not to be taken literally, but rather depict an "ideal" reality.

tely necessary to be considered a Śrīvaiṣṇava, and to perform the vaiṣṇava rituals.²⁶⁷

Although Pāñcarātrins in the beginning not necessarily considered themselves Śrīvaiṣṇavas, Rāmānuja's powerful influence upon temple organisation made it indispensable for the Pāñcarātra temple priests to undergo pañcasamskāra.²⁶⁸ This development is closely connected to the ambiguous status of temple priests in general, as discussed in 2.1.2: they serve the god and at the same time serve the devotees. In order to be suitable mediators between the god and Śrīvaiṣṇavas it was evidently considered imperative that they took this initiation.

However, Pāñcarātra soon assimilated to Śrīvaiṣṇavism, and in its developed form pañcasamskāra was included in some of the later Pāñcarātrasamhitās, too.²⁶⁹ Thus, in the *Īśvarasamhitā*, pañcasamskāra is explicitly mentioned and described in the twenty-first chapter on initiation (*dīkṣāvidhi*).²⁷⁰ Pāñcasamskāra is here seen as central part of the so-called vaibhavadīkṣā, which confers eligibility to worship Viṣṇu (*ĪśvaraS* 21.1–28).²⁷¹ According to this passage the branding rite should be performed as follows. The ācārya first receives authorisation from a vaiṣṇava assembly to perform the initiation. He makes his way to the fire

267 See Venkataraman 1956: 173; Gnanambal 1971: 106; Varadachari 1982: 418.

268 See, in detail, Jagannathan 1994. The Pāñcarātra system developed in the Tamil speaking area more and more into a ritual school accentuating temple ritual more than philosophical aspects of their tradition. In contrast, the Vaikhānasa tradition from the beginning seems to have been a primarily (temple) ritual tradition, which began to develop its own philosophical profile only recently (see Colas 1995a: 214f.)

269 For the time being it must remain unclear whether the so-called cakrābjadīkṣā or cakramaṇḍaladīkṣā in the comparatively late Pāñcarātrasamhitās *Pādmāsamhitā* (caryāpāda 2.7–61) and *Viśvamītrasamhitā* (chapter 9) was taken as a model for pañcasamskāra. Although this initiation does not include branding, it has other elements in common with pañcasamskāra: according to the *Pādmāsamhitā* the ācārya should affix the puṇḍra to the forehead of the candidate, confer a new name on him on the next day and initiate him into the dvādaśākṣara and the aṣṭākṣara mantras. Another similarity between this dīkṣā and pañcasamskāra is that women and sūdras can also receive this initiation, although the mantras taught to them do not, according to these texts, include the syllable *om* (see PādmaS, caryāpāda, 2.61b–64; see ViśvamītraS 9.30ff.).

270 *ĪśvaraS* 21.283cd–284ab: *ataḥ śīṣyasya vai kuryāt samskārān pañca ca kramāt // tāpaḥ puṇḍras tathā nāma mantrō yāgaś ca pañcamah //*. Tāpasamskāra is described in *Īśvarasamhitā* 21.284–292, puṇḍrasamskāra in 21.293–317, nāmasamskāra in 21.318–325, mantrasamskāra in 21.328–441, and yāgasamskāra in 21.442–448.

271 In this chapter, however, the eligibility to do worship “for others” is confined to descendants of five Ṛṣis (*ĪśvaraS* 21.510cd–511cd, 519). H.D.Smith/Venkatachari (1980: 526 and 536) suggests that the vaibhavadīkṣā, described in the sixteenth chapter of the *Sātvatasamhitā*, is a precursor of pañcasamskāra in the *Īśvarasamhitā*.

place together with the pupil. There he worships the two symbols of disk and conch, which have been installed with the appropriate mantras, and which have been passed on to him by his own teacher. First, 108 offerings of clarified butter are put into the fire while the mūlamantra and the vaiṣṇavīgāyatī are recited.²⁷² The two symbols are held in the fire and are worshipped. Again the ācārya should make 108, or alternatively 28, offerings into the fire, while reciting the cakra and the śaṅkha mantras. He then meditates on god, and on his teacher-pupil succession lineage. Only then he brands first the right arm of the pupil with the disk, and then the left with the conch. In closing he sprinkles the two symbols with water and again sacrifices into the fire while reciting the mūlamantra. The use of the sudarśana and the pāñcajanya mantras, the 108 offerings into the fire,²⁷³ the meditation on god and the heating of the symbols before the marking in the *Īśvarasaṃhitā*'s description of pañcasamṣkāra tallies with the account of the branding of the milk porridge which is to be administered to the pregnant wife (*garbhacakrasamṣkāra*) in the *Ānandasamṣhitā* (see 2.2.4.2). In spite of this evident similarity the *Īśvarasaṃhitā* emphasizes quite sharply that Vaikhānasas are in no way equal to Pāñcarātrins. Thus, in chapter 19 (*prāyaścittavidhi*) it is stated that a ritual purification of the entire temple is necessary if a Vaikhānasa performs ritual there,²⁷⁴ and in chapter 21 (*ĪśvaraS* 21.587) the Vaikhānasas are even placed on the same level as Śaivas. These statements point to a strongly competitive relation of the two groups. The account of branding in the *Śrīpraśnasaṃhitā* (16.110–122) also shows considerable agreement with the Vaikhānasas' branding of the milk porridge as described in the *Ānandasamṣhitā*. Particularly noteworthy is here that after the branding the two symbols are sprinkled with milk, and in closing the god is offered a sweet. This rite recalls the milk porridge offering to Viṣṇu in the course of viṣṇubali and might thus indicate a tendency among the Pāñcarātrins to match or assimilate to the competing Vaikhānasas. Such a tendency also emerges from the second chapter of the *Parāśaraśaṃhitā*, one of the later Pāñcarātrasamṣhitās (*ParāśaraS* 2.3–70).²⁷⁵ There it is stated that all the samṣkāras should be performed according to the “vaiṣṇavaśru-

272 According to *ĪśvaraS* 21.287 the mantra concerned is *tad viṣṇoḥ paramaṃ padaṃ sadā paśyanti sūrayaḥ divīva cakṣurātataṃ* (RV 1.22.20.1–2{07}, TS 1.3.6.2, 4.2.9.39).

273 According to Eggers (1929: 14) the 108 offerings into the fire are also mentioned by the Vaikhānasa author Śiṅgarācārya in the *Vaikhānasasaṃgrahasamṣhitā*.

274 *ĪśvaraS* 19.458; see Mishra 1994: 11.

275 Smith/Venkatachari (1980: 188) argue that this text was not written long before the 15th century CE.

ti,”²⁷⁶ and it is repeatedly ordained that the “way of the Veda” (*vedamārga*) should be followed.²⁷⁷ In the brief description of these saṃskāras it is stated that during the birth rituals (*jātakarman*) the father of the newborn child should draw a disk and conch on the child’s arms as well as a puṇḍra on the forehead. The symbols should likewise be drawn on the child during the name-giving ceremonies (*nāmakaraṇa*). On this occasion the child should receive a name which proves him or her to be a follower of Viṣṇu. The drawing of the two symbols should likewise be done as part of the childhood saṃskāras annaprāśana (the first feeding of solid food) and cauḷa (tonsure before the upanayana initiation).²⁷⁸ Only in connection with upanayana does the actual pañcasamskāra ritual take place.²⁷⁹ Thus in this Pāñcarātra text a close connection is established between an initiation into the Śrīvaiṣṇava fold and a person’s life-cycle rituals. In this respect the *Parāśarasamhitā*’s treatment of pañcasamskāra resembles the Vaikhānasas’ strategy.²⁸⁰ However, in contrast to the Pāñcarātrins the Vaikhānasas do not combine elements of initiation and of life-cycle rituals, but rather identify the two with each other. And while the rituals prescribed by the *Parāśarasamhitā* are to be performed after birth, the Vaikhānasas shift their process of becoming Vaiṣṇavas to the time before birth, and thus much more strongly link it with family and clan affiliation.

In any case, as is evident from the *Īśvarasamhitā* and other later Pāñcarātra-samhitās, pañcasamskāra became established as part of the or precondition to the initiations of Pāñcarātra temple priests. Today the Pāñcarātra ritual specialists in the temple have to undergo pañcasamskāra first, and then receive a further Pāñcarātra dikṣā. Pañcasamskāra, including the branding of the upper arms, is perceived as an inevitable prerequisite for learning the required mantras, for being

276 What is ment by “vaiṣṇavaśrutī” is not clear. However, it is not unlikely that the sūtras with a sectarian tendency towards Vaiṣṇavism are indicated here, such as Baudhāyana or Vaikhānasa. Another possibility is the Kātyāyanasūtra, which is frequently mentioned as the sūtra of those Pāñcarātrins who are eligible to perform ritual “for others” (*parārtha*).

277 ParāśaraS 1.12. ParāśaraS 3.10–13 adds that vedic mantras should be used by twice-born for worshipping Viṣṇu (see also ParāśaraS 3.136).

278 See also the hagiographical accounts dealt with by Raman 2007.

279 Even today pañcasamskāra is usually performed in connection with or some time after the upanayana saṃskāra.

280 In the *Parāśarasamhitā* Vaikhānasas are not generally despised, but only if they do not have pañcasamskāra, because only through pañcasamskāra does one perform prapatti (see 2.2.5.1).

able to serve the god who is present in the divine image, and to receive further initiation.²⁸¹

A close connection of pañcasamṣkāra and Pāñcarātra initiation is reflected in several passages of the Vaikhānasasamhitās (see also Colas 1996: 170). Thus in *Prakīrṇādhikāra* 30.5ff. the initiation of the Pāñcarātrins is described as branding. In this passage pañcasamṣkāra, which *inter alia* consists of branding, is thus understood as in fact being *the* initiation (*dīkṣā*) of Pāñcarātrins. *Samūrtārcanādhikāraṇa* 65.120–125 is to be understood similarly. There the vaidika Vaikhānasas are contrasted with the tāntrika Pāñcarātrins. The samṣkāras which begin with niṣeka are administered to the Vaikhānasas according to their sūtra, while the Pāñcarātrins have the samṣkāras according to other sūtras (Bodhāyana etc.) and a branding. Like the Vaikhānasas, they are to be considered Vaiṣṇavas, but are *āgneya* (literally “belonging to Agni”) in contrast to the *saumya* (literally “belonging to Soma”) Vaikhānasas (see Colas 1996: 166, 171f., 226). According to the *Kriyādhikāra* non-Vaikhānasas must have a branding / mark so that they can be employed in the temple as assistants to the priests.²⁸² In the *Ānandasamhitā* Pāñcarātrins are frequently characterised as “having a marking/branding” (see e.g. ĀS 19.13, 19.15). A process called *bahistaptacakradīkṣā* / *bāhyataptadīkṣā* consists of the heating (of a metal symbol) of the disk in the fire which is used for sacrifice in the course of the upanayana initiation. The arms of the Pāñcarātra initiants are branded with this heated disk (ĀS 8.26–29). This clearly refers to the branding element of pañcasamṣkāra and confirms the close connection of the life-cycle ritual upanayana and the initiation into the Śrīvaiṣṇava fold.²⁸³

281 See Varadachari 1982: 351; see Gupta 1979: 85–87.

282 See *Kriyādhikāra* 36.41 and 42ab. *Prakīrṇādhikāra* 18.8–14, 25 and *Yajñādhikāra* 51.36–38 state that a helper in a Vaikhānasa temple must have undergone an initiation (*dīkṣā*), without saying what it consists of. Those passages in the Vaikhānasasamhitās which describe the Pāñcarātrins as “having undergone an initiation (*dīkṣā*)” and as tāntrika, without mentioning a branding or mark, refer not to garbhavaiṣṇavatva as demarcating the Vaikhānasas from the Pāñcarātrins but either to their samṣkāras, as prescribed by the Vaikhānasasūtra, by contrast with *dīkṣā* (KhA 41.8–9, KrA 1.22), or to Vaikhānasa worship in accordance with the Veda (*vaidika*) by contrast with the “tantric” worship of those who have undergone *dīkṣā* (KrA 1.17–18; VK 73 [p. 459]; YA 51.1–7). The *Kriyādhikāra* is particularly explicit that the Vaikhānasa/Pāñcarātra distinction is first and foremost a matter of the vaidika/tāntrika difference, while it is a matter of different groups of Vaiṣṇavas where a branding and garbhavaiṣṇavatva is dealt with (see Colas 1996: 176 and note. 1, see Ramachandra Rao 1990: 154f.).

283 This close connection is also indicated by some of the hagiographical accounts dealt with by Raman 2007.

These accounts in the *Vaikhānasasamhitā*s are inevitably accompanied by a prohibition on branding for the *Vaikhānasas*, and by the idea of a “prenatal marking” of the *Vaikhānasas* which takes places during the *viṣṇubali* *saṃskāra*. At times the *Vaikhānasas* are explicitly excepted from the obligation to undergo *pañcasamskāra*: in the *Kriyādhikāra* Viṣṇu emphasizes that the *Vaikhānasas* are *Vaiṣṇavas* from the time of their birth (*garbhavaiṣṇava*), that there is no branding for them, that they undergo the rituals which begin with *niṣeka*, that there is no mantra initiation for them, and no teacher other than Viṣṇu himself (KrA 36.53–54).²⁸⁴ This passage clearly refers to the diverse elements of *pañcasamskāra*. For the *Vaikhānasas* their *vaiṣṇava* nature results from the prenatal marking as it is described in the *Tātparyacintāmaṇi* (see 2.2.3). A *Vaikhānasa* receives this marking even before his birth, for *Nārāyaṇa* himself inscribes this on his upper arms during the *viṣṇubali* ritual in the eighth month of pregnancy. The *Kriyādhikāra* (36.42–45) explains that the child thereby becomes a Viṣṇu’s own son, while those who undergo initiation (*dīkṣā*) are to be considered only his adopted sons.²⁸⁵ For this reason post-natal branding for the *Vaikhānasas* is explicitly rejected (KrA 36.46–47). If they nevertheless accept a brand, they become like the non-*Vaikhānasas* in as much as they may no longer carry out worship in *Vaikhānasa* temples (KrA 36.52–53; see Ramachandra Rao 1990: 47f.).

2.2.4.2 *Viṣṇubali* and *pañcasamskāra* in the *Ānandasamhitā*

The *Vaikhānasasamhitā* called *Ānandasamhitā* contains very heterogenous material. Several passages of this text may be composed possibly as late as the 13th century CE, such as, for example, the chapters dealing with *viṣṇubali* and with *pañcasamskāra*.²⁸⁶ Here, the *Ānandasamhitā* explicitly equates the branding element of *pañcasamskāra* for the *Vaikhānasas* with the branding of the milk por-

284 KrA 36.53–54: *vaikhānasā mama sūtā garbhavaiṣṇavajātakāḥ / teṣāṃ bahir na tāpo na punaḥ karaṇam āpadi // madbhaktiyuktasya madaurasasya niṣekakarmādivirājitasya / vaikhānasasyāsya na taptamudrā na mantradīkṣā na gurur mayā vinā //*

285 KrA 36.42b–45: *garbhe māsy aṣṭame viṣṇubaliṃ kuryād yathāvidhi // nārāyaṇaḥ svayaṃ garbhe mudrāṃ dhārayate nijāṃ / tatkarasthena cakreṇa śaṅkheṇa prathitaujasā // karoti cakraśaṅkhāṅkaṃ śiṣor vai bāhumūlayoḥ / vaikhānasena sūtreṇa syād ayaṃ garbhavaiṣṇavaḥ // vaiṣṇavaṃ sūtram etad dhi sarvasiddhikaraṃ param / vaikhānasās ca matputrā dattaputrās ca dīkṣitāḥ //*; on this see Colas 1996: 177f.; see also Rāmachandra Rao 1990: 45. See also ĀS 4.50–51: *kṛtamallāṃchanānāṃ ca garbhavaiṣṇavajamanāṃ / matputrāṇāṃ na cihnāni dāsās cihnasamanvitāḥ // vaikhānasā mama sūtā garbhavaiṣṇavajātakāḥ / teṣāṃ pṛthāṃ na cihnāni cakrādīnāṃ gurur na hi //*

286 On the difficulties in dating this text, which acquired its present form most probably around the 13th century CE, see Colas 1996: chapter 2, esp. 94ff.

ridge during viṣṇubali. Chapter 8 distinguishes three different categories of “marking with the disk”: (1) prenatal, (2) through applying/painting,²⁸⁷ and (3) through branding.²⁸⁸ Those who bear the marking because they have undergone the prenatal samṣkāra viṣṇubali while in the womb of a Vaikhānasa woman are born already as Vaiṣṇavas.²⁸⁹ The potential vaiṣṇava nature existing in a Vaikhānasa is activated by this marking.²⁹⁰ B. K. Smith’s (1989: 86ff.) understanding of the function of samṣkāras is in complete accordance with the Vaikhānasas’ own interpretation: the potential existing in the person is realised through the ritual.

The act of marking is called “garbhacakra” in the *Ānandasamhitā* and is said to take place in the course of the viṣṇubali samṣkāra.²⁹¹ The entire tenth chapter of the *Ānandasamhitā* is devoted to this procedure (ĀS [1998], pp. 111–123). The garbhacakrasamṣkāra propounded there is the branding of the milk porridge, which is for the first time described in the *Tātparyacintāmaṇi* in the section [cakrasaṅkhatāpana]. In the *Ānandasamhitā* this branding is described as an independent ritual, performed at the end of the offering of the milk porridge during viṣṇubali, that is, at the end of section [pāyasahoma]. The rite begins with a new formal declaration (*samkalpa*):²⁹²

Now the procedure for performance of the garbhacakra (ritual). After the completion of the milk porridge offering as mentioned in the viṣṇubali section of the (*Vaikhānasagrhya*-)sūtra, sitting before the god, meditating oneself as having the

287 Here *nyāsacakra* refers to an initiation for vānaprasthas (Pratap 1995: 47–49).

288 ĀS 8.1: *bhedam cakrāṅkaṅsyaiva pravakṣyāmi tapodhanāḥ / garbhacakraṃ nyāsacakraṃ taptam cakram iti tridhā //*; see ĀS 8.13: *aukheyānām garbhacakraṃ nyāsacakraṃ vanaukasām / vaikhānasān vinānyeṣām taptacakraṃ prakīrtitam //*. According to this verse the “Aukheya” and the “Vanaukasas” count as Vaikhānasas (see Caland/Vīra 1941: xxi; Caland 1928: 239; Colas 1996: 17f. and 174, note 1). In the *Ādisamhitā*, however, the Vaikhānasas and the Aukheyas are described as different groups, says Colas (1996: 18f.).

289 ĀS 8.2–3: *cakrāṅkaṅam caiva manūpadeṣam tīrthādikaṃ śrīkaribhuktaśiṣṭam / pradātum ekaḥ prabhavaty apāpo vaikhānaso janmani cakradhārī // aṭha viṣṇubaler garbhacakraṃ cakralāñchanam / dhṛtvā vaikhānasāgarbhe sañjātā garbhavaiṣṇavāḥ //*; see Pratap 1995: 48.

290 ĀS 8.7: *bhramareṇa yathā kīto loke ’smin bhramarīkṛtaḥ / vaikhānasena tadbhinnas tadrūpaṃ prāpyate ’nkanāt //*.

291 ĀS 8.10cd–11: *vaikhānasānām sarveṣām garbhacakraṃ udāhṛtam / yo viṣṇubalisamṣkārad garbhacakraṇa lāñchitaḥ / sa garbhavaiṣṇavo jātamātray ity ucyate budhaiḥ //*; see Colas 1996: 182, note 5.

292 ĀS 10.1–3: *aṭha garbhacakraavidhiḥ. (kartā) sūtroktaviṣṇubalyuktapāyasahomānte. devasya purata āsīna ātmānām devarūpaṃ smṛtvā prāñān āyamya “mama dharmapatnyā garbhasthaśīṣor garbhavaiṣṇavatvasiddhyartham garbhacakrasamṣkāram kariṣya” iti saṅkalpya.*

god's form, restraining his breath, (the officiator) formally declares: "I perform this garbhacakrasaṃskāra for the child which is in my duly wedded wife's womb, for the sake of its realising its vaiṣṇava nature already in the womb."

The performance of the ritual then differs according to whether the symbols of disk and conch are permanently installed in a temple or domestic shrine, that is, whether they are regularly worshipped so that the divine power is present in them, or whether they have to be transformed into ritual objects specifically for this performance:²⁹³

He should quietly take the two symbols [i.e. conch and disk] made of copper etc., if they are ritually installed with a mantra in a temple near the idol for worship, or installed in this manner [i.e. with mantra] near the idol for worshipping at home. He should perform the marking (of the milk porridge) after having offered into the fire with mantras. If the ritual of installing conch and disk has not been performed, he should bring the conch and disk and, after the completion of ājyabhāga ritual, install them according to the rules. After doing this, he should sacrifice 108 offerings of clarified butter while reciting the respective gāyatrīs (directed at disk and conch). (Then) he should recite the sudarśana and pāñcajanya mantras, heat (the symbols) in the fire, mark the remainder of the milk porridge, and give that milk porridge to his wife to eat.

As in chapter 8 of the *Ānandasamhitā*, in the closing verses reference is again made to the three types of marking. These are described as obligatory for Vai-khānasas (*garbhacakra*), non-Vaikhānasas (*taptacakra*) and vānaprasthas (*nyāsacakra*) respectively.²⁹⁴

The eleventh chapter of the *Ānandasamhitā* deals with "external" marking (*bāhyacakra*prayoḡa, *bāhyacakraṅkanaprayogavidhi*),²⁹⁵ which is understood to refer to nyāsacakra for vānaprasthas, and to taptacakra for non-Vaikhānasas.

293 ĀS 10.4–6: *tāmradīnā kṛtvā ālayārcanabimbasannidhau mantreṇa sthāpītau gṛhārcanabimbasannidhau vā tathaiiva sthāpītau cet tūṣṇīm ādāya mantrair hutvāṅkanam kurvāt. akṛtpratiṣṭhāsamskārau ce cakraśaṅkhāv ādāyājyabhāgānte vidhivat pratiṣṭhāpya. ante tattadgāyatrīyāṣṭottaraśatājyāhuṭir hutvā sudarśanapāñcajanyaamantrau japitvā tadagnau pratāpya pāyasaśeṣe 'ṅkanam kṛtvā tat pāyasaṃ patnīm prāśayati.* Even today both possibilities exist: while Varada Bhaṭṭācārya (see 4.6.3) before each occasion installs the metal symbols of the disk and conch which he brings for the ritual performances, Anantapadmanābhācāryulu Gāru (see 4.6.2) used the symbols kept in the temple adjacent to his house. He therefore did not have to install them for each occasion.

294 ĀS 10.7: *tatsuto bhāgyavān dhanyo garbhavaiṣṇavasāñjñīkaḥ / aprākṛto mahātmāsau garbhacakreṇa lāñchītaḥ / garbhacakravihīnas tu prākṛtaḥ patitas smṛtaḥ // vaikhānasetaras tadvatpaptacakreṇa varjītaḥ / nyāsacakravihīnas ca vānaprasthas tathā smṛtaḥ //.*

295 The division into "external" and "internal" marking is reflected in the discussion in the *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa* on "tantric" taking refuge in Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa and taking refuge in Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa "in accordance with the Veda" (see 2.2.5.2).

First, reference is made, implicitly, to the fact that for the Vaikhānasas, because of their viṣṇubali samṣkāra, all five elements of pañcasamṣkāra are already covered:²⁹⁶

Those who are endowed with the viṣṇubali life-cycle ritual [= tāpasamṣkāra] are known as “followers of Viṣṇu (already) in the womb.” Those who are endowed with the viṣṇubali life-cycle ritual carry the ūrdhvapuṇḍra (mark on their body) [= puṇḍrasamṣkāra]. Those who are endowed with the viṣṇubali life-cycle ritual are ācāryas by birth [= nāmasamṣkāra?]. Those who are endowed with the viṣṇubali life-cycle ritual have the eligibility to recite the mantras [= mantrasamṣkāra]. Those who are endowed with the viṣṇubali life-cycle ritual are eligible to perform Viṣṇu sacrifices [= yāgasamṣkāra].

A few verses later the branding of non-Vaikhānasas is explained:²⁹⁷ a member of the three twice-born classes should first sacrifice into his own fire. While he deposits the symbols of the disk and conch before an image of Viṣṇu, the ācārya ritually installs them in front of the fire. While reciting the sudarśana and the pāñcajanya mantra he offers into this fire. Afterwards he prays with mantras to the god, and presses the two heated symbols on the student’s upper arms. The student is to say: “I bear Hari’s disk and Hari’s conch for (my) liberation” and then he gets up and venerates his teacher, full of happiness. From then onwards he should be devoted to doing service to Viṣṇu. The oblations into the fire should be made in the ācārya’s sacrificial fire, or, if the ācārya is an ascetic (and thus

296 ĀS 11.1–3: *garbhavaśiṣṇavasamjñās te ye viṣṇubalisamṣkṛtāḥ / ūrdhvapuṇḍradharās te vai ye viṣṇubalisamṣkṛtāḥ // janmany ācāryasamjñās syur ye viṣṇubalisamṣkṛtāḥ / mantrādihikāriṇas te vai ye viṣṇubalisamṣkṛtāḥ // samṣkṛtā viṣṇubalinā viṣṇuyāgādihikāriṇaḥ //*

297 ĀS 11.20–32: *hariṃ samyak samabhyarcya pūrvoktena vidhānataḥ / dvijātīnāṃ trayāṇāṃ tu sve ’gnau svam homam ācaret // śaṅkhacakre samādāya nikṣipte harisannidhau / svāgne samīpe samsthāpya ācāryo mantram uccaran / bhūm ānanto ’gre tan mā ya iti mantradvayaṃ hunet // homād anantaraṃ devaṃ samyak samprārthya mantrataḥ / śiṣyasya bhaktiyuktasya viṣṇutattvābhikāṅkṣiṇaḥ // ānkayed ariśaṅkhābhyāṃ prataptābhyāṃ bhujadvaye // hareś cakram hareś śaṅkhaṃ dhārayāmi vimuktaye / ity uktvā sahasoithāya guruṃ natvābhivandya ca // kṛtārtho ’haṃ kṛtārtho ’haṃ kṛtārtho ’haṃ na samśayaḥ / ity uktvā nandabharito nirbharyantyadācaret / tataḥ prabhṛti lakṣmīśaikānkaryanirato bhavet // ācāryāgnau huned dhomaṃ yateś cakrāṅkaṇaṃ yadi / huned devālayāgnau vā cakraśaṅkham anūnmaran // cakrāṅkaṇe ca sūdrāṇāṃ tathā saṅkara-janmanāṃ / vedakarmavihīnānāṃ tattad agnau huned gṛhtaṃ / pauraṅgnimukhaṃ kṛtvā mantraiḥ pauraṅnikair hunet // tūṣṇīṃ devālayāgnau vā cakraśaṅkhau pratāpayet / devasannidhi dīpe vā cakram śaṅkhaṃ pratāpayet // ānkayed ariśaṅkhābhyāṃ prataptābhyāṃ bhujadvaye // hareś cakram hareś śaṅkhaṃ pūjayāmi vimuktaye / ity uktvā śiḡghram utthāya guruṃ natvā prapūjya ca / kṛtārtho ’haṃ kṛtārtho ’haṃ kṛtārtho ’haṃ na samśayaḥ // ity uktvānandabharito nirbhayas sarvadācaret / tataḥ prabhṛti lakṣmīśaikānkaryanirato bhavet //*

does not maintain a sacrificial fire), into a temple's fire. If Śūdras or offspring of a "mixed" union receive the branding, sacrifice is made into a fire that has been kindled according to the rules of the purāṇas (not the Vedas), and mantras from the purāṇas are recited instead of vedic mantras.²⁹⁸ Or, if the sacrificial fire maintained in a temple is used, the metal symbols should be heated silently. Another possibility is to heat them in the flame of a lamp in the temple's inner shrine. After being marked with the symbols, the student says: "I worship Hari's disk and conch, for (my) liberation" and then worships his teacher.

In the *Ānandasamhitā* the different types of marking are hierarchically ordered and directly connected to the right to worship Viṣṇu in the temple: while those who are not Vaikhānasas become Vaiṣṇavas through the post-natal initiation involving branding, the Vaikhānasas are already Vaiṣṇavas before birth (garbhavaṣṇava), as a result of the branding of the milk porridge during viṣṇubali. This in itself gives them the right to worship Viṣṇu in the temple, independent of their competence and capability to do so:²⁹⁹

Be he qualified or unqualified, a person born as Vaikhānasa and marked by the garbhacakra should worship Viṣṇu, others may not (worship him).

Thus membership to the group confers the right to practice as temple priest. Competence explicitly does not matter. The right to perform temple worship is a birth-right and is derived from the "marking with the disk" which precedes birth. The Vaikhānasas alone have access to this right.

The *Ānandasamhitā* even goes one step further: the marking of others can be performed by the Vaikhānasas, because for their part they are already marked with the disk before birth and, as "ācāryas by birth" (ĀS 11.1–3), they clearly are eligible to do so.³⁰⁰ This applies not only to branding, but also for the other four rites of pañcasamṣkāra, the performance of which is laid out in chapter 12

298 Colas (1999: 45ff.) notes that also according to *Samūrtārcanādihikāra* 73.17 Śūdras and Anulomas may receive the initiation described in the *Ānandasamhitā*. See also Colas 1996: 182f.

299 ĀS 8.12: *ayogyo vā suyogyo vā garbhacakreṇa lāñchitaḥ / vaikhānasodbhavo viṣṇum arcayed itare na tu ||*

300 ĀS 8.8–10ab: *avaikhānasasūtreṇa saṃskṛtā manuḥ bhuvi / brāhmaṇāḥ kṣatriyā vaiśyāś śūdrāś saṅkarajā api || vaikhānasam viṣṇumayaṃ guruṃ prāpyābhivandya ca / sampṛāthyānugrahaṃ tasya (tena?) taptacakrāṅkitā yadi || pramuktā sarvaṇāpēbhyo vaikuṅṭhaṃ lokaṃ āpnuyuḥ ||*. In *Ānandasamhitā* 9.3–5, however, a distinction is made between those who have received pañcasamṣkāra from Pāñcarātrins (*āgamadīkṣita*), and those who have received this initiation from Vaikhānasas (*niḡamadīkṣita*); on this see Colas 1990: 27. And in fact even today a qualitative distinction is made between those marked by Vaikhānasas (as in Śrīperumbudūr) and those marked by other Vaiṣṇavas (see 3.1.2).

of the *Ānandasamhitā*. It might well be that in those instances where Vaikhānasas were forced to take upon themselves pañcasamṣkāra (see 3.1), they followed the procedure mentioned here in the *Ānandasamhitā*.

The marking with the disk and conch described in chapters 10 and 11 of the *Ānandasamhitā* thus corresponds in many ways with the account of branding as a component of pañcasamṣkāra in some later Pāñcarātrasamhitās, such as the *Īśvarasamhitā*. Thus, while the Śrīvaiṣṇavas insisted on pañcasamṣkāra as precondition for the eligibility to perform temple rituals, they are not explicitly mentioned, although their arguments are refuted. It becomes clear here one of the most important issues for the Vaikhānasas was not to accept an ācārya from outside their own tradition.

2.2.4.3 Garbhacakra versus taptacakra

The branding of the milk porridge at the end of the viṣṇubali samṣkāra in the *Tātparyacintāmaṇi* implicitly and, in the *Ānandasamhitā* even explicitly equals the branding of the upper arms in the course of pañcasamṣkāra. The Vaikhānasas thus take over essential elements of this initiation and interpret their version as a superior counterpart to pañcasamṣkāra, which is the initiation into the Śrīvaiṣṇava fold. However the implied critique is not directed towards the Śrīvaiṣṇavas, but rather towards the Pāñcarātrins who accept this initiation. One of the reasons for this critique is certainly the rivalry between the Vaikhānasas and the Pāñcarātrins as temple priests in South India from the 10th century onwards, which Colas (1996: 168f.) has already pointed out on the basis of inscriptions and the Vaikhānasasamhitās. In the Vaikhānasa texts an explicit contrast between the two is established in that the Vaikhānasas are exempted from postnatal branding of the upper arms. For them, physical branding is performed on the milk porridge, and transmitted to the child through the mother. This rite is integrated into the life-cycle ritual viṣṇubali. This samṣkāra thus is made to include aspects of a “sectarian” initiation (*garbhacakradīkṣā*) while at the same time retaining its character of a life-cycle ritual. However, what is made amply clear here is that anyone who does service in a temple has to have the “branding,” be it before birth or after. Like the Pāñcarātrins, the Vaikhānasas become Vaiṣṇavas through this “initiation.” However, within the group of Vaiṣṇavas they assert a claim to superiority based upon the fact that this initiation is performed as part of their vedic life-cycle ritual viṣṇubali. As this transformation of a Vaikhānasa into a Vaiṣṇava is realised already before birth, he is superior to other Vaiṣṇavas who

only receive this initiation during or after upanayana.³⁰¹ An important issue at stake is here that the Vaikhānasas do thus not accept a spiritual teacher (ācārya) from outside their own community. The marker of Vaikhānasa identity is first of all descent (via their vedic saṃskāra), but it encompasses and subordinates also aspects of a sectarian initiation (*dīkṣā*).³⁰² As we have seen, in the *Ānandasamhitā* viṣṇubali plays an important role. The last part, the branding of the milk porridge (*garbhacakra*), is described in particular detail, although this branding is not mentioned in the *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra*, nor by Nṛsiṃha Vājapeyin. This obvious extension of the ritual described in the sūtra led several Vaikhānasa scholars to offer comments and explanations.

2.2.4.4 Viṣṇubali in Venkaṭayogin's *Nibandhana*

Venkaṭayogin refers openly to this discrepancy when he states that the rite of the *Ānandasamhitā* called *garbhacakra* was not instituted by Vikhanas himself, but rather by Marīci, who is one of Vikhanas' four immediate disciples. The ritual is to that extent still obligatory. The actual viṣṇubali saṃskāra must nevertheless still be performed first. At the same time, Venkaṭayogin clearly refers to the saṃkalpa given in the section [introduction] in Nṛsiṃha Vājapeyin's *Bhāṣya* (see 2.2.2.2), for he also states that viṣṇubali serves to protect the unborn child.³⁰³

301 This is also the reason why a Vaikhānasa—and only he—has the authority to extend initiation to others: they can even act as ācāryas for others, in that they confer an initiation which includes branding (see ĀS 11.1–3). However, this initiation conferred by Vaikhānasas does not entitle the concerned person to perform the worship of god in the temple, but only enables them to help the Vaikhānasa priests.

302 Therefore in Vaikhānasa texts other vaiṣṇava groups are only rarely ascribed an identity similarly based on descent.

303 ĀS [1998] 98.17–24: *atra venkaṭayogīyaṃ nibandhanaṃ: kiṃ ca viṣṇubalau marīcinā proktaviśeṣārtho 'pi likhyate. vaikhānasānāṃ tasyāvaśyākartavyatvāt, sa ca vikhanasā (kaṅṭharaveṇā)nukto 'pi tacchiṣyair marīcyādibhir ādareṇoktatvād avaśyaṃ ācaraṇīya eva, marīcikalpe "atha garbhacakraavidhis. sūtroktaviṣṇubalyuktapāyasaḥomānte. devasya purata āsīna [reference to ĀS 10.1–3]" ityādi. itaḥ pūrvam api "atha viṣṇubalir. garbhādhānādyāṣṭame māsy eva śuklapakṣe śuddhe 'hani pūrvavan maṅgalasānānādīni kṛtvā patnyā saha pūrvavad āsīnaḥ prāṇān āyāmya "śrīmān gotro nāmadheyo 'haṃ śrīmato gotrasya nāmadheyasya mama dharmapatnyā garbhasaṃrakṣaṇārthaṃ viṣṇubalikarma kariṣya" iti saṅkalpyeti sa evāha [reference to NVB 1, 142.3–6].*

2.2.4.5 Viṣṇubali in Gopānācārya's *Sūtrānukramaṇikā*³⁰⁴

Here says the *Sūtrānukramaṇikā* made by Gopānācārya: in this manner, after having uttered the formal declaration “(On such and such) auspicious lunar day, I perform by way of the first embryo in the womb of my rightfully wedded wife the viṣṇubali ritual for the sake of ritual perfection of all the (following) embryos.” (Then) he collects the objects for worshipping the god like scent, flowers etc., sudarśana (disk), pāñcajanya (conch), seat, kūrca grass bundle, and milk porridge etc. After performing the offering of clarified butter into the fire, after offering the milk porridge mixed with clarified butter while reciting the (mantras) *viṣṇor nu kaṃ ...* etc., and after having uttered the hymn (called) *hiraṇyavarṇā*, having said the *gāyatrī* (mantra), uttering all sudarśana mantras, (and) the six syllabic (mantra of) Sudarśana and the sudarśana *gāyatrī*, offering into the fire while reciting “To Sudarśana, hail! To Pāñcajanya, hail! To Gadādhpati, hail! To Śārja, hail! To Khadgādhpati, hail!,” praising the god with the mantras of Ṛg-, Yajur-, Sāma- and Atharvaveda, he should salute (the god) by reciting (the mantras) beginning with Keśava and ending with “salutation to.” Having in between (the two rites) sprinkled water around the fire place (and) having performed the sudarśana *gāyatrīpūjā*, saying “I take Sudarśana,” dipping the disk into the right portion of the milk porridge (and while reciting) *ravipām*, dipping the conch into the left portion, (and) bowing (while reciting the mantras) *bhūm ānanto 'gre* (and) *tan mā yaśo 'gra*, (he) should give the milk porridge as food to his wife to eat etc.³⁰⁵

The sacrifice into the fire is framed by a ritual called *pariṣekalpariṣecana*, in which water is sprinkled around the fire in order to tame and restrict the god Agni to the fire place, and also to mark the beginning and end of a sacrifice. With “sprinkling of water around the fire place in between two sections of the ritual”

304 This *Sūtrānukramaṇikā* is not the same as the *Sūtrānukramaṇikā* which is used as a ritual handbook in Andhra Pradesh today (see below, 4.3.1).

305 ĀS [1998] 98.24–99.9: *atra gopānācāryanirmitā sūtrānukramaṇikā (bhaṭṭīyaṃ): evaṃ “śubhatīthau mama dharmapatnyāḥ prathamagarbhadvārā sarvagarbhasaṃskārārthaṃ viṣṇubalikarmaṇā saṃskariṣya” iti saṅkalpya devārcanārthaṃ gandhapuṣpādyarcanadravyāṇi sudarśanapāñcajanyaśanakūrcapāyasādīni sambhṛtyāghāraṃ kṛtvā “viṣṇor nu kā” dyaire ājyamiśraṃ pāyasaṃ ca hutvā “hiraṇyavarṇā” iti śakteṇa japtvā gāyatrīm uccārya sarve sudarśanamāntrān sudarśanaśadaḥśaraṃ sudarśana *gāyatrīm* japtvā “sudarśanāya svāhā” “pāñcajanya *yāya svāhā*” “gadādhapataye svāhā” “śārjāya svāhā” “khaḍgādhapataye svāhā” iti hutvā, ṛgyajussāmātharvabhīr mantrair devaṃ saṃstūya namontaiḥ keśavādibhiḥ praṇamet, antaḥpariṣekaṃ kṛtvā sudarśana *gāyatrīpūjāṃ* kṛtvā “sudarśanam abhigṛhṇāmi” ti pāyase dakṣiṇabhāge sudarśanaṃ nikṣipyā “ravipām” iti vāmahāge saṅkhaṃ nikṣipyā praṇamya “bhūm ānanto 'gre,” “tan mā yaśo 'gra” iti patnīm pāyasaṃ annaṃ praśayed ityādi. The last two mantras are a sudarśana mantra and a pāñcajanya mantra.*

the author Gopānācārya establishes a clear separation between viṣṇubali and the rite of the branding of the milk porridge. The latter thereby achieves the status of an independent ritual, in which the worship of disk and conch plays a significant role. In contrast to the *Ānandasamhitā*'s account, the two symbols are not heated, but are simply immersed or pressed into the milk porridge on the right and left. Diverse aspects which play a role in contemporary ritual practice are here expressed. As I was told in Vānamāmalai (Nanguneri, Tirunelveli district), the marking of the milk porridge without having first heated the two symbols is a regional variant prevalent in southern Tamil Nadu (see 3.1.2). While in Gopānācārya's *Sūtrānukramaṇikā* the purpose of this saṃskāra is not expressed, the saṃkalpa mentions that this ritual is only performed during the first pregnancy, but remains effective for all subsequently born children. This is the current practice today in most sūtra traditions: the prenatal saṃskāras are nowadays enacted only during the first pregnancy.

2.2.4.6 Sañjīvayājīn's *Nibandhana* (SY-N)³⁰⁶

SY-N (ĀS [1998] 97.29) [introduction]

“atha viṣṇubaliḥ,” punnāmnī nakṣatre patnyā saha snātvā pūrvedyur nāndīmukhaṃ kṛtvā

(The explanation of the passage beginning with) “Now viṣṇubali.” After having bathed with the wife during a lunar mansion having a male name, (and) after having performed the nāndīmukha³⁰⁷ on the preceding day,

SY-N (ĀS [1998] 97.30–31) [agnimukha]

agnimukhānte dhātā dadātu na imaṃ me varuṇa prajāpate na tvac cittaṃ ca agnir bhūtānām ṛtāṣāṭ. (iti)

(he recites the mantras) *dhātā dadātu na ..., imaṃ me varuṇa ..., prajāpate na tvac ..., cittaṃ ..., agnir bhūtānām ... and ṛtāṣāṭ ...* at the end of the agnimukha.³⁰⁸

SY-N (ĀS [1998] 97.31–32) [vaiṣṇavasūkta / pañcasūktāni]

ato devādiṣaṇmantraiḥ (ca) pañcasūktāny ājyena hutvā

306 This *Nibandhana* seems to have been held in high regard by Pārthasārathi Bhaṭṭācārya. He cites it in his *Ānandasamhitā* commentary, and refers to it under the name *Prayoga-vṛtti* in the introduction to the Telugu edition of the *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa* (p. 2) and in the foreword to the *Tātparyacintāmaṇi* (p. iv).

307 On nāndīmukha or nāndīmukhaśrāddha, see 2.2.1.

308 According to HirGrS 1.2.18 agnimukha are four offerings of clarified butter to the fire, following āghāra and ājyabhāga.

After having offered clarified butter while reciting the six mantras beginning with *ato deva* ... and the five hymns,

SY-N (ĀS [1998] 97.32) [puruṣāvāhana]

tataḥ pariṣecanānte vyāhṛticatuṣṭaye nāmāvāhanam puruṣasya kṛtvā

afterwards, at the end of sprinkling the water around the fire place, having performed the name-invocation of Puruṣa in the four vyāhṛtis,³⁰⁹

SY-N (ĀS [1998] 97. 32–34) [dvādaśanāmāvāhana]

[a]param keśavādīdāmodarāntam dvādaśamūrtīnām āvāhanam uttarapraṇīdhau kṛtvā-jyena juṣṭākāram tadante praṇavādisvāhāntam caturthyaṃ

after that, having invoked the twelve forms, beginning with Keśava and ending with Dāmodara, in the praṇīdhi pot, placed north (of the fire), having offered clarified butter while saying *juṣṭā*, and at the end of which (he should recite the mantras) beginning with *om* and ending with “hail!” (and the god’s names in) the dative case.

SY-N (ĀS [1998] 97.34–35) [vedamantra]

tena rgyajussāmādhavabhir mantrair vaiṣṇavair devaṃ saṃstūya

After having praised the god with the vaiṣṇava mantras from Ṛg-, Yajur-, Sāma- and Atharvaveda,

SY-N (ĀS [1998] 97.35) [praṇāma]

namontair nāmabhiḥ praṇamet.

he should bow (to the god) while reciting the twelve names, each (mantra) ending with *namah*.

SY-N (ĀS [1998] 97.35–98.4) [pāyasanivedana]

tatpāyaṣam tadājyaśeṣeṇāto devādyair viṣṇor nu kādyaiḥ keśavādīdvādaśanāmamantrair abhimantrya

Then he mixes the milk porridge with the rest of the clarified butter, recites (the mantras) beginning with *ato deva* ..., (and) beginning with *viṣṇor nu kam* ..., and the mantras containing the twelve names, beginning with Keśava.

SY-N (ĀS [1998] 98.4–5) [pāyasaprāśana]

bhūs tvayi dadāmīti patnyāḥ prāśanādānena garbhasthaśiṣoḥ pañcasamṣkārasattvaṃ siddhyati.

By giving (the milk porridge) to the wife for eating, saying “*bhūs*, I give you!,” the pañcasamṣkāra-disposition is accomplished for the child in the womb.

309 This refers to the combination of the vyāhṛtis with the invocation of Puruṣa, as prescribed by the sūtra.

Sañjīvyājīn gives his version of the correct performance of viṣṇubali which is a creative account of the connection between viṣṇubali, pañcasamṣkāra and garbhavaiṣṇavatva. Although in his delineation of viṣṇubali no branding or marking of the milk porridge is mentioned, he verbatim equates the five prenatal samṣkāras from the *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra* with pañcasamṣkāra, “five samṣkāras.” After emphasizing that only the Vaikhānasas are garbhavaiṣṇavas and paramaikāntins, and are therefore entitled to perform public worship of Viṣṇu,³¹⁰ Sañjīvyājīn points out that in other sūtras only three prenatal samṣkāras listed, whereas the Vaikhānasas have five prenatal life-cycle rituals, namely ṛtusamgamana, garbhādhāna, puṃsavana, sīmanta and viṣṇubali. These are “five samṣkāras” (pañcasamṣkāra), and since “being endowed with pañcasamṣkāra” brings about being a Vaiṣṇava, the Vaikhānasas become Vaiṣṇavas after viṣṇubali, the fifth and last prenatal samṣkāra. Furthermore, this garbhavaiṣṇavatva is a distinctive feature of the Vaikhānasas, for the five prenatal samṣkāras are prescribed for them alone.³¹¹

Sañjīvyājīn also explains, in a similarly unique manner, why it is especially through viṣṇubali that this garbhavaiṣṇavatva is attained.³¹² Vikhanas, identified with Brahmā, marked himself by his own power, while he was still in his “mother’s womb,” that is, in the lotus flower, which grew from the navel of Nārāyaṇa. In this manner, Vikhanas became a garbhavaiṣṇava and decided to pass on

310 ĀS [1998] 97.15–18: *atra sañjīvyājīyaṃ nibandhanam: bhagavatpūjāyām adhikāraḥ kasyety ākāṅkṣāyām śrutismṛtisūtrapurāṇasamhitācāravihitatvaṃ bhagavatkaṅkṛyā-paramaikāntikadharmopacārādikaṃ śrīvaikhānasānām garbhavaiṣṇavānām eveti prasiddham.*

311 ĀS [1998] 97.19–28: *loke tāvad āpastambādīnām paitṛmedhakena samṣkāreṇa saha ṣoḍaśasamṣkāreṣu garbhasamṣkāraḥ traya eva garbhādhānapuṃsavanasīmantaṃ iti. Eteṣāṃ vaikhānasānām tāvaṃ nityakarmāny aurdhavadaiḥikaṃ vinā śāritrasamṣkāra aṣṭādaśa, teṣu ca garbhasamṣkāraḥ pañca. kiṃ ca yataḥ? vaiṣṇavatvaṃ pañcasamṣkāravatvaṃ bhavitavyaṃ kila (tv asmata iti bhāvaḥ, tato ? mātṛgarbhasthasya śīsoḥ jananāt paraṃ pañcasamṣkāritvaṃ asty eva, tatprakāra ucyaṭe, vaiṣṇavasya kiṃ vā lakṣaṇam. pañcasamṣkāravatvaṃ eva, tāni pañcāpi samṣkāraṇi garbha(stha)syaiva, ṛtusamgamana garbhādhānapuṃsavanasīmantaviṣṇubalaya iti. garbhasya pañcasamṣkāraḥ. teṣv aṣṭame navame māsi śīśujananāt pūrvam eva viṣṇubaliḥ kartavyaḥ. tena samṣkāreṇāpi garbhasthasya śīśoḥ pañcasamṣkāravatvaṃ bhavati.*

312 ĀS [1998] 98.5–11: *nanu viṣṇubalisamṣkāraviśeṣeṇa pañcāpi samṣkāraḥ katham siddhyanti, satyaṃ, purāvikhānās caturmakhas [caturmukhas] svapitrā śrīmānnārāyaṇe-na? svajanakāraṇanalinagarbhasthitīsamaye svadehavihitavaiṣṇavamudrāprabhāve-na garbhavaiṣṇavo bhūtvā svavihitagarbhavaiṣṇavatvaṃ svapraṇṭitasūtrāmuyāyīnām vaikhānasānām ucitam iti manasi nidhāya tasmīn eva sūtre viṣṇubaliḥ ity ayaṃ garbhasamṣkāro (‘tyantaṃ vilakṣaṇo) vihītaḥ, tasmāt samṣkārad garbhasthasīśoḥ pañcasamṣkāravatvaṃ siddhyaty eva.*

this characteristic to his followers, the Vaikhānasas. He therefore instituted the samṣkāra viṣṇubali in his sūtra, so that once it has been performed the unborn child has undergone pañcasamṣkāra and simultaneously is a garbhavaiṣṇava. Through his unique description of the ritual performance Sañjīvayājīn brings viṣṇubali in line with the other prenatal samṣkāras. He adds a rite to the feeding of the wife which in the *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra* is prescribed only for garbhādāna, puṃsavana and sīmanta.³¹³ the milk porridge should be administered to the woman while the performer recites the mantras “*bhūs*, I give you,” “*bhuvās*, I give you” and “*suvaḥ*, I give you.” The transfer of this ritual element to viṣṇubali makes this last prenatal life-cycle ritual even more suitable to stand for all five garbhasamṣkāras.

It is quite clear that here too the question of entitlement to carry out ritual in the temple is at stake. The entire section is introduced with this question: “Who has the entitlement to do pūjā for the Adorable One?” By equating the five prenatal samṣkāras with pañcasamṣkāra, Sañjīvayājīn is entirely in line with the *Ānandasamhitā*’s strategy. The Vaikhānasas’ identity marker viṣṇubali stands as *pars pro toto* for the five prenatal samṣkāras, like the branding element (tāpasamṣkāra) stands as *pars pro toto* for pañcasamṣkāra. Pañcasamṣkāra is here incorporated and subordinated to the Vaikhānasa concept of being Vaiṣṇavas already before birth.

2.2.4.7 Viṣṇubali in Kodaṇḍarāmayajvan’s *Smārtakarmānukramaṇikā*

This text represents a unique description of viṣṇubali, which can even be dated and placed with some certainty: Kodaṇḍarāmayajvan is Pārthasārathi Bhaṭṭācārya’s father (see 1.3). He lived in the second half of the 19th century in Ākuluma-nāḍu, near Machilipatnam, in the present Kṛṣṇā district of Andhra Pradesh.

Like Gopānācārya, Kodaṇḍarāmayajvan includes in the samkalpa the idea that the samṣkāra should only be performed during the first pregnancy. Moreover he states in the formal declaration the purpose of the ritual: “... to realise the vaiṣṇava nature of the foetus.” Like Veṅkaṭayogin in his *Nibandhana*, Kodaṇḍarāmayajvan emphasises in the samkalpa that the viṣṇubali samṣkāra is described in the Vaikhānasasūtra, while by contrast the rite which makes the unborn child a Vaiṣṇava (*garbhavaiṣṇaveṣṭi*, as Kodaṇḍarāmayajvan calls it) was

313 According to the *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra*, these mantras are prescribed during the feeding of the woman with a mixture of milk, yoghurt and clarified butter at the end of garbhādāna (VaikhSmS 3.10: “*bhūs tvayi dadāmi*”*ty enām trivṛtprāśayed*), puṃsavana (VaikhSmS 3.11: *pūrvavat trivṛtprāśanādīnīti vijñāyate*) and sīmanta (VaikhSmS 3.12: *pūrvavat trivṛtprāśanaṃ puṇyāhāntam ity eke*), but not during viṣṇubali.

instituted by Vikhanas' immediate disciples, namely "Bhṛgu etc." This second section of the ritual is introduced by its own saṃkalpa. Like Gopānācārya, Kodaṇḍarāmayajvan thereby emphasises that these are two ritual acts and calls the second ritual the "remainder of viṣṇubali."³¹⁴ He describes it as follows: first the performer should collect all the utensils required for the garbhavaiṣṇava sacrifice. The actual rite then begins with the sacrifice of the milk porridge into the fire used for viṣṇubali. The two symbols of disk and conch should be "properly installed" and the prepared milk porridge mixture is branded with the heated symbols. The milk porridge is then given to the pregnant woman to eat, while mantras are recited. This life-cycle ritual is valid for all the children of this woman; "through it all of them will achieve a prenatal vaiṣṇava nature."³¹⁵ Kodaṇḍarāmayajvan's description and the meaning he attributes to the diverse ritual elements thus correspond to the *Ānandasamhitā*'s description and interpretation of viṣṇubali.

2.2.5 Viṣṇubali as the Vaikhānasas' "taking refuge in Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa"

So far we have dealt here mainly with the branding of the upper arms and viṣṇubali as the Vaikhānasas' mose of conferring vaiṣṇavatva on the concerned persons. However, another closely related meaning attributed to the pañcasamskāra ritual is that it is identical with or goes hand in hand with "taking refuge in Viṣ-

314 ĀS [1998] 99.9–15: *atrāsmattātapādaiś śrīkodaṇḍarāmayajvabhir anuḡṛhūā smārtakarmānukramānikā: enāṃ patnīm prathamagarbhe sarvagarbhasaṃskārārthaṃ prathamagarbhasaṃskāradvārā sarvagarbhasthaśiśūnām āgarbhavaiṣṇavatvasiddhyarthaṃ śrīvaikhānasasūtroktaviṣṇubalikarmaṇā bhṛgvādibhir upadiṣṭagarbhavaiṣṇaveṣṭiyā saṃskariṣya iti saṃkalpya, ity ārabhya etat paryantaṃ viṣṇubaliṃ sūtroktavat kṛtvānantaram enāṃ patnīm pathamagarbhe sarvagarbhasaṃskārārthaṃ vikhano matānusāribhir bhṛgvādibhir upadiṣṭagarbhavaiṣṇ[aveṣṭ]iyā saṃskariṣya iti saṃkalpya viṣṇubaliśeṣam ācarati.*

315 ĀS [1998] 99.15–23: *śaṅkhārimudrārcanabimbadugdhadadhīni kṣaudraṃ guḍam ājyadugdhe kūrcāsanādyarcanavastujātaṃ sampādayed dauhṛdavaṣṇaveṣṭiyāṃ. kṛtvā tathā pāyasahomam ādau sūtroktavad viṣṇubalau tadagnau, hetipraṭiṣṭhāṃ vidhivat prakuryāt samānayet prāḡ api saṃskṛtān vā hutvā marīcyuktavadabhjapūrvadaivatyam anyāṃś ca manūvyathoktaṃ, taptair havir hetibhir āṅkayitvā mantrair haviḥ prāśayati striyaṃ tat. ityādi pūrvācāryasaṅgrhūtaslokaṃ uktarītyā ca śaṅkhacakre ḡṛhārcanabimbanā ityādy uktvā, tasyāḥ patnyās sarvagarbhasaṃskārārthaṃ sarvagarbhasthaśiśūnām āgarbhavaiṣṇavatvasiddhyarthaṃ viṣṇuniveditacakrādibhis taptaṃ haviḥ pāyasaśeṣam patnīm antarvatnīm prāśayati ityādy uktam.*

ṇu-Nārāyaṇa" (śaraṇāgati/prapatti) as a means of attaining salvation.³¹⁶ Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita evidently felt the need not only to defend the Vaikhānasa practice of not undergoing pañcasamṣkāra, but also to explain how the Vaikhānasas then take refuge in Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa. He argues that viṣṇubali is the Vaikhānasas' way of "taking refuge" and that the Vaikhānasas' "taking refuge" is superior because it is vedic, whereas other modes of "taking refuge" are tantric and therefore inferior.

2.2.5.1 Pañcasamṣkāra and "taking refuge"

The idea of "taking refuge in Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa" as a means of attaining salvation in all likelihood came first up among the Pāñcarātrins,³¹⁷ but was developed into a fully fledged soteriological concept and then advocated above all in later Śrīvaiṣṇava texts, after Rāmānuja.³¹⁸ In the works of Rāmānuja himself—especially in his *Śrībhāṣya*—it is rather bhakti-yoga, that is the practice of devoted love as the last stage after karma- and jñāna-yoga, which comes to the fore as the way of salvation (see van Buitenen 1956: 24). While he seems to propose two sorts of prapatti,³¹⁹ the later doctrine of prapatti is developed and advocated above all in the writings of Piḷḷai Lokācārya (traditionally dated 1264–1327 CE) and Vedānta Deśika (traditional dates 1268–1369 CE; see Raman 2002). However, in this section the content of these soteriological ideas³²⁰ is of less interest than the discussions about the connection of prapatti/śaraṇāgati and pañcasamṣkāra in the context of the right (*adhikāra*) to perform temple rituals for others (*parārtha*),³²¹ and especially the strategies of the Vaikhānasas to integrate these ideas into their own tradition while still standing out over against the rival group of the Pāñcarātrins.

It remains unclear, how precisely pañcasamṣkāra came into being and how it became connected to śaraṇāgati/prapatti. Rāmānuja seems to have established

316 Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita deals with the theological-soteriological concept samāśrayaṇa/prapatti and the ritual pañcasamṣkāra separately.

317 Oberhammer (2004: 136ff.) argues that the decisive Pāñcarātra texts *Ahīrbudhnyasamhitā* (chapter 37) and *Lakṣmītantra* (esp. 17.74), which draw most likely on another, common source, an independent branch of the tradition.

318 Oberhammer (2004: 138) mentions Vatsyavaradaguru's *Prapannapārijātam*.

319 Raman says: "The first one done by the jñānī, the most superior of all the devotees. It was described in terms of a contemplative awareness (anusamdhāna) of oneself as a subordinate (śeṣa) of Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva. The second sort of prapatti done by all the ordinary devotees, was a simple act of taking refuge on order to be rid of certain obstacles (...) to starting bhaktiyoga" (Raman 2007: 174).

320 See the treatment of prapatti in Raman 2007, which also includes a summary of research to date.

321 It seems that this issue has to be seen in close connection with pāñcarātric influence on this idea, an issue yet to be explored thoroughly (see Raman 2007: 174).

pañcasamṣkāra as the ritual of initiation into Śrīvaiṣṇavism, thereby also formalising and standardising this ritual.³²² This had an effect upon the Pāñcarātrasaṃhitās, the authoritative texts of this group of specialists in vaiṣṇava temple ritual. In some of these texts pañcasamṣkāra is described as the obligatory first initiation for Pāñcarātrins, especially so, if they want to perform rituals “for others” (see 2.2.4.1). Probably in the period after Rāmānuja pañcasamṣkāra also became the ritual expression of “taking refuge in Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa,” an inner attitude which for a believing Vaiṣṇava is the prerequisite for salvation (see Varadachari 1982: 418ff). Raman (2005: 91) takes the ritual sequence of pañcasamṣkāra to have been identified with the “taking refuge in Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa” since as late as the 12th-13th century.³²³

A connection between prapatti/śaraṇāgati and pañcasamṣkāra is also expressed by the later Pāñcarātrasaṃhitās, albeit that here too a quite wide diversity of opinion must be noted. According to the first chapter of the *Śeṣasaṃhitā*³²⁴ those who worship Viṣṇu and observe the ritual division of the day into five sections (*pañcakāla*) strive for salvation and have performed the “taking refuge.” They are called prapanna (ŚeṣaS 1.5–8). At the same time only those who observe pañcakāla and have undergone the initiation called pañcasamṣkāra are entitled to know the content of this saṃhitā (ŚeṣaS 1.30–37). It is also stated in this text that the act of taking refuge requires that the person involved “bears the disk and conch” (ŚeṣaS 15.259–263). It can therefore be assumed that according to the *Śeṣasaṃhitā* prapatti is performed together with or after pañcasamṣkāra. A direct connection between the branding, or pañcasamṣkāra, and salvation emerges also in the late Pāñcarātra text *Bṛhadbrahmasaṃhitā*. The description of pañcasamṣkāra in this text corresponds in large measure to contemporary practice.³²⁵ He who bears the symbols of the disk and conch on the upper arms reaches Viṣṇu, because Nārāyaṇa himself has promised him salvation (BṛhadbrahmaS 1.2.21–67 and 1.8.19). According to *Bṛhadbrahmasaṃhitā* 3.6.25–38, where the relati-

322 Oberhammer (2004: 50f.) argues that especially Nārāyaṇārya (ca. 13th century CE) tried to harmonize practice and belief, and that his thoughts in turn were adopted by the later Rāmānuja school.

323 While it is nowadays in some traditions accepted as practice that pañcasamṣkāra and prapatti go together, there seems to exist no actual textual reference.

324 Smith & Venkatachari (1980: 435) state that this saṃhitā is primarily directed toward the laity, and is almost exclusively concerned with different mantras. The text is taken to be a later work, because it insists on the direct connection between the concepts pāñcarātra, pañcakāla and pañcasamṣkāra.

325 See *Bṛhadbrahmasaṃhitā* 1.7.93–109 on mantrasamṣkāra, 1.13.1–37 on tāpasamṣkāra and 1.13.1–38–154 on puṇḍrasamṣkāra. In *Bṛhadbrahmasaṃhitā* 3.10 the puṇḍra form of the Teṅkalai school is prescribed (see below, 2.2.5.4).

on of the believer to Nārāyaṇa is described as a śeṣa-śeṣin relationship,³²⁶ true believers bear the branding (BṛhadbrahmaS 3.6.57–64; see 4.7.100). In particular, this branding frees the believer from all sins (BṛhadbrahmaS 1.5.6–42). According to *Bṛhadbrahmasaṃhitā* 2.5.69–99 it is the duty of a Bhāgavata to bear the branding and to perform prapatti. In the *Parāśarasamhitā* the term Pāñcarātra is entirely traced back to pañcasamskāra and pañcakāla, which go hand in hand with prapatti (ParāśaraS 1.9–20). Pañcasamskāra are moreover a precondition to be able to serve as a priest (arcaka) in the temple (ParāśaraS 1.22, 3.127, 4.60–61), especially as the pañcasamskāra-dikṣā is the precondition for further initiations (ParāśaraS 4.161–163).³²⁷ In the chapter on the "conduct of the prapannas" (*prapannavṛttyācāra*, chapter 2) it is further stated that in the course of the upanayana samskāra they have their sons undergo pañcasamskāra, and that during the other preceding childhood samskāras they draw the disk and conch on the shoulders of the child. One becomes a Vaiṣṇava, according to the *Parāśarasamhitā*, by performing prapatti, regardless of which sūtra one follows.³²⁸

By being combined with pañcasamskāra, potentially, the option of becoming a Śrīvaiṣṇava and of attaining salvation through "taking refuge in Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa" became available to all. Yet, it involved another form of marking a boundary against those who (still) remained outside the group of Vaiṣṇavas. Ranked forms of boundary-marking developed among the Vaiṣṇavas (see Giesen 1999: 34f.): soon a distinction emerged between those who are eligible to confer pañcasamskāra and those who do not have this right. Only the descendants of the 74 Brahmins who were appointed by Rāmānuja as religious leaders (*ācāryapuruṣa*, *siṃhāsānādhipati*) were entitled to grant pañcasamskāra to other Brahmins.³²⁹ The Vaikhānasas' specific position on pañcasamskāra initiation is undoubtedly also to be understood against the background of this "popularization" of Śrīvaiṣṇavism through the possibility of conversion.

326 This concept involves the idea that the believer is "part" (*śeṣa*, *aṅga*) of the god (*śeṣin*, *aṅgin*) and contained within him.

327 This is the current practice even today, as my research in the Pāñcarātra mileu of Tamil Nadu reveals.

328 In line with this, according to the *Parāśarasamhitā*, branding is also required of the Vaikhānasas.

329 Mumme (1993: 123) explains that many descendents of these ācāryas today have inherited disciple Brahman families from their own ācāryas. They perform pañcasamskāra and lead the domestic rituals of their disciples. Today the group is, however, not in harmonious unity: they are divided amongst themselves into smaller groups which often harbour old rivalries over inherited temple honours etc. (see Varadachari 1982: 419).

2.2.5.2 Vaidika and tāntrika prapatti in the *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa*

While a connection of this sort between pañcasamṣkāra and prapatti is not mentioned in Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita's *Tātparyacintāmaṇi*, it does appear in his *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa*. Although the term pañcasamṣkāra never appears in the *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa*, Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita refers to this initiation by using different terms signifying “branding” to stand for it.³³⁰ The discussion of the necessity and meaning of marking with the disk and conch is introduced in *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa* 103.1–9 by two citations. Therein first the contrary position (pūrvapakṣa) is given. It is argued there that ritual acts are futile when the initiate has no branding:

The devotee should carry according to the injunctions the disk symbol which takes away all the sins here and later (after death) destroys the circle of rebirth, made either of gold, silver, copper or of iron with eight spokes and centre and round, consisting of four flames (in four directions).

Sacrifice, gift, ascetic exercises, homa, eating (and) tarpaṇa for ancestors, (all this) done by a Brahman without the disk-mark has no result (or reverse results).

On occasion of śrāddha, gift ceremony, vrata, sacrifice, marriage and initiation ceremony, one should respect only a disk-marked Brahman and not others.

According to this statement, thus *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa* 103.10–11, only those who are marked with the disk etc. can be Vaiṣṇavas, but not the Vaikhānasas. In response to this Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita now shows that the Vaikhānasas are also marked. With one quotation from “śruti” and two from the *Vaikhānasasamhitās Ānandasamhitā* and *Purātantra* he explains that Nārāyaṇa himself applies the marking on the arm of a Vaikhānasa foetus (DHN^D 103.12–17). In this way Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita proves that the Vaikhānasas are Vaiṣṇavas already before birth through viṣṇubali. He then differentiates between “marking through branding” and “prenatal marking,” establishes a direct connection between marking and vaiṣṇava nature, while assuming that the element of the branding of the milk porridge is necessary component of viṣṇubali.

Then Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita connects the idea that Nārāyaṇa himself marks the unborn child with the idea that Nārāyaṇa (Puruṣa) is the highest refuge for a person. Consequently, he then identifies the prenatal marking with a prenatal “taking refuge” (DHN^D 103.19–23).

He thereby equates here two fundamentally different ideas: the prenatal boundary marking through viṣṇubali, which in principle is based upon descent

330 As Raman 2005 points out and elaborates in 2007, it might always have been the case that the five samṣkāras were not necessarily performed in their entirety.

but which in this case is understood as divine intervention (Nārāyaṇa marks the unborn child), is connected with the marking during an initiation, which involves an act of will, a decision and verifiable qualification. In order to connect destiny determined by birth and conscious decision-making, Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita argues that the foetus in the eighth month of pregnancy is equipped with consciousness and with the power of choice and thus of action. He proves with quotations from diverse upaniṣads that the act of will involved in "taking refuge" can be performed already by an unborn child. He quotes from the *Garbhopaniṣad*, according to which a person is already equipped with "knowledge" (*jñāna*) and "reflection" (*dhyāna*) before birth, and which at the same time provides an example to show that the resolution (*saṃkalpa*) to perform prapatti can in fact be made before birth: while still in his mother's womb, Vāmadeva recognized the sorrowful nature of cyclical rebirth and made up his mind to take refuge in Nārāyaṇa after birth (DHN^D 103.24–104.8).³³¹ A further quotation from the *Mudgalopaniṣad* reports how Indra taught Vāmadeva about the path to salvation while the latter was still in his mother's womb, which initiated Vāmadeva's decision to take refuge after birth (DHN^D 104.9–14).

At this point Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita introduces the central distinction between two types of taking refuge, namely the "tantric" (*tāntrika*) taking refuge and the taking refuge "in accordance with the Veda" (*vaidika*). First he characterizes vaidika prapatti: it consists of the invocation of the god Puruṣa etc. which is in accordance with the Veda, and which begins with the syllable *om*. This definition clearly refers to the invocation of Puruṣa at the beginning of the viṣṇubali saṃskāra described in section [puruṣāvāhana] of the *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra* (see 2.2.2.1). Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita thereby establishes for the first time a direct link between "taking refuge in accordance with the Veda" and the prenatal life-cycle ritual viṣṇubali (DHN^D 104.15–16). To substantiate this equivalence, he quotes a verse from "śruti" (DHN^D 104.18–19):

Through the sound *a* Viṣṇu is expressed, the lord of all worlds, Hari. Through the sound *u* (the goddess) Lakṣmī is expressed, who is carried by Viṣṇu. The sound *m* is the slave of both. This is the characteristic of *praṇava* [= *om*].

The syllable *om* (a-u-m), with which the invocation of Puruṣa in viṣṇubali begins, therefore stands for the unity of Viṣṇu, Lakṣmī and their slaves, that is, their devotees. Hence *om* stands for the devotee's taking refuge in Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī. What is more, Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita continues, one is already marked with

331 Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita here characteristically quotes only the resolve to take refuge in Nārāyaṇa but not, however, the resolve to take refuge in Sāṃkhya, Yoga, Maheśvara and Brahmā, which are also mentioned in the *Garbhopaniṣad* (see GarbhaU 4.4–7).

the disk and conch through the pronunciation of *om* alone (DHN^D 104.20), as he proves on the basis of a short quotation from the *Kaivalyopaniṣad* (DHN^D 104.21–22). Moreover, according to Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita vaidika prapatti also involves the devotee’s constant awareness that Viṣṇu is the cause of all that is, protects everything and encompasses everything in himself (*śeṣin*), while the devotee feels himself to be a part (*śeṣa*, *aṅga*) of the divine. Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita’s vaidika prapatti therefore consists of an enduring inner attitude with simultaneous emphasis on mantras and in particular the syllable *om*. Then he gives a brief account of tāntrika prapatti, which he attributes to the Pāñcarātrins (DHN^D 105.4–7). The concerned persons give up the Vedas and take refuge with a prayer. Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita rejects this form of taking refuge, because it involves a one-off act and not an ongoing condition, because no mantras are used as part of it, and because one does not call to mind that, as a devotee, one is part of the all-encompassing divine nature (DHN^D 105.8–10; see Ramachandra Rao 1990: 77f). However, apart from mentioning a prayer, Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita does not go into detail regarding the practical procedures for tāntrika prapatti, while for vaidika prapatti he clearly indicates that this takes place in the context of the viṣṇubali saṃskāra. Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita only approaches the practical aspects of tāntrika prapatti indirectly, when he returns to the marking. He insists that this “marking” is by no means a ritual to be performed by all (DHN^D 105.11–13), and in particular it should not be performed by the twice-born (DHN^D 105.14–15). The vaiṣṇava saṃskāras, as he calls them, are only to be conferred on women, Śūdras and servants (DHN^D 105.16–20).³³² God is always present in the Brahmins, as they are the “dwelling-place of the gods.” If this dwelling of the gods is damaged by burning, the gods will abandon the body and the branded Brahmin will no longer have the necessary ritual purity (DHN^D 105.21–106.13). In summary, Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita recognizes branding only for those who receive initiation according to a “tantric” doctrine (DHN^D 106.14–16).³³³ Those passages in authoritative texts

332 In this passage, which is marked as a quotation from the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, Upaśloka is described as devoted to Kṛṣṇa, as a disciple of Nārada, and as the teacher of the so-called sātṛvata doctrine. According to the Pāñcarātra text, *Sanat Kumārasaṃhitā* (indrārātra 3.73–83), Sātṛvata is a term for the Pāñcarātrins, because Kṛṣṇa—the teacher of the Pāñcarātra doctrine—belongs to the Sātṛvata family.

333 I could not identify any of the verses from the Skanda, Viṣṇu, Padma and Bhāgavata purāṇas quoted here in the *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa*. Chapter 224 of the uttarabhāga in the *Padmapurāṇa* deals with the branding of the upper arms. However, according to this source it is precisely a Brahmin *with* branding who is a true Vaiṣṇava (see PadmaP uttarabhāga 224.42–80).

which demand "the bearing of the disk and conch"³³⁴ therefore refer to "bearing" in the form of a mental attitude, which is accompanied by the recitation of mantras (DHN^D 106.17–24).

Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita then quotes several purāṇas to the effect that those initiated in the Pāñcarātra—just like for example the Śaivas and Buddhists—are outside the vedic tradition and are therefore the lowest of Brahmans, especially since they bear a brand (DHN^D 107.1–11). The Pāñcarātra is a doctrine for those who have departed from the vedic way (DHN^D 107.12–20). Yet he concedes that it has been created as protection for those who are outside the vedic tradition (DHN^D 107.21–108.15). As a result of following the Pāñcarātra doctrine those who have deviated from the Veda must perform the corresponding acts of atonement (*prāyaścitta*; DHN^D 108.16–109.4). Following the Pāñcarātra as well as the marking with the disk and conch are connected with the moral decline of the world in the Kaliyuga (DHN^D 109.15–110.11). Therefore, Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita argues, the regulations which prescribe branding are not universally valid. At least for the Vaikhānasas these rules are not valid because for them *prāyaścittas* are prescribed when they undergo a branding (DHN^D 110.13–17). Here he obviously refers to two passages in the *Ānandasamhitā* (ĀS 19.14 and ĀS 4.60). Therefore, the Vaikhānasas' marking takes place not through branding, but is rather an enduring inner condition (DHN^D 110.17–20).

In the *Daśavidhaheturūpaṇa* Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita sees a direct connection between marking and vaiṣṇava nature mediated through the element of the branding of the milk porridge. He identifies this prenatal marking with the soteriological concept of "taking refuge"³³⁵ and with it introduces the central distinction between two types of "taking refuge": that which is "tantric" (*tāntrika*) and that which is "in accordance with the Veda" (*vaidika*). The vedic taking refuge is an enduring inner condition, realized with vedic mantras. It is first brought about ritually in the course of the viṣṇubali saṃskāra which also simultaneously involves the prenatal marking of the unborn child with the conch and disk. That a marking is in fact obligatory, in order to count as a Vaiṣṇava and also as an expression of taking refuge, is not in dispute for Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita. Physical branding, which takes place without mantras,³³⁶ is by contrast characteristic for "tantric" taking refuge, and is not part of the vedic tradition. Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita

334 One verse from the *Ānandasamhitā* and one from the *Mahopaniṣad* are quoted as examples.

335 Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita also quotes a verse from the *Vṛddhahārītasṃṛti* where taking refuge in the lotus feet of Viṣṇu is attested as a characteristic of the Vaikhānasas (DHN^D 63.3–4).

336 Here a close investigation of and comparison with Venkaṭanātha's understanding of *pratti/śaraṇāgati* would certainly be very fruitful, but is beyond the scope of this work.

thus does allow the Pāñcarātra a place among the Vaiṣṇavas, albeit only in the non-vedic realm. The Pāñcarātrins are therefore, by contrast with the Vaikhānasas, not “true” Brahmins, they are “outside the Veda” and are not entitled to perform all rituals.

2.2.5.3 Prapatti in Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita’s *Vaikhānasamahimamañjarī*

The text *Vaikhānasamahimamañjarī* (VMM) is also ascribed to Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita. In this text he is likewise concerned with the Vaikhānasa claim to superiority over other vaiṣṇava groups. Here the emphasis clearly lies on the identification of the “taking refuge in Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa” with the viṣṇubali saṃskāra. The ideas contained in the *Daśavidhaheturirūpaṇa* are further developed in the *Vaikhānasamahimamañjarī* and Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita provides a more profound theoretical underpinning of the differentiation from other, “inferior” forms of taking refuge. This is particularly clear from the identification of the ritual elements of viṣṇubali with different aspects of prapatti. Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita makes explicit here that it is only prapatti which entitles one (*adhikāra*) to perform rituals.³³⁷ In *Vaikhānasamahimamañjarī* 4.27 he returns to the subdivision of prapatti into the two categories, *vaidikī* prapatti and *tāntrikī* prapatti,³³⁸ introduced in *Daśavidhaheturirūpaṇa* 104.15–16. He now introduces a further subdivision: prapatti “in accordance with the Veda” is further divided into three hierarchically ranked categories, the “highest,” the “middle” and the “lowest.”³³⁹ In his concluding brief explanation, Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita states that viṣṇubali is the “highest prapatti” because this act involves a sacrificial fire.³⁴⁰ If the act were performed without a sacrificial fire, it would be the “middle prapatti.”³⁴¹ Prapatti which occurs “only through a prayer” is the “lowest.”³⁴² It is not clear here what is meant if it is per-

337 VMM 4.7–13: *marīciḥ: atha nārāyaṇaikavarasya paramaikāntinaḥ prapannasyārādhanē ‘dhikāro vā? veti vicāraḥ kriyate. tatra tadārāadhanādihikāriṇaḥ prapadane ‘dhikāra ity avagamyate. ‘yathāvad adhikāriṇo yajanadānahomārcanābharanyasānabhāvanā-prabhṛtibhiḥ samārādhiṭaḥ phalaṃ diśati devānām iti hi sampradāyaś śubhaś śrutissmṛ-tigurūktibhir nayavatūbhir ābhāti naḥ’ iti bhinnakriyātvenoktatvād bhagavadārādha-kasya prapadane ‘dhikāra itī cet satyam.*

338 VMM 4.27: *prapattir dvividhā, vaidikī tāntrikī ceti.*

339 VMM 4.28–29: *tatra vaidikī trividhā, uttamā madhyamādhamā ceti.*

340 VMM 5.2–4: *śrutisiddhāṣṭādaśārīrasaṃskāreṣu garbhagatasyāṣṭame māsi viṣṇubali itī yat kriyate tad uttamaḥ; prapadanakarmatvāt homādirūpeṇa kriyamāṇatvāc ca.*

341 VMM 5.4–5: *homādibhir vihīnaṃ madhyamaṃ.*

342 VMM 5.5–7: *‘ananyasādhye svābhīṣṭe mahīviśvāsapūrvakaṃ / tadekopāyatā yācñā prapattiś śaraṇāgatir ||’ itī mahāviśvāsapūrvakatvena yācñāmātreṇa yat kriyate tad adhamāṃ. Here he is in line with Vedānta Deśika who devotes an entire chapter of his*

formed "without a sacrificial fire." Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita provides no further explanation. The description of the lowest prapatti, which occurs "only through a prayer," clearly refers to the "tantric" prapatti described in *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa* 105.4–7, which is there ascribed to the Pāñcarātrins. Here arises a inconsistency within Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita's works: on the one hand he classifies this form of taking refuge as tāntrikī prapatti (in *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa* 105.4–7), and on the other he classifies it as the "lowest" vaidikī prapatti (in *Vaikhānasamahimamañjarī* 5.1–7). However, elsewhere in the *Vaikhānasamahimamañjarī* Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita himself ignores the subdivision into three types of prapatti "in accordance with the Veda." There we find, first, that only the Vaikhānasaś perform vaidikī prapatti (VMM 25.11–26.6). Subsequently Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita gives a somewhat more detailed account of prapatti: prapatti is "the highest" when one takes refuge in Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī in the form of a saṃskāra. If one performs the taking refuge as a permanent inner attitude, but not in the form of a saṃskāra, that is the "middle prapatti." When prapatti takes place "with great trust and in the form of a prayer," then it is a case of the lowest form of prapatti and is "tantric."³⁴³

While in the *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa* Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita explicitly identifies only the beginning of the viṣṇubali ritual (namely the invocation of Puruṣa with the mantras *om bhūḥ puruṣaṃ āvāhayāmi* etc.) with prapatti, in the *Vaikhānasamahimamañjarī* his identification of individual rites goes significantly further. There he explains that with the four mantras of the invocation of Puruṣa are respectively Viṣṇu, Mahāviṣṇu, Sadāviṣṇu and Sarvavyāpin Nārāyaṇa invoked.³⁴⁴ Moreover, the invocation of the twelve forms of Viṣṇu (see above 2.2.2.1 [dvādaśāvāhana]) specifically protects the child as the twelve forms are assigned to the twelve parts of the body.³⁴⁵ Both the sacrifice of the milk porridge mixed

Rahasyatrayasāra (chapter 24) to refuting the doctrine that prapatti is simply a prayer or request (see Mumme 2007: 119). See also DHN^D 105.6–7.

343 VMM 26.26–29: *anena dvayena prapattiḥ nityatvena saṃskārarūpeṇa kriyate cet tat paramavaidikam uttamaṃ. nityatvena saṃskārarūpeṇa vinā yat kriyate tan madhyamaṃ. mahāviśvāsapūrvakatvena tadekopāyatā yācanāmātreṇa yat kriyate tad adhamam, vaidikakriyāhīnatvāt. tāntrikoktatvāc ca.*

344 VMM 8.2–5: *bhūḥ puruṣa ity anena viṣṇuḥ bhuvah puruṣa ity anena mahāviṣṇuḥ suvaḥ puruṣa ity anena sadāviṣṇuḥ, bhūrbhuvassuvaḥ puruṣa ity anena sarvavyāpī nārāyaṇaḥ. "brahmacatuṣpād bhavati"ti paripūrṇasya nārāyaṇasya prapadanārthaṃ om bhūḥ puruṣam ity ādīprayogaḥ; on these four aspects of Viṣṇu see Colas 1986b: 135f., see Colas 1996: 112.*

345 VMM 10.24–29: *iti garbhagatasya tattatkālāpekṣayā rakṣakatvena, "lalāṭe keśavāyeti, kuḅṣau nārāyaṇāya ca, hrdaye mādhavāyeti, govindāya gale nyaset. viṣṇave dakṣiṇe kuḅṣau nama ity abhidhīyate, tatpārśvabāhumadhye tu madhusūdanam eva ca, trivikra-*

with clarified butter (see 2.2.2.1 [pāyasahoma]) and the bowing to the twelve forms of the god (see 2.2.2.1, [praṇāma]) are identified with “self-sacrifice” or “self-dedication” (*ātmasamarpaṇalātmanivedana*) as part of prapatti (VMM 11.1–12.5; 14.4–24). Later in the text Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita explicitly names the elements of bowing to the god, the sacrifice of clarified butter, and the fact that an atonement is required if viṣṇubali is not performed as major factors which qualify viṣṇubali as a form of prapatti.³⁴⁶

Entirely in keeping with his emphasis on the importance of mantras in the context of vaidikī prapatti Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita identifies the ritual components of viṣṇubali with the mantras essential for “taking refuge.”³⁴⁷ The mantras concerned are the so-called tirumantra or aṣṭākṣara,³⁴⁸ the dyava mantra³⁴⁹ and the caramaśloka.³⁵⁰ These three mantras are collectively called rahasya or rahasyatraya. Their interpretation forms the subject matter of many texts (*rahasyagrantha*) from the 13th century onwards.³⁵¹ Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita here identifies the invocation of Puruṣa with the aṣṭākṣara mantra (VMM 15.17–20), and the remaining rites of viṣṇubali with the dvaya mantra.³⁵² This identification remains incomplete,

maṃ kaṅṭhadese vāmakukṣau tu vāmanam, śrīdharam bāhukevāme hṛṣīkeśaṃ tu kaṅṭhake. pṛṣṭhe tu padmanābhaṃ tu kakuddāmodaram nyaset. dvādaśaitāni nāmāni vāsudeveti mūrdhni.” This assigning of the twelve parts corresponds to the application of the twelve ūrdhvapuṅdras. There too the twelve names are recited, one name for each part of the body. The explanation that this rite serves to protect the child (VMM 10.24 and 30) again clearly recalls Nṛsiṃha Vājapeyin’s interpretation of the viṣṇubali saṃskāra (see 2.2.2.2, NVB [sāmkalpa]).

346 VMM 15.12–15: *ity namaskārarūpaprapadanam “namaskārātmakaṃ tasmai vidhāyātmanivedanaṃ / prapattim tām prayujjīta svāṅgaiḥ paṃcabhir āvṛtām //” iti ājyākaiṃkaryarūpeṇa prapadanapratipādanāt, akaraṇe prāyaścittavidhānāc ca, viṣṇubaliḥ iti prapadanam evoktaṃ.*

347 In several places Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita uses the term bharanyāsa to refer to the mantras required for prapatti (see VMM 1.15, 3.12 etc.). In the Vāṭakalai school today, bharanyāsa is the term used for the request that god grant refuge to the person concerned.

348 *Oṃ namo nārāyaṇāya.*

349 *Śrīmannārāyaṇacaraṇau śaraṇaṃ prapadye, śrīmate nārāyaṇāya namaḥ.*

350 BhGī 18.66: *sarvadharmān parityajya mām ekaṃ śaraṇaṃ vraja / ahaṃ tvā sarvapāpebhyo mokṣayiṣyāmi mā śucaḥ ||.*

351 On this see Mumme 1988: 73–141.

352 VMM 15.15–23: *kiṃca “oṃ bhūḥ puruṣam” ity ārabhya “namoṃtair nāmabhiḥ praṇamed” ityaṃtair uktatvāt rahasyatrayam api pratipāditaṃ bhavati. katham iti ced ucyate. “oṃ bhūḥ puruṣam” ityādināṣṭākṣarapratipādanaṃ; praṇavaṃ ca pratipādy puruṣaśabdena nārāyaṇaṃ pratipādy “juṣṭaṃ nirvapāmi” tyādiṣu “juṣ prīṭisevanavayor” iti sevāparatvenāvagamyamānatvāc chāṣṭākṣarapratipādanaṃ “keśavanārāyaṇam” ity ārabhya “namoṃtair nāmabhiḥ praṇamed” ity anena dvayapratipādanaṃ; ādau*

however, for Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita does not deal with the caramaśloka. Sundararāja therefore adds at this point in his commentary on the *Vaikhānasamahimamañjarī*, the *Candrikā*, at this point, that the caramaśloka is also represented by viṣṇubali.³⁵³

It is significant here to note that the diversion into vaidika and tāntrika prapatti recalls Veṅkaṭa Deśika's concern that prapatti must be vaidika. In his text *nikṣeparakṣā* he seeks to prove that śaraṇāgati is vaidika (see Venkatachari 2006: 51f.).

In order to illustrate why the Vaikhānasas are marked with the disk and conch in the viṣṇubali ritual, and why this counts as prapatti "in accordance with the Veda," Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita refers back to arguments from the *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa*.³⁵⁴ His discussion of the syllable *om* and the description of the "tantric" prapatti repeats almost verbatim the corresponding passages in the *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa*,³⁵⁵ as does the explanation of the prohibition on branding for Brahmans and the identification of viṣṇubali as a marking by Nārāyaṇa himself.³⁵⁶ Even the question of the extent to which the foetus is able to consciously decide to perform prapatti corresponds to the *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa*.³⁵⁷ In the *Vaikhānasamahimamañjarī* Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita only adds that the feeding of the pregnant woman implies that the foetus also consumes the milk porridge (VMM 13.5–11).

praṇavaṃ pratipādyā madhye puruṣādiśabdaprayogān namontatvenoktatvāc ca dvaya-pratipādanam iti vā.

353 VMM 16.23–24; *anenaiva "sarvadharmān parityajya" ityādi caramaślokoktaśaraṇāgatisiddheḥ rahasyatrayam api pratipāditam bhavatīty uktaṃ.*

354 See VMM 16.26–27 / DHN^D 103.6–7; VMM 16.28 / DHN^D 103.10–11; VMM 16.29 / DHN^D 103.24; VMM 16.29–7.1 / DHN^D 104.21–24; VMM 17.3–4 / DHN^D 103.14–15.

355 VMM 17.27–28 / DHN^D 104.15–16; VMM 17.28–18.1 / DHN^D 104.17–20; VMM 18.1–5 / DHN^D 104.21–24; VMM 18.6–8 / DHN^D 105.1–5; VMM 18.9–13 / DHN^D 105.6–10.

356 VMM 19.2–14 / DHN^D 105.11–106.7; VMM 19.14–15 / ca. DHN^D 106.14–16; VMM 19.15–21 / DHN^D 106.17–24.

357 VMM 5.8–17 / DHN^D 103.24–104.8. In order to distinguish the Vaikhānasas from the Bauddhāyanins, in whose sūtra viṣṇubali is also described, Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita offers the argument in the *Vaikhānasamahimamañjarī*, that the followers of the Bauddhāyana sūtras are no paramaikāntins in addition to the worship of Viṣṇu, since in their sūtra the worship of other gods is prescribed (VMM 6.8–21).

2.2.5.4 Prapatti and pañcasamṣkāra in the Tenkalai and Vāṭakalai schools

Diverging views on the proper ritual enactment of prapatti not only distinguish the Vaikhānasas from other Vaiṣṇavas, but also emerge indirectly from some Pāñcarātrasaṃhitās. Thus in the 15th chapter of the *Śeṣasaṃhitā* in discussing prapatti it is stated that the so-called *bāhayoga* involves bearing the disk and conch (ŚeṣaS 15.259–263), while by the term *antaryoga* certain (inner) virtues are to be understood (ŚeṣaS 15.264–280). The *Bṛhadbrahmasaṃhitā* also distinguishes between an *antastāpa* and a *bahistāpa* in relation to pañcasamṣkāra, that is, an “inner branding” through mantras and an “outer branding” through heated metal symbols (BṛhadbrahmaS 4.1.3–15). This could reflect the discussion in the *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa*, or alternatively could be a foreshadowing, of another clash in South Indian Vaiṣṇavism, namely the splitting of the Śrīvaiṣṇava into the two schools of the Vāṭakalai and the Tenkalai. This issue can only be touched upon here; for details other relevant works may be consulted.³⁵⁸

Between the 13th and the 15th centuries CE a division of the followers of the Viśiṣṭādvaita doctrine (the Śrīvaiṣṇavas) into two movements became apparent. Each would later establish their own works and their own teacher-pupil succession lineage.³⁵⁹ The primary differences relate to the questions of precedence with respect to the language of the tradition and authoritative texts, the question of the nature of divine grace and therefore of taking refuge in god,³⁶⁰ differences in the doctrine of “sin and forgiveness,” different degrees of integration of the non-twice-born into the system, etc. The differences between the two schools hardened to such an extent that today they form two largely endogamous vaiṣṇava groups.³⁶¹ One of the disputed points was the question of whether prapatti should take place alongside pañcasamṣkāra or not.

From a performance point of view this dispute is about the question of whether taking refuge is accompanied by a physical branding. For the Tenkalais the initiate should perform prapatti as a component of pañcasamṣkāra, submitting

358 See Govindacarya 1912; Doraiswamy Iyengar 1983; Jagadeesan 1977 und 1989; Mumme 1987a und b, 1988, 1993 und 1999; Rangachari 1931; Siauve 1978; Venkatachari 1978. See also the bibliography in Raman 2007.

359 Mumme (1988: 2) notes that the religious leaders to whom each of the schools refers, did not see themselves as founders of schools. This distinction first appears in the literature in the 16th–17th century. It is also from this period that separate guruparampāras first become apparent.

360 See Mumme 1988: 73ff. and 261.

361 See Rangachari 1956: 177f; see Colas 1995a: 121f.

himself to the god through the ācārya and praying that he may be saved through prapatti. For them, thus, prapatti goes hand in hand with their physical branding. The Vaṭakalais also practice self-surrender through prapatti as a voluntary rite, but separate from pañcasamṣkāra.³⁶² They take the stance that one's self-surrender should be done individually, and at a time when the person is mature enough to understand what he is doing. In both schools, however, it evidently remains uncontroversial that one of the preconditions for belonging to the Śrīvaiṣṇava group is branding in connection with pañcasamṣkāra. Unlike among the Vaikhānasas, it is therefore never debated whether branding is necessary, but rather whether prapatti is accompanied by branding or not.

Membership of the Tenkalai or the Vaṭakalai school and the division of the specialists in temple ritual between the Pāñcarātrins and the Vaikhānasas are essentially separate issues.³⁶³ Nevertheless the division of the Śrīvaiṣṇavas into Vaṭakalai and Tenkalai also had an effect on the organisation of ritual in vaiṣṇava temples. Membership of one or the other group is made clear through the sect marks (ūrdhvaṇḍra) worn on the forehead and on other parts of the body.³⁶⁴ These marks are in most cases also applied on the image itself and are marked on the temple walls. The temple priests also wear the ūrdhvaṇḍra and thereby show that they belong to one of the two groups. At the same time the arcaka is always also member of one of two distinct traditions of ritual practice, namely Pāñcarātra or Vaikhānasa. Colas (1995a: 123f.) notes on this issue that while the conflict between the Vaṭakalais and Tenkalais in itself only concerns the devotees, it has also had an effect on temple ritual. Thus today a Vaṭakalai Vaikhānasa priest is usually forbidden to touch the image of the god Pārthasārathi in the (Tenkalai) Pārthasārathi temple (Triplicane, Chennai). To that extent sectarian disunity has here overridden the ritual tradition. Despite such overlaps, the rift between the Vaṭakalais and Tenkalais has never permeated the whole Vaikhānasa group. This is based on the character of the Vaikhānasa tradition: this is not a philosophical school, and does not represent a particular soteriology, but is a ritual school. Whether individual Vaikhānasas belong to the Vaṭakalais or Tenkalais is therefore to some degree immaterial, as this only became important because of the respective temple's sectarian affiliation and the public pressure resulting from this, and did not primarily emerge from conviction. Thus unlike

362 See Mumme 1987b: 3; Mumme 2007: 109; see Rangachari 1931: 45f; see Siauue 1978: 9: 40, note 9 and Appendix B.

363 See Colas 1995a: 122f; see also Gnanambal 1971: 108.

364 The most visible distinguishing characteristic of the Tenkalais and Vaṭakalais is the form of the ūrdhvaṇḍra (on this see Jagadeesan 1989, chapter 5).

among other Vaṭakalai and Teṅkalai Vaiṣṇavas, among the Vaikhānasas there is intermarriage and commensality throughout the two groups. Nevertheless even today no Vaikhānasa would change which of the two groups he belonged to, Vaṭakalai or Teṅkalai, as the result of a move from one town to another. This may be connected with the heritability of temple service, which involves a hereditary affiliation of Vaikhānasa families to particular temples, which themselves are classed as belonging to either the Vaṭakalai or the Teṅkalai school.

2.2.5.5 Prapatti and viṣṇubali in the twentieth century

The *Mokṣopāyapradīpikā* (“Illumination of the method to achieve salvation”; MOP), a 1905 work of the Vaikhānasa author Raghupati Bhaṭṭācārya, also deals with viṣṇubali and prapatti.³⁶⁵ The author of the *Mokṣopāyapradīpikā* takes over and, in part, further develops many arguments from the *Vaikhānasamahimamañjarī*. In chapters 10–12 of the *Mokṣopāyapradīpikā* Raghupati Bhaṭṭācārya concentrates on exegesis of the three mantras essential for prapatti.³⁶⁶ Colas (1985: 119) remarks that as a whole the *Mokṣopāyapradīpikā* follows the scheme of Viśiṣṭādvaita handbooks and has much in common with the *Rahasyatrayasāra*, a Maṇipravāla text by Vedānta Deśika. Like the *Vaikhānasamahimamañjarī* the *Mokṣopāyapradīpikā* distinguishes three types of prapatti, but these are defined somewhat differently: *adhama*, the “lowest” sort of prapatti, results from simply pronouncing the taking refuge. The “middle” form of prapatti is that which takes place according to the tantra. This is not eternal, and does not have the nature of a saṃskāra.³⁶⁷ The “highest prapatti” is that which a Vaikhānasa obtains by means of the viṣṇubali ritual. Only this prapatti entitles one to worship the god. For the author of the *Mokṣopāyapradīpikā* the worship of god prescribed in the *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra* is the right way to achieve salvation. Both prapatti and the capacity to perform the invocation of god (*ārādhana*) are transmitted to the foetus through viṣṇubali. The *Mokṣopāyapradīpikā* also relies on arguments familiar from the *Vaikhānasamahimamañjarī* in giving an account of the grounds for the superiority of Vaikhānasa prapatti: because it is carried out with vedic mantras, because it has eternal efficacy, because it takes the form of a saṃskāra, because it is commanded by god, because its omission would require a prāyaścitta, and because the Ṛṣi Marīci mentions this prapatti. The *Mok-*

365 For much of what follows, I rely on the 1985 study of this text by Colas.

366 Unlike the *Vaikhānasamahimamañjarī*, the caramasloka is also dealt with here (Colas 1985: 118).

367 MOP pp. 63–64: *tanreṇa yat kriyate tan madhyamam. nityatvābhavāt saṃskārarūpatvābhavāt.*

ṣopāyapradīpikā is much more detailed than the *Vaikhānasamahimamañjarī* in refuting possible objections. The *Mokṣopāyapradīpikā* is therefore clearly a summary of the doctrine of the late Vaikhānasa tradition (see Colas 1985: 122). According to it the invocation of god (*ārādhana*) together with bhakti (loving devotion) and prapatti is the best method for achieving salvation, and in particular for the Vaikhānasas, whose primary obligation is priesthood.

The *Mokṣopāyapradīpikā* appears to be quite popular among Tamil- and Telugu-speaking Vaikhānasas.³⁶⁸ In fact the Vaikhānasas today support the view that viṣṇubali is also accompanied by prapatti. Thus according to the Tamilian Vaikhānasa scholar Gopāla Kṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭācārya viṣṇubali corresponds to prapatti, or the śaraṇāgati of the "pupils of Rāmānuja" whose most significant characteristic is branding. The Vaikhānasa bṛhaspati Anantapadmanābhācāryulu Gāru from Machilipatnam (Andhra Pradesh; see 4.6.2) states that in the course of viṣṇubali the bṛhaspati whispers the three mantras in the pregnant woman's ear. Only after that is she given the milk porridge to eat. I was able to document an act resembling this at a viṣṇubali performance in Vijayawada (see 4.4.3). By contrast, Pārthasārathi N. Bhaṭṭācārya from Chennai states that the normal mantras in viṣṇubali already bring about prapatti for the unborn child. If then the three mantras are recited during viṣṇubali, this is *deśācāra*, that is, local custom. There is agreement, however, that for the Vaikhānasas viṣṇubali is the indispensable prerequisite for the worship of the god, just as pañcasamṣkāra is the prerequisite to Viṣṇu's worship for the Śrīvaiṣṇavas. The worship of Viṣṇu is in turn the only way to salvation. From the Vaikhānasa point of view the essential difference between their own and other traditions is that taptacakrāṅkaṇa is not one of the samṣkāras prescribed by the sūtras, whereas viṣṇubali is.³⁶⁹

368 The text has been edited three times, twice in Telugu script and once in Tamil Grantha script.

369 According to the contemporary Vaikhānasa scholar Gopāla Kṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭācārya, the branding of others by Vaikhānasas described in the *Ānandasamhitā* only rarely is actually performed. If, however, the Vaikhānasas confer pañcasamṣkāra on others, the performance exactly resembles pañcasamṣkāra within the Śrīvaiṣṇava tradition. If those who follow other traditions have pañcasamṣkāra performed by Vaikhānasas, this is for the most part carried out in the context of upanayana. This by no means entitles them to touch the image of god in the temple, or to pass on the blessing of god to the believers. In Vaikhānasa temples they may only perform auxiliary services.

2.2.6 Summary

Analysis of the diverse passages on viṣṇubali reveals that all Vaikhānasa authors draw on the sūtra, some word for word, but all in content. Many texts—such as those of Nṛsiṃha Vājapeyin, Sundararāja and Vasantayājīn—remain very close to the text of the *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra*. At times a recognition of the authority of the *Baudhāyanagr̥hyasūtra* may be noted. Clear divergences from, or additions to, the sūtra are almost inevitably provided with some explanation (see the *Nibandhana* of Veṅkaṭayogin and the *Smārtakarmānukramaṇikā* of Kodaṇḍāramayajvan). This faithfulness to the sūtra tradition connects the Vaikhānasas' hereditary profession as temple priests with their specific sūtra tradition. The majority of the texts agree with Nṛsiṃha Vājapeyin in understanding viṣṇubali as protecting the unborn child. Although Nṛsiṃha Vājapeyin's otherwise rather "purist" attitude is not in the end generally accepted, the idea of viṣṇubali as a protective ritual is always present. Nevertheless Nṛsiṃha Vājapeyin (or the editor of the text?) opposes the idea that there should be a role for Viṣṇu's symbols, the disk and conch, in the course of the viṣṇubali saṃskāra. Many other texts do not follow the commentator here, but rather expand the ritual to include the idea that through viṣṇubali the foetus becomes a follower of Viṣṇu (*garbhavaiṣṇava*). The question which immediately arises from the very concept itself, namely to what extent a foetus can actively "follow" a god, is dealt with by Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita. He demonstrates that the foetus possesses a will and the capacity to make decisions while still in the mother's womb, and therefore can decide to acknowledge Viṣṇu as the highest god, and thus take refuge in him. The idea of garbhavaiṣṇavatva goes hand in hand with the introduction of a new rite into viṣṇubali: the milk porridge, which the pregnant woman is given to eat at the end of viṣṇubali, is first brandmarked with the two symbols of Viṣṇu. Here the texts represent an almost direct interaction of scholarly reflection and ritual practice. This new rite—the branding of the milk porridge—is labelled garbhacakrasaṃskāra in the *Ānandasamhitā*. This rite thus explicitly represents the performative expression of the postulated prenatal vaiṣṇava nature (*garbhavaiṣṇavatva*) of the Vaikhānasas, as against the necessity of bearing a brand. The first component of the "five saṃskāras" (pañcasamskāra), the branding of the upper arms with the heated symbols of the disk and conch (*tāpa*), is thus transformed by the Vaikhānasas into the branding of milk porridge. Thus the Vaikhānasas on the one hand resembled other vaiṣṇava groups in that they also have a branding rite, but at the same time they differentiate themselves from other Vaiṣṇavas in that they in-

tegrated this “sectarian” initiation to their prenatal saṃskāra viṣṇubali.³⁷⁰ This initiatory rite is thereby subordinated to the Vaikhānasas’ religious identity based on family descent. It is important to note that the Vaikhānasas’ authoritative texts explicitly forbid branding of the upper arms for the Vaikhānasas. The garbhacakrasaṃskāra, which is interpreted as a superior counterpart to pañca-saṃskāra, adds the criterion of descent to that of initiation as the ritual realisation of membership of the group of Vaiṣṇavas (cf. Michaels 1998b: 86ff). At the same time the integration of the element of branding into the prenatal saṃskāra viṣṇubali proved to be suitable to incorporate the Śrīvaiṣṇava soteriological concept of “taking refuge in Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa” (*prapatti/śaraṅgati*) into the Vaikhānasa tradition, since this taking refuge took place at the same time as pañca-saṃskāra among the Śrīvaiṣṇavas, and was therefore identified with it. The Vaikhānasas took over this combination of pañcasamskāra with the specific idea of salvation through prapatti again in a modified form, and subordinated it to their code of identity which is based on on descent and which is ritually expressed through the saṃskāras contained in their sūtra. Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita pursued the strategy of connecting the advantages of prenatal dedication through viṣṇubali (implying divine grace and intervention) with the advantages of initiation (implying individual decision and qualification). In the course of viṣṇubali the unborn child takes the decision to take refuge in Nārāyaṇa. To that end, in the *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa* and the *Vaikhānasamahimamañjarī*, elements of the ritualized refuge-taking are identified with ritual elements of viṣṇubali. This integration of the Śrīvaiṣṇava idea of prapatti is accompanied by a further hierarchisation of vaiṣṇava groups, in that Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita differentiates between a the superior taking refuge by Vaikhānasas which is “in accordance with the Veda” (*vaidika*) and the inferior tantric taking refuge, for example among the Pāñcarātrins.

370 Following Colas it is to be assumed that this garbhacakradīkṣā is a recent innovation, as it is only mentioned in the later Vaikhānasasaṃhitās. At the same time he notes that even the quite old *Samūrtārcanādhikaraṇa* knows the term garbhavaiṣṇava, although the initiation is not mentioned there. He suspects that the consumption of food branded with vaiṣṇava emblems is a more recent custom, and the representation of the prenatal initiation as a saṃskāra probably even more recent (see Colas 1996: 176f.). In this context it is interesting to note that the so-called nārāyaṇabali saṃskāra, mentioned in the Vaikhānasa and the Baudhāyana sūtras, is structured similar to a dīkṣā, connecting the deceased person with Nārāyaṇa (see Krick 1977: 77f.).

3 Branding for Vaikhānasas in the 19th and 20th centuries

3.1 Conflicts: enforced branding

3.1.1 Evidence in the texts

In some of the Vaikhānasasamhitās the branding ([*tapta*]cakraṅkṛāṇa) on the upper arms with the two symbols of Viṣṇu (*cakra*: disk, *śaiḅha*: conch) is explicitly forbidden for the Vaikhānasas. In the *Ānandasamhitā* it is argued that only slaves are branded. The Vaikhānasas, by contrast, are Viṣṇu’s sons who bear his mark from before their birth. Therefore Viṣṇu himself forbids that the Vaikhānasas undergo such a branding.³⁷¹ From such prohibitions it may be concluded that at the time of the text’s compilation there were in fact Vaikhānasas who did have their upper arms branded. This is sharply condemned in the *Ānandasamhitā*, on the grounds that it is tantamount to “giving up one’s own vedic branch.”³⁷² Ignorance, greed, infatuation or “compulsion by others” are mentioned as possible motivations for this wrong conduct. In consequence branded Vaikhānasas may no longer carry out worship of Viṣṇu in the temple and—as is also stated in the *Kriyādhikāra*—are forbidden to touch the god (that is, the image in which he is present). Moreover, the *Ānandasamhitā* prescribes an act of expiation (*prāyaścitta*) and a ritual called mahāśānti (“great pacification”) for those Vaikhānasas who take the brand upon themselves.³⁷³ This passage implies that a

371 ĀS 4.50–53: *kṛtamallāṃchanānāṃ ca garbhavaiṣṇavajanmanāṃ / matputrāṅṅāṃ na cihnāni dāsāś cihnāsamanvitāḥ // vaikhānasā mama sutā garbhavaiṣṇavajātakāḥ / teṣāṃ pṛthaṅ na cihnāni cakraḍīnāṃ gurur na hi // vaikhānasānāṃ sarveṣāṃ madarcāhetujanmanāṃ / śrautasmārtakriyārhāṅṅāṃ matprasādaikajīvināṃ // mama vākyabalenaiva te vai cakraṅkṛitā matāḥ / sālagrāmeṣu sarveṣu garbhe cakrasya dhāraṅṅam / vaikhānasānāṃ sarveṣāṃ garbhe cakrasya dhāraṅṅam //*. The commentary on ĀS (p. 56) replaces *kṛtamallāṃchanānāṃ* with *kṛtabhagavallāṃchanānāṃ*.

372 ĀS 4.59–61: *svaśākhāṃ samparityajya paraśākhānusārataḥ / śākhāraṅṅas sa vijñeyas sarvakarmabahiṣkṛtaḥ // ajñānād arthalobhād vā mohād vā parapīḍanāt / taptamudrā bhaved yasya prāyaścittam vidhīyate // śrīvaikhānasasūtrasthas taptamudro bhaved yadi / ālayam na viśet paścāt pūjanam naiva kārayet //*.

373 ĀS 19.13–14: *ajñānād arthalobhād vā mohād vā parapīḍanāt / taptamudrā bhaved yas tu spraṣṭum nārhati keśavaṅṅ // vaikhānasakule jātā ajñānād taptadhāriṅṅaḥ / prāyaścittam mahāśāntiṅṅ kramād arhanti sāstrataḥ //*; ĀS 19.16: *ajñānād vābalān mohād yadi cakraṅkṛito bhavet / vaikhānaso 'pi so 'vadyas sa spraṣṭum nārhati keśavaṅṅ //*; KrA 36.53: *vaikhānasaś caturvedī sarvakarmabahiṣkṛtaḥ / ajñānād vābalān mohāt taptamudro bhaved yadi / vaikhānaso 'pi vadhyaḥ syāt spraṣṭum nārhati mām api / (vai-*

Vaikhānasa's branding can be remedied. However, overall the branding of Vaikhānasas seems not to be a prominent issue in the Vaikhānasasamhitās.

As discussed in 2.2.5, Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita deals with branding especially when he distinguishes between "taking refuge in Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa" (*prapatīśaraṇāgati*) "in accordance with the Veda" (*vaidika*) and "following a tantric doctrine" (*tāntrika*). He refers first to a general prohibition on branding for Brahmans according to the Skanda, Viṣṇu, Padma and Bhāgavata purāṇas,³⁷⁴ but assumes that branding is done by Pāñcarātrins. This implies that the Pāñcarātrins are not "true" Brahmans, that they are not entitled to perform all rituals, and that they are "outside the Veda."³⁷⁵ Accordingly, under no circumstances should Vaikhānasas undergo taptacakrāṅkana, which is already evident just from the fact that an act of expiation (*prāyaścitta*) is prescribed for them if they do (DHN^D 110.12–17), says Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita.³⁷⁶ However, at no point does he refer to a case where a Vaikhānasa has in fact taken a branding. This suggests that in Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita's time forced branding of Vaikhānasas was not a prominent problem.³⁷⁷

The situation is quite different around the end of the 19th century and in the first half of the 20th. During this period forcible branding was an important issue for the Vaikhānasas in connection with their entitlement to carry out the worship of Viṣṇu in several South Indian temples. In his *Report on a search for Sanskrit and Tamil manuscripts for the year 1893–94* (No. 2, Madras, 1899, pp. 9f.) Śeṣagiri Śāstri reports that in many Viṣṇu temples Vaikhānasa priests were forced by "the Vaiṣṇavas" to be branded. If the Vaikhānasas did not undergo branding, they did not count as "true" Vaiṣṇavas and their religious status was correspondingly low. For many Śrīvaiṣṇavas, who had themselves received pañcasamskāra, it was apparently out of the question to accept consecrated water (Tamil: *tīrttam*) and sacrificial offerings (*prasāda*/ Tamil: *piracātam*) from them. According to Śeṣagiri Śāstri's report, these conflicts involved serious con-

khānasā mama sutā garbhavaiṣṇavajātakāḥ / teṣāṃ bahir na tāpo na punaḥ karaṇam āpadī // See also Colas 1996: 177.

374 DHN^D 105.11–106.13. I was not able to verify the verses from these purāṇas cited in the *Daśavidhahetumirūpaṇa*. Chapter 224 of the Uttarabhāga in the *Padmapurāṇa* deals with branding of the upper arms. According to this text, however, only a Brahman with a brand is a true Vaiṣṇava (see PadmaP uttara. 224.42–80).

375 Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita attempts to prove that the Pāñcarātrins are not "true" Brahmans on the basis of a series of quotations from diverse purāṇas (DHN^D 108.13–15, 109.3–4, 16–19).

376 Here he is apparently referring to ĀS 19.13–14.

377 Only in connection with the discussion of devalakas (see 2.1.2) does he state that someone born in a Vaikhānasa family who has received the Pāñcarātra dīkṣā is a devalaka. Branding is not, however, explicitly mentioned here.

sequences: many Vaikhānasas feared that they would lose their right to temple service and with it their source of income.

This fight was also carried out in writing. The controversy produced quite an extensive literature in the years after 1920, in which on the one side the Śrīvaiṣṇavas and on the other the Vaikhānasas debated the question of whether branding of the upper arms was required for Vaikhānasas (see also Varadachari 1982: 343). Thus, for example, in 1928 Brundavan Rangacharyulu circulated among the Vaikhānasas in Kṛṣṇā District (Andhra Pradesh) a small text on this topic. Jagannāthācāryulu from Nallūru published the results of this opinion poll in Sanskrit and Telugu under the title *Vaikhānasadharmajijñāsāvivādapracuramu* (Guṃṭūru 1928). In the same year Vaikhānasas and Śrīvaiṣṇavas together held a conference on the issue in Poonamalli near Madras.³⁷⁸ Pārthasārathi Bhaṭṭācārya (see 1.3) presented the position of the Vaikhānasas at this event. Presiding over the conference was a Śrīvaiṣṇava scholar from Tirukoṣṭiyūr near Madurai, where the problem was also topical. This Tirukoṣṭiyūr Saumyanārāyaṇa Svāmi invited the Vaikhānasas to give evidence for their position from their authoritative texts, in order that the question might finally be resolved. The matter was evidently taken to court later and was then decided in 1930 by the Madras Religious Endowment Board (MREB 1930, Court Order No. 6–1). The Vaikhānasa scholar Nācciyārkoṅṅil Kṛṣṇabhāṭṭācārya composed the text *Taptacakrāṅkanakhaṇḍana* in which he presented the Vaikhānasa position in fourteen pages, using quotations from the Vaikhānasasaṃhitās and from the *Vṛddhahārītasṃṛti*, and where he presented his own summary in Tamil.³⁷⁹ For the most part he cited the *Ānandasamhitā* and the *Kriyādhikāra*, but also some verses from the Vaikhānasa texts *Purātantra*,³⁸⁰ the *Yajñādhikāra* and the *Vimānārcanakalpa*. He supplements these with further quotations from the Vaikhānasasaṃhitās which state that other employees of the temple must undergo branding if they do not belong to the Vaikhānasa tradition (YA 51.34–37). In addition he refers to the great vaiṣṇava pilgrim centre in southern Andhra Pradesh, Tirupati/Tirumalai, where the wor-

378 The occasion for this conference is said to have been a conflict on the issue in Tirumaḷicai near Poonamalli.

379 *Taptacakrāṅkanakhaṇḍana* by Kṛṣṇabhāṭṭācārya [niyāya pāṇinīya mīmāṃsātvaya pākavaccāstirapāraṅkata, vitvān nācciyārkoṅṅil kuruṣṇapaṭṭācāriyar viṇayapūrvakamāka yeḷuttikkonṭa viṇṇappam], Madras Religious Endowment Board [Matarās rilijiyas yeṅṭōmenṭu pōṛṭṭār avarkaḷ camukattirkku], 1930 Court order No. 6 [kōṛṭṭu 1930-m varuṣattil O.A. No. 6–1], Advocate [vāti]: T.M. Tāppaṅkār Vakaiyar; Respondent [pratīvāti]: M. K. Raṅkācāriyar Vakaiyar. A copy of this text is in my possession.

380 On page 2 of his *Taptacakrāṅkanakhaṇḍana* Kṛṣṇabhāṭṭācārya also quotes three verses from the *Purātantra*, also given in DHN^D 35.20–24, 36.20–21 and 37.8–9.

ship of Viṣṇu is likewise carried out by Vaikhānasas without branding. Then he cites evidence from the *Vṛddhahārītasṃṛti*, stating that branding is prescribed for all Vaiṣṇavas but Vaikhānasas. The *Taptacakrāṅkanakhaṇḍana* thus is a rather well-balanced account quite in keeping with the spirit of the *Daśavidhahe-tunirūpaṇa* in that it argues that everyone should observe the rules prescribed by his own religious tradition. On the basis of this text it was decided that the Vaikhānasas did not require branding and that for them the saṃskāras prescribed in their sūtra were sufficient.

Evidently this judgement was not unanimously approved. Thus Kumāra Tā-tācārya (Nallūr, Andhra Pradesh) published *Rāmabāṇa*, a Sanskrit text on taptacakrāṅkana in which he attempted to prove that the Vaikhānasa too required branding.³⁸¹ In his work he stated, falsely, that at the conference in Poonamalli Pārthasārathi Bhaṭṭācārya had also endorsed this opinion. Pārthasārathi Bhaṭṭācārya therefore felt obliged to compose a detailed rebuttal: his Sanskrit text *Paramārtharāmabāṇa* appeared in 1962. In his account Pārthasārathi Bhaṭṭācārya refers to various sūtras, purāṇas, the epics, to Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita's works, to the relevant passages in the Vaikhānasasamhitās, and to some authorities from the Śrīvaiṣṇava and Pāñcarātra traditions. He agrees explicitly with Tirukoṣṭiyūr Saumyanārāyaṇa's 1930 decision that the Vaikhānasas did not require branding.

3.1.2 Śrīperumbudūr and Vānamāmalai

Many Vaikhānasas in Andhra Pradesh state that this conflict had never played a large role there. For the contemporary situation in Andhra Pradesh too I was only able to collect sporadic, extremely divergent and rather unspecific data.³⁸² Interviews in Tamil Nadu were more productive. In this state there are some places where Vaikhānasas are even today obliged to undergo branding, otherwise they are not allowed to perform temple services. Two temples, in Śrīperumbudūr and Vānamāmalai, are often mentioned as examples.³⁸³ In summer

381 My copy of this text contains no title page. The text consists of 106 pages and is printed in Telugu script.

382 Some of those I interviewed from Vijayawada, Machilipatnam, Narsapur, Nallūru and Kothalanka stated that there is no temple in Andhra Pradesh in which branding is demanded of the Vaikhānasas. Others said that the branding of Vaikhānasas is quite usual in Andhra Pradesh. I am unable either to confirm or to deny either position.

383 Furthermore, Tirukannapuram (near Tanjore) and Tiruvalli are also sometimes mentioned. I was however not able to follow this up.

2005 I was finally able to speak with arcakas of these two temples. The summaries of these conversations are provided here.³⁸⁴

Śrīperumbudūr³⁸⁵ is situated about 60km west of Chennai. The town is the birthplace of Rāmānuja, who institutionalized pañcasamṣkāra as the initiation into Śrīvaiṣṇavism (see 2.2.5.1), and who is said to have favoured the Pāñcarātra ritual system over that of the Vaikhānasas.³⁸⁶ Despite this, the ritual in the Śrī-Ādikeśava-Perumāḷ temple in Śrīperumbudūr is performed according to the Vai-khānasa tradition, albeit for several generations now only by Vaikhānasa arcakas who have undergone branding. The ritual of branding was first introduced there by the jīyar of the local maṭha³⁸⁷ for the two families of temple priests active in Śrīperumbudūr, in the early twentieth century. The jīyar is said to have reacted to pressure from devotees who demanded that the priests should have pañca-samṣkāra, especially as Rāmānuja is closely linked to this temple. The arcakas at that time did not have a choice. If they wanted to continue worship in this temple, they had to undergo this initiation. First, those Vaikhānasas who had inherited the right to temple service passed this on to other Vaikhānasas, as they were not willing to undergo branding. Although the new arcakas agreed to be branded, they successfully insisted that this ritual be performed in a specific way: the branding should not be performed by the jīyar, but by the eldest acting priest of the Vaikhānasa families doing service in the Ādi-Keśava-Perumāḷ temple.³⁸⁸ Ever since then, whoever wants to perform the rituals in the temple has to receive pañcasamṣkāra by the eldest acting priest there who is then also the concerned person's spiritual teacher (*ācārya*).³⁸⁹

384 The data presented in 3.1.2–3 are based on semi-structured, structured and narrative interviews I conducted with the persons concerned. However, the reader should be aware of the fact that I do not intend to present the concerned persons' views and interpretations of events as 'factual', but rather as (retrospectively) constructed history.

385 I visited the temple in August 2005, and talked with one of the hereditary arcakas there. As this is a controversial issue the names of those involved are changed throughout.

386 See Carman 1974: 42; see Jagannathan 1994: 90 and 124; see also 2.2.5.1.

387 Maṭhas, "monasteries," are centres of sectarian Hindu scholarship, which since at least the time of the Pallavas have also been responsible in many towns for temple administration or oversight of the religious affairs of the temple. A jīyar or maṭhādhipati is the head of such a monastery; they are usually ascetics (*sannyāsin*) of considerable standing and influence (see Bhattacharyya 1956: 507f.).

388 The acting jīyar told me in 2005 that the *arcakas* should get pañcasamṣkāra from him, but refuse to.

389 Even Vaikhānasas with a branding from other places may not perform worship there. This has evidently not always been so strict: I was told that in the middle of the 20th century two Vaikhānasas from Singaperumāḷ Koyil (see 3.1.3) were given pañ-

Nowadays the ritual itself is always performed in the parental house of the future priest, after upanayana. It is celebrated in a grand manner: all the hereditary priests of the Śrīperumbudūr temple are invited. It is in their presence that this ritual takes place. After the “presentation of the sprouts” (*aṅkurārpaṇa*) Viṣṇu is invoked in a pot (*kumbha*) full of water, and several fire-offerings (*homa*) are performed. On the next day again a fire-offering takes place, and a new name is given to the young man (*nāmadharāṇa*).³⁹⁰ Afterwards, the branding of his upper arms is performed. Every male member of the families of hereditary Vaikhānasa priests in Śrīperumbudūr receives pañcasamṣkāra, and also the women who are married to them receive it immediately after marriage. Female members of the Vaikhānasa families in Śrīperumbudūr, however, do not undergo this ritual because they will be married to Vaikhānasas from other places, where branding is not required.

Only pañcasamṣkāra performed in Śrīperumbudūr by one of the arcakas there makes a person eligible to perform the rituals in the Ādi-Keśava-Perumāḷ temple. However, the Vaikhānasa arcakas of Śrīperumbudūr have the right to perform worship at certain festival days in the Vaikhānasa Pārthasārathi temple in Chennai, in spite of their branding, which is prohibited by the Vaikhānasasamhitās.³⁹¹ The branding had only been a problem when it came to marital relations: the Vaikhānasas from Chennai did not want to give their daughters in marriage to Śrīperumbudūr, as they would have to undergo pañcasamṣkāra there. I was told, however, that this problem has been sorted out for the past three generations.

Vānamāmalai is also known as Nanguneri.³⁹² The town lies in southern Tamil Nadu, in Tirunelveli District. Here too the branding of the Vaikhānasas in the Aḷakiyanampi temple is attributed to the local jīyar. His monastery was, and remains, responsible for the management of the temple. He insists that only those who have received the initiation from him personally may perform temple services. The story behind this development is told as follows: vaiṣṇava devo-

casamṣkāra in Śrīperumbudūr. This happened at a time when there was a shortage in arcakas. These two were however relatives of one of the hereditary Vaikhānasa families. They did perform worship in Śrīperumbudūr with the local arcakas’ permission.

390 This name is used when he meets and greets elders, in a ritual called abhivādana.

391 I do not know whether or not an expiation ritual (*prāyaścitta*) is performed by the Vaikhānasas in Śrīperumbudūr after their pañcasamṣkāra. While the arcakas in Chennai told me that the arcakas in Śrīperumbudūr were only allowed to carry out rituals in other Vaikhānasa temples after having performed the relevant act of expiation there, this was denied by the arcakas in Śrīperumbudūr.

392 The Interview with Narasiṃha Bhaṭṭācārya (Tirunelveli) was conducted on 5.9.2005; and the interview with Śeṣādri Bhaṭṭācārya (Nanguneri) on 6.9.2005. As this is a controversial issue the names of those involved in the cases have been changed throughout.

tees had for some time tried to enforce that the arcakas should touch the god only after having received pañcasamṣkāra, and that the jīyar should not be forced to receive consecrated water from the hands of an arcaka without branding. After they had not been able to achieve this, they took their chance as soon as it was possible, roughly six generations ago. Once a year the god's festival image (*utsavamūrti*) is brought inside the maṭha, to the shrine called Araṅkar Nakar Appan Caṅṅiti, where a ritual bath (*abhiṣeka*) is performed. As usual, his jewelry was taken off. Among it was a silver "sacred thread" (*yajñopavīta*) with nine strands. The performing priest removed it and—for the time being—put it on the canopy above the place of the ritual bath. Afterwards he however forgot to put the sacred thread back and it remained lying on top of the canopy. Later, somebody came to clean the shrine, found the sacred thread and handed it over to the jīyar. Now the jīyar felt that he was in the position to compel the arcakas to take upon them pañcasamṣkāra. Otherwise he would remove them from temple service because they "neglected their duties."³⁹³ All male members of the arcaka families at that time were thus forced to have pañcasamṣkāra done by the jīyar. They accepted it without further ado because they were under huge economic pressure and felt that they could not fight against the jīyar.³⁹⁴ They did not have any land set aside for their use (*māṇiyam*), and their only income came from the daily ritual in the temple, with some extra income on auspicious days.³⁹⁵ They were—and still are—fully dependent on the jīyar.

Even today the jīyar performs pañcasamṣkāra for the male members of the local Vaikhānasa arcakas. While five families share the right to perform the ritual in this temple, only two do in fact execute this right. One of these two families came to Nanguneri from Tirukkulūr 40 years ago. Śeṣādri Bhaṭṭācārya, who is 30 years old, describes how pañcasamṣkāra was performed on him by the jīyar, two years after his upanayana. The then acting jīyar had one of his subordinates bring the fire-pit (*homakuṇḍa*), had the fire lighted, and had then the two metal

393 Another version of the initial incident is that the arcakas are forced to accept pañcasamṣkāra because they are also responsible for the worship in the Araṅkar Nakar Appan shrine inside the Vānamāmalai maṭha and therefore had to have pañcasamṣkāra, performed by the jīyar heading this maṭha.

394 It is however, noteworthy that also among the Vaikhānasas in Nanguneri there is an explicit awareness that the saṃhitās do not allow a branding. They refer to the fact that only those who do not believe in the efficacy of viṣṇubali would perform this branding, and if one does not believe in it, one should not perform worship at all. Moreover, all persons I talked to in Nanguneri were well aware that in other places the Vaikhānasas had successfully resisted the pressure to undergo pañcasamṣkāra.

395 On such these "busy days" in a temple, see Good 2004: 99ff.

symbols heated in that fire. The white mud (*tiruman*) which is usually applied on the forehead was smeared on a betel leaf. The subordinate handed over the heated metal symbols to the *jīyar*, who then pressed it in the betel leaf first, and afterwards on Śeṣādri's upper arms. While doing so he recited the mantras relating to the disk (*sudarśana* mantra) and conch (*pāñcajanya* mantra). Then the *jīyar* instructed Śeṣādri in the *aṣṭākṣara* mantra, the *caramaśloka* and the *dvayam*. Thus, the "five *saṃskāras*" are reduced to two in Vānamāmalai, as was commented on disapprovingly by several Vaikhānasas. At the same time it was explicitly stated that the Vaikhānasas will not perform any *prāyaścitta* afterwards, because then they would not be allowed to touch the god. The same holds true for other Vaikhānasas without *pañcasamskāra*. Therefore only the two families mentioned above conduct worship in this temple. Apart from them, two Vaikhānasa boys studying in the Nanguneri Veda school (see 4.6.5) evidently also received *pañcasamskāra* by the *jīyar* so that they could be allowed to perform certain services in the temple. However, it seems that the Vaikhānasas from this temple, in spite of their branding, do participate in the performance of larger rituals (*saṃprokṣaṇa*, *bālālayam*) in other Vaikhānasa temples. In contrast to Śrīperumbudūr, the Vaikhānasas in Vānamāmalai do not confer *pañcasamskāra* on others or among themselves. Although also those who want to do other services in this temple are required to have *pañcasamskāra*, they are expected to have it done by an *ācārya* of their choice. At the same time it is emphasised by the Vānamāmalai *arcakas* that they do not recognise the *jīyar* as their spiritual teacher. Another difference to Śrīperumbudūr is that the wives of the *arcakas* who have undergone *pañcasamskāra* by the *jīyar* do not have to undergo this initiation.

The two situations in Nanguneri and Śrīperumbudūr were assessed in a similar way by my Vaikhānasa conversation partners. According to them, the economic dependence of the Vaikhānasas initially was and still is an important factor. As temple priests they depend on the income from the performance of rituals. Therefore they have in any case no choice. Most of them are fully aware that branding is not in accordance with the *saṃhitā* texts. Whether or not they perform the corresponding act of expiation remains unclear. However, the Śrīperumbudūr case suggests that the special tradition developed there also serves to secure the claim of the local Vaikhānasa families that they alone have the right to perform worship there, not only against Pāñcarātrins, but also against other Vaikhānasas, who might try to challenge this right. Thus when I asked whether the local Vaikhānasas confer *pañcasamskāra* on somebody else this was vehemently denied, as this would result in the respective person's right to perform worship in Śrīperumbudūr. The prevalent system seems therefore not so different from

the system in the major Pāñcarātra temples, namely the Varadarājasvāmi temple in Kāñcipuram, the Raṅganātha temple in Śrīraṅgam, and the Śrīnārāyaṇasvāmi temple in Melkote: the arcaka families claim that they alone have the hereditary right to perform the rituals in these temples, but in addition need an initiation (*dīkṣā*), which provides them with the necessary ritual competence (*adhikāra*). This initiation is conferred by the eldest member of the local arcaka families.

3.1.3 Going to court: the Singhaperumāl Kōyil case

The Śrī Paṭalādri Narasiṃhasvāmi temple (Singhaperumāl temple) is located in the village of Singhaperumāl in Chingleput District, about 50km southwest of Chennai. A conflict over the branding of the Vaikhānasa arcakas there has been brought before the courts on several occasions since 1837, and was finally settled out of court in the early 1980s. I present the case here on the basis of the documents given to me by the concerned arcaka families, and occasionally supplement them by information from one person who was involved in the conflict.³⁹⁶

The documented history of this conflict goes back to 1837. One family had apparently long claimed to be the “Sthala Acharya Purushas” of the temple. Their descendants understood this title to involve numerous rights relating to temple ritual. They assumed that their ancestor Śrīnivāsa Svāmi had had the temple built, had consecrated it, appointed arcakas and established the procedures for worship in the temple. Thus his descendants claimed the right to control ritual in the temple, and to ensure that only “qualified” arcakas carried out rituals. From their point of view an arcaka was only appropriately qualified once he had received a branding (“taptasamasrayana”),³⁹⁷ carried out by the “Sthala Acharya Purusha” family. This idea appears to be connected with the fact that members of this family are traditionally the religious leaders (*ācārya*) of a vaiṣṇava school (not named in the documents), where the “taptasamāśrayaṇa” ritual

396 The documents at my disposal are a copy of the indictment which was presented to the Principal District Munsiff P.T. Raman Nayar on 29.10.1942 (Reference: O.S. No. 508 of 1942; abbreviated below as DM 1942), a copy of the judgement and the reasons for the judgement of the District Judge of Chingleput, C. Kunhirama Menon of 26.11.1946 (Reference: A.S. No. 35 of 1944; abbreviated below as DJ 1946), and a copy of the decision of the Deputy Commissioner, Hindu Religious and Charitable Endowments (Administration) Department, Madras (Reference: O.A. No. 13/1959) of 6.10.1964 (abbreviated below as HRCED 1964). As this is a controversial issue the names of those involved in the cases have been changed throughout.

397 The term used throughout the documents for this branding is “taptasamasrayana” (*taptasamāśrayaṇa*). This term connects the first element of pañcasamśkāra, the branding (*tāpa*) with the ritual of “taking refuge in Viṣṇu” (*samāśrayaṇa*).

is normal. The claim by the descendants of Śrīnivāsa Svāmi that they had “power of disposal” over the temple had already been successfully challenged in court in 1875 by a great-grandson of one Varada Pillai. He was able to show that his great-grandfather had been the sacrificer and patron (*yajamāna*) at the time of the temple’s foundation. The rights and duties of a so-called “dharmakarta” were therefore inherited within *his* family and the claim by the descendants of Śrīnivāsa Svāmi was unfounded.³⁹⁸ Even though the claim of the descendants of Śrīnivāsa Svāmi to influence the temple’s affairs appears to have had no basis in law, this family seems nevertheless to have been very influential, especially in the 19th century, in relation to the temple’s religious affairs. They, for example, had the hereditary right as so-called “Tirthagar” (Tamil *tīrttakārar*). Among other privileges, this involves the right to be the first persons to receive the divinely-consecrated water (Tamil *tīrttam*) from the arcakas after worship.³⁹⁹ As *tīrttakārar*s they had long asserted the demand that the arcakas must receive *taptasamāśrayaṇa* from their hands. As early as 5.5.1837, Siṃha Mudaliar Svāmi, a descendant of Śrīnivāsa Svāmi, complained to the institution then in charge of the administration of the temple (“government of Peishkar”) that the arcakas worshipped the deity without having received *taptasamāśrayaṇa* from him.⁴⁰⁰

398 The judgement of the District Court (Reference O.S. No. 18 of 1875) is cited in HRECD 1964, p. 18: “Exhibit A to O show to my opinion conclusively that the plaintiff’s [the descendant of Varada Pillai; U.H.] great grandfather was the original founder of the temple and that the plaintiff has the hereditary right to the Dharmakartha ship.” “Dharmakarta” was a term designating the hereditary office of the trustee of a temple. This usually refers to prominent inhabitants of the town who take care to ensure that rituals are performed, that the rent for the temple land is regularly paid and who represent the interests of visitors to the temple. In the documents relating to Singhapuram, from 1895 the term “Dharmakarta” is no longer used, but the descendants of Varada Pillai are referred to as “hereditary trustees.” This honorary office made them responsible for oversight of the temple’s affairs. In 1917 it was again confirmed by the courts (O.S. 42 of 1917 of the sub-court, Chingleput), that full responsibility for the management and supervision of the temple lay with the trustees, and not with the descendants of Śrīnivāsa Svāmi. After Independence this structure changed again: in addition to the hereditary trustee, the District Court (Chingleput) installed a Brahman and a non-Brahman trustee.

399 Among the mentioned documents is one from 13.7.1856 which also refers to claim by one of the descendants of Śrīnivāsa Svāmi to the status of *tīrttakārar* for themselves. In this document the then arcaka, Tātā Bhaṭṭācārya, confirms that the *tīrttakārar*s are entitled to recite the verses known as “mantrapuṣpa” as worship to the deity.

400 See HRCED 1964, p. 26ff. The documents do not reveal what the reaction to this complaint was.

It appears certain that at least those arcakas in office up to 1895 did in fact receive taptasamāśrayaṇa from the tīrttakārar of the time. This was also regarded as the current practice by the temple's trustee. This is apparent from a letter written by the hereditary trustee on 19.5.1895, in which he seeks to dismiss one of more of the then incumbent arcakas "for misconduct." For this reason he asks the tīrttakārar whether he has any objection to the replacement of these by arcakas who have not received taptasamāśrayaṇa from him. On the same day the tīrttakārar answered that he had nothing against this in principle, but that he would not then be able to receive consecrated water (*tīrttam*) from these arcakas. For this reason he temporarily appointed an acting tīrttakārar, thereby apparently assuming that the arcakas would soon undergo branding.⁴⁰¹

In 1903/04, one of the tīrttakārar's successors again demanded that the arcakas undergo branding by him. However in this case the trustee took the side of the arcakas. As a result the court upheld the arcakas' refusal to be branded. A further consequence of this process was that, for reasons which are not stated, the tīrttakārar was removed from his honorary position.⁴⁰² The honours connected with the office were revived as the result of another court decision in 1908, but the rights mentioned as connected with this position did not include the branding of arcakas.⁴⁰³

Sometime before 1920 Roja Gopāla Bhaṭṭācārya, Gopāla Siṃha Bhaṭṭācārya and Venkaṭa Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭācārya took over the temple service, without having been branded by the tīrttakārar who at the time was engaged on a long pilgrimage. When he returned to Singhaperumāl he lodged a protest with the trustees. The trustees confirmed that in principle it is necessary that the arcakas receive taptasamāśrayaṇa from the tīrttakārar family. As the three arcakas had a credible claim to have received the brand from one Śrīnivāsa Bhaṭṭācārya from Tripliane who in turn had received taptasamāśrayaṇa from the tīrttakārar himself,

401 See DJ 1946, p. 9, and HRCED 1964, p. 27. Whether the *arcakas* concerned were actually relieved of their office is not clear from the documents. It nevertheless appears possible to me that the arcaka Ranganātha (born in 1926) was a descendant of the newly appointed arcakas. According to the documents Ranganātha was in fact not branded, and also had no hereditary connection to the temple. In the years 1932–33 he performed the ritual in the temple, then testified in 1946 that he asserted no right to the performance of the ritual although evidently he then performed rituals in the Paṭāladri temple until 1964.

402 District Court, Chingleput, Reference M.C. Nos. 34 of 1903 and 40 of 1904 (cited in DJ 1946, p. 6).

403 District Court, Chingleput, Reference O.S. 276 of 1907; see DJ 1946, p. 6.

both the tīrttakārars as well as the trustees let the case rest.⁴⁰⁴ The identity of this Śrīnivāsa Bhaṭṭācārya from Triplicane is not clear from the documents. It is however probable, that he was a distant relative of the arcakas who also belonged to the Vaikhānasa tradition. Triplicane, a suburb of Chennai, is the site of the famous Pārthasārathi temple. Ritual in this temple is currently performed by two Vaikhānasa families by turn; one of these families is related to the Vaikhānasas in Singhaperumāl. Today the arcakas from Singhaperumāl at specific occasions exercise the right to perform rituals in the Pārthasārathi temple. Since Śrīnivāsa Bhaṭṭācārya from Triplicane is said to have received the branding from the tīrttakār in Singhaperumāl, it is probable that the present connection was already in place at the beginning of the 20th century.

Although the custom of the arcakas receiving the branding from the family of the tīrttakārars was evidently actually carried out for a long period, since 1921 at the latest this has no longer been the case.⁴⁰⁵ This does not, however, mean that branding of the Vaikhānasa was abandoned: for example in 1925 a child Roja Bhaṭṭācārya is said to have received taptasamāśrayaṇa from his own father Cellappa Rājam Bhaṭṭācārya. Nevertheless the branding itself was evidently not an indispensable prerequisite for the performance of temple ritual, for in the years 1932 and 1933 Ranganātha carried out the temple service without having any branding at all. This did not lead to any complaint on the part of the tīrttakārars.

The documents reveal a considerable loss of authority over the arcakas for the tīrttakār's family from the beginning of the 20th century, which the tīrttakārars clearly express in their indictment of 1944: "The arcakas have, however, been making repeated attempts during the absence of the plaintiffs and their ancestors in their usual pilgrimages to get rid of the tutelage of the plaintiff's family" (DJ 1946, p. 3). In 1942 an incumbent arcaka died while still young—he was the father of three children who were still under age, Perumāl Bhaṭṭācārya, Śeṣādri Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭācārya, and Gopāla Keśava Bhaṭṭācārya. At that time Perumāl Bhaṭṭācārya was just twelve years old and his brothers just six and three. Together with the arcaka Pārthasārathi Bhaṭṭācārya (son of Cellappa Rājam Bhaṭṭācārya, then 41 years old) the twelve year-old Perumāl Bhaṭṭācārya took over the hereditary temple service with the agreement of the trustees. For the tīrttakārars this involved considerable additional loss of status from their point of view, for now they would, for example, have to respectfully receive the consecrated water

404 This was explicitly confirmed by the trustee for Venkaṭa Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭācārya in a document from 30.12.1921. Two further documents also confirm this for Roja Gopāla Bhaṭṭācārya, Gopāla Siṃha Bhaṭṭācārya and Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭācārya (see DJ 1946, p. 9).

405 See DJ 1946, p. 9; see HRCED 1964, p. 28.

from a child. Moreover according to the documents the tīrttakārars assumed that neither Pārthasārathi Bhaṭṭācārya nor Perumāl Bhaṭṭācārya had undergone taptasamāśrayaṇa. From the point of view of the Śrīvaiṣṇava tradition, to which the tīrttakārars belonged, the status of the arcakas was therefore considerably lower than their own. Possibly they also expected little resistance especially from the child of the dead man—so now they lodged an indictment with the District Munsiff.⁴⁰⁶ They thereby set in motion the process of a final decision on whether only branded priests could practice temple ritual. As the temple trustees were on the side of the Vaikhānasas, temple service could continue without interruption by the legal dispute.

As mentioned above, the tīrttakārars had various demands. As descendants of the founder of the temple they claimed to have oversight of all the religious affairs of the temple. This included conferring taptasamāśrayaṇa on the arcakas. The District Munsiff denied this central point, while nevertheless at the same time confirming that in fact at this temple the arcakas had long received taptasamāśrayaṇa from each incumbent tīrttakārar. But the Munsiff interpreted this as the honour granted to the tīrttakārar and not as an enforceable right. Moreover, this custom had not been in use since 1920.⁴⁰⁷

As the next step the tīrttakārars applied to the District Court (Chingleput) in 1944. In the first instance their complaint was directed against Perumāl Bhaṭṭācārya and Pārthasārathi Bhaṭṭācārya who, they claimed, had not received any branding at all. Perumāl Bhaṭṭācārya and Pārthasārathi Bhaṭṭācārya were on the one hand able to show convincingly that they had received taptasamāśrayaṇa from Cinnappa Bhaṭṭācārya, who had in the meantime died.⁴⁰⁸ Cinnappa Bhaṭṭācārya in turn had actually received the branding from the father of the two tīrttakārars. The situation therefore resembled that of 1920, when Veṅkaṭa Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭācārya, Gopāla Simha Bhaṭṭācārya and Roja Gopāla Bhaṭṭācārya took over the temple service: here too the argument was that they had received taptasamā-

406 A Munsif(f) was a low ranking judge under British government; in many cases this post was filled by those considered by the British to be “village headmen.” The area of a Munsif’s jurisdiction was mostly limited to suits not exceeding Rs. 1,000 in value (see Wilson 1855: 356, s.v. Munsif; see also Imperial Gazetteer IV: 150).

407 See HRCED 1964, pp. 28f.: “... my answer to this issue is that according to the usage of the temple it is necessary for an archaka to undergo TAPTA SMASRAYANAM at the hands of [the tīrttakārar; U.H.]. But I would add that this initiation is not a qualification necessary to render him competent to do effective pooja but an honour rendered to the [tīrttakārar].”

408 In Śrīperumudūr I was told that the two concerned persons received the branding (taptasamāśrayaṇa) from a priest in the Śrīperubudūr temple, because they wanted to serve as priests there.

śrayaṇa from Śrīnivāsa Bhaṭṭācārya of Triplicane, and he in turn from the then tīrttakārars. At that time this was accepted without further ado.

It is clear from the documents that in 1944 the trustees entirely shared the opinion of the arcakas and supported them. This may be connected to the fact that the tīrttakārars now had begun to call into doubt the authority of the trustees in that they again claimed to be the direct descendants of the founder of the temple and therefore also to have authority in relation to the religious interests of the temple. In their deposition the trustees stated that the only necessary qualification of the arcakas is that they should belong to the Vaikhānasa tradition and have undergone samāśrayaṇa. However, as the choice of teacher is an important component of this ritual, they explained: “Samasrayanam at the hands of the plaintiffs could not be insisted on, as nobody could be compelled to choose a particular person as his Guru” (see DJ 1946, p. 3). Thus the trustees only contradicted the tīrttakārars in that they stated that the branding does not necessarily have to be performed by the tīrttakārars, but they confirmed that a branding is required.

In their statement the arcakas themselves insisted that branding is not prescribed for the Vaikhānasas, but rather that for them there is a prenatal ritual called “garbhasamāśrayaṇa.” Their primary argument, however, still is that they too have already undergone a branding, albeit that this was administered by a representative of their own tradition (see DJ 1946, p. 3).

Neither of the parties to the dispute questioned the hereditary nature of the office of arcaka. The District Court Judge assumed that this clear regulation was to be given absolute priority over other, perhaps supplementary, regulations, especially since an irresolvable conflict would ensue if for their part the family of the tīrttakārars lost interest in carrying out this ritual. Moreover, this judge understood the connection between the religious tradition of the arcakas and the tīrttakārars as follows (DJ 1946, p. 7): “There is again the difficulty of the plaintiffs, who happen to be the Acharyas of their cult throughout India, having necessarily to go on long pilgrimages to distant parts of the country. The said Samasrayanam moreover, is not part of a ritual which takes place in the suit temple but one which is performed in the plaintiffs’ mutt or places of his pilgrimage and, as such cannot be said to be a duty connected with the temple in the strict sense.” Moreover it had been shown that the custom of branding the arcakas by the tīrttakārars had not in fact been long established, that it was not introduced with the full agreement of all involved and furthermore was not appropriately justified.⁴⁰⁹ The tīrttakārars’ complaint was therefore only upheld insofar as their

409 For example there were arcakas, who had no hereditary connection to the temple, who had been permitted to carry out rituals there despite not having been branded. Moreover,

status as hereditary tīrttakārars was recognized. All further demands were rejected in the decision of the District Court in 1946.

The tīrttakārars therefore applied to the High Court on 4.7.1947; however their complaint was also dismissed there.⁴¹⁰ In 1964 the issue was discussed in detail by the Deputy Commission of Hindu Religious and Charitable Endowments (Administration) Department in Madras. In the meantime the demands of the tīrttakārars had gone far beyond those they had brought before the District Munsiff and the District Court. They mention many irregularities in worship, in which their rights were often not taken into account,⁴¹¹ and that they have been hindered in overseeing the rituals. Again they stated that the arcakas have to receive the branding from them, and that the arcakas subsequently have to present a certificate to this effect to the trustees in order to be permitted to carry out temple ritual.

In this instance reference to the texts of the Vaikhānasa tradition played a considerably larger role than before: referring frequently to the Vaikhānasāgamas [= Vaikhānasasamhitās], the trustees now explicitly stated that the arcakas were not obliged to undergo a branding. The fundamental precondition for them to be allowed to perform the ritual in this temple was rather that they were male descendants of one of the three houses which inherited the right to the temple service. In principle other Vaikhānasas were also permitted to serve in the temple so long as they had the permission of the trustees (see HRCED 1964, p. 9). As the tīrttakārars were not in fact descendants of the founder of the temple, and in addition not familiar with the content of the Vaikhānasasamhitās, the trustees disputed their right to oversee the religious affairs of the temple (see HRCED 1964, p. 14).

Even the arcaka defendants (those named are Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭācārya, Ramanā and Gopāla Śrīnivāsa Bhaṭṭācārya) no longer mentioned in their statements that they had undergone branding. Rather, their argument was then entirely based on the Vaikhānasa texts. They even presented three works in Telugu script to the HRCED⁴¹² and explained that they accepted that samāśrayaṇa was the precondition for performance of the rituals. Nevertheless, they argued, in the Vaikhānasa tradition this ritual is already carried out before birth, that is, after the viṣṇubali saṃskāra. It is for this reason that taptasamāśrayaṇa is not prescrib-

in the meantime 22 years had elapsed since the last branding of an arcaka by a tīrttakārar, without any effect upon the temple ritual (DJ 1946, p. 8).

410 No documents relating to this process are available to me, and I take this information from the detailed statement of the Deputy Commissioner (HRCED 1964).

411 According to this text, the tīrttakārars for the first time insisted on receiving honours as maṭhādhipatis (see HRCED 1964, p. 5).

412 The titles of these texts are not given in the documents.

ed for the Vaikhānasas, they argued (HRCED 1964, p. 31). The result of the proceedings was that although the tīrtakārars were acknowledged to have all the usual rights pertaining to their honorary office, on all other counts their claim was dismissed. The tīrtakārars applied again to the High Court. Later, however, the case was eventually settled out of court in the early 1980s by an agreement which involved recognition that the branding was in no way necessary for the arcakas.

3.1.4 Sons and slaves

The information at my disposal about the conflicts in Śrīperumbudūr, Vānamāmalai (both 3.1.2), and Singhaperumāḷ (3.1.3) does not allow a seamless reconstruction of the historical events. My primary concern here is therefore not to give an account of the actual historical sequence of events, but rather to depict contemporary and retrospective interpretations of the events that led to the present state of affairs regarding the conflicts. Despite the diversity of the source material, of the personal agendas of those informing me about the events, of diverse assessments of the events, and of the present states of affairs, I argue that certain common patterns emerge.

It is clear that in some towns of South India there was in the 19th and 20th centuries a conflict over the necessity of bearing a brand. While the Vaikhānasa-saṃhitās reject such a branding and present the Vaikhānasas' prenatal marking as the Vaikhānasas' "brand" (2.2.4–5), it was only Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita who established the explicit identification of the "taking refuge in Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa" with the Vaikhānasa saṃskāra viṣṇubali. Here, he was clearly at pains to maintain and protect a distinctive Vaikhānasa identity. One important aspect in this context is Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita's idea that the Vaikhānasas are "Viṣṇu's sons," by contrast to other Vaiṣṇavas, who are equated with slaves. This hierarchical ordering, implying that family descent (sons) is of higher value than initiation (slaves), is also at work in the specific Śrīperumbudūr solution of the conflict. While the Vaikhānasas are forced to adapt to the demands of the socio-religious context in that they undergo a branding, they seek to preserve the distinctive character of their tradition, which is based upon descent (family, caste). Here, this branding is only performed within the Vaikhānasa families.⁴¹³ The pattern of demarcation

413 The statement of the honorary trustee in DJ 1946 (p. 3) that samāśrayaṇa is in principle voluntary, and that therefore a Vaikhānasa may not be forced to recognize a particular person as their spiritual teacher clearly expresses this attitude. While in the Śrīvaiṣṇava tradition is based on a conscious decision to profess one's faith in the tradition, the Vaikhānasas are assigned to their tradition before birth.

expressed in the pañcasamṣkāra initiation is thereby incorporated into the specific Vaikhānasas' code of identity.⁴¹⁴

A much more serious boundary transgression occurs when the Vaikhānasas are forced to draw their legitimation from personalities outside their own tradition, as in Vānamāmalai. This involves subordination to a Śrīvaiṣṇava ācārya (be it the jīyar in Vānamāmalai or the tīrttakārar in Singhaperumāl) and a dependence on representatives of another tradition insofar as the possibility exists for them not to confer this initiation on the Vaikhānasa arcakas. In Singhaperumāl this was only temporarily the case, and attempts were repeatedly (and in the end successfully) made to confine the execution of initiation to the Vaikhānasas' family descent group. However, here as in the *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa*, open opposition to the demands of the Śrīvaiṣṇavas is avoided, since they are the main sponsors of temple ritual and the Vaikhānasas therefore always economically depend on them. This dependence is explicitly mentioned as a decisive factor for the situation in Vānamāmalai. However, in 1920 and then again in 1942, in Singhaperumāl the Vaikhānasas used the opportunity to carry out initiation only within their own family and thereby to free themselves from the demands of the Śrīvaiṣṇavas, without having to come out in open opposition to them.

The several shifts of the basis of the argument in Singhaperumāl are also significant expressions of an overall development. While at first only "custom and usage" were invoked, later the concept of a voluntary choice of one's religious teacher was also brought in. In the earlier documents the general question of whether the arcakas need a branding or not is only of peripheral significance and only as late as 1964 do the arcakas explicitly refer to viṣṇubali in their statement to the HRCED. Only at this point are their arguments based on their authoritative texts, which they even present to the Deputy Commissioner. The change in argument here is closely connected to the modern temple reform in Tamil Nadu (19th/20th centuries). In the early 20th century many complaints were voiced about the "ignorance" of the priests. At the same time books came to be seen as the primary source of knowledge, and thus the āgamas and saṃhitās were transformed into "holy books" of temple ritual. Efforts were made to print and publish these texts and many āgamas and saṃhitās were then also made available to

414 One informant said regarding Śrīperumbudūr that the act of branding itself should not be equated with the Śrīvaiṣṇavas' usual pañcasamṣkāra. On the contrary, a ritual similar to the prenatal viṣṇubali saṃskāra should be performed, in the course of which the metal symbols of the disk and conch are heated and pressed on the shoulders of the person concerned. It can be assumed from this statement that an attempt is made to integrate into one's own system the external elements that one is compelled to accept, and at the same time to preserve the difference from other traditions.

temple priests in an effort to “educate” them (see 4.6.5). In the specific case of the Vaikhānasas, these efforts to publish their texts on temple ritual were also promoted from within the tradition, above all by Pārthasārathi Bhaṭṭācārya. The rise of the Vaikhānasa temple in Tirumalai as a national and international pilgrimage centre certainly also contributed to this development, as it was accompanied by the organizing of the Vaikhānasas under an umbrella association and the printing and distribution of many Vaikhānasasaṃhitās.⁴¹⁵ The circulation of these texts provided the Vaikhānasas with arguments for the discussion of theological and soteriological questions, as is clearly reflected in the HRCED documents pertaining to Singhaperumāḷ: the arcakas themselves evidently quickly learnt to make use of this development to their advantage. There the controversial questions are for the first time discussed with reference also to viṣṇubali and the “authoritative texts” were produced as evidence before court.

415 On the publishing activities of the Vaikhānasas especially at the start of the 20th century see 1.1; see Colas 1984b and Hüsken 2001b.

4 Saṃskāra performance in the early 21st century

In part 2 the analysis of the *Daśavidhaheturirūpaṇa* and other texts made clear that especially the prenatal life-cycle rituals are important means to express and transmit the Vaikhānasas' specific identity. In spite of an assumedly unaltered ritual tradition, the analysis of the texts (see 2.2.2–2.2.5) illustrates that the rituals have in fact been subject to change: the Vaikhānasas' interpretation and performance of the viṣṇubali saṃskāra were adapted to the initiation ritual into Śrīvaiṣṇavism, pañcasamskāra. However, within this complex process of adaptation the Vaikhānasas emphasised only the features distinguishing them from other vaiṣṇava groups, and interpreted them as signs of superiority. In 3.1 the account of conflicts in the recent past and in the present showed that the same issues were and still are relevant in the 19th, 20th and 21st centuries. Moreover, the patterns of interpretation remained the same, although the form (and the outcome) of the debate differed depending on the historical and local contexts. Opening up another perspective, in this section an account of three contemporary viṣṇubali performances is given. First the texts used during the performances are introduced, and the relevant sections are translated and compared with each other. However, the focus of attention are not the textual sources as testimonies of stability or change, but rather the use of texts in the enactments, in order to explore the nature of the connection between these two planes of ritual. This section aims at showing how performance can help understanding texts. This does certainly not apply to every literary genre. However, especially the ritual handbooks dealt with here are used by the performers themselves in practice—the texts thus live in and through the performances. Moreover, the priests themselves are very clear about the fact that only from expertise in ritual performance arises the competence to use a ritual handbook, whereas knowledge of ritual texts alone does not imply competence in ritual practice. Ritual handbooks, Welbon (1984: 72) says, “are written for functioning priests and serve them as compendious references, sanctions, and models more than exhaustive procedural guides.” Thus, many necessary details of performances are not at all included in these handbooks, but are left to the training given by a teacher. In the process of oral, embodied and textual transmission, some aspects of the respective rituals are rather static, whereas others are modified, added, or left out. However, it would be deceptive to assume that only those rites which are not given in the texts are subject to change: many rites, knowledge of which is evidently (and correctly) presupposed and which are not described in the texts are nevertheless

performed almost identically in all three performances I could witness. Some building blocks, which are part of many rituals, are described only once, if at all. Here, by comparing three ritual events and the texts used, the reasons lying behind the rituals' potential variance shall be explored. How are rituals altered, which elements underlie the changes and to which extent gives this change expression to, or is independent of, a distinct Vaikhānasa identity?

4.1 Ritual handbooks (prayoga, paddhati)

The ritual specialists among the Vaikhānasas today assume that the viṣṇubali saṃskāra is performed as it is described in the *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra*. In fact, the ritual handbooks actually used for the performances are consistently based on this sūtra insofar as the ritual elements of viṣṇubali given in the *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra* (see 2.2.2.1) are basic elements in the ritual handbooks and in the performances. However, ritual handbooks (such as those dealt with in 2.2.2.2–2.2.4.7) were partly also written because the necessity arose to explain the sūtra's content: practice and/or texts were not understood any more, or were interpreted differently. Although these ritual manuals do not have the same sacrosanct quality as the sūtra they seek to elucidate, nowadays the rituals are learned and performed rather with the help of these ritual handbooks than with the actual sūtra text. The various detailed and practically-oriented ceremonial instructions in the ritual handbooks are consulted during the performances. These texts mostly do not quote the sūtra word for word, but seek to describe how the instructions of the sūtra are to be translated into ritual actions. In this they do not necessarily follow the order of events as specified in the sūtra, but are rather arranged according to the sequence of the performance from a practical point of view, mirroring the practice prevalent at the time of their compilation. They are not necessarily written in high literary style or even in a very regular Sanskrit: their main aim is the transmission of practice by way of textual pre- and descriptions. These prescriptions are continuously individuated through practice (see Colas 1995: 32).

4.2 Rites not specific to saṃskāras

In the handbooks reference is made to rites which are not explained or described in detail therein. Müller (1992: 35) rightly refers to these rites as “elemental actions” which need not be described extensively because the ritual specialists know

them.⁴¹⁶ Although these rites are not specific to the performance of saṃskāras alone, they are also important components of the three observed and described stagings, and they shall be shortly introduced now.⁴¹⁷

Viṣvaksenārādhana precedes the rituals to be performed. It is the invocation of the god Viṣvaksena, who averts influences detrimental to the ritual.⁴¹⁸ Then follows puṇyāha, the “announcement of the auspicious day” by the Brahmans present. This is likewise a ritual which should precede most rituals and ensures the success of the ritual undertaking. Ācamana is the “ritual sipping” of water, a purifying rite. The ācamana water is taken from the puṇyāha vessel. Ācamana takes place at the beginning of the ritual and also at the beginning of individual ritual units.⁴¹⁹ The bṛhaspati trickles water onto the right palm of the officiator—and occasionally also his wife—with a darbha grass bundle, who then slurps it from the hand. Through the purifying effect of the water the condition of ritual purity required for the ritual is attained. At the same time ācamana is also done after eating. Thus, the god, as honoured guest, is offered ācamanīya, water for rinsing the mouth (see also TAK 1, s.v.). Apart from ācamanīya, also water for washing the feet (pādyā) and other sanctified water (arghya) are offered to the deity in the course of regular worship.⁴²⁰ Prāṇāyāma, the “restraint of the breath,” is likewise a preparatory ritual, which serves to attain the condition of ritual purity. It compensates for wrong doings committed consciously or unconsciously.⁴²¹ It involves the yajamāna using his right hand to alternately close one of his nostrils and allowing the breath to pass in and out through the nose, or holding it in. This rite is also to be performed daily by a Brahman in the course of the morning rituals, called sandhyāvandana.⁴²² During the morning ritual one should inwardly recite the gāyatrī mantra, during the yajamāna’s prāṇāyāma the

416 Müller (1992) gives a very good summary of common introductory and concluding rites on pp. 36–44 of his work; here only those relevant for the ritual at hand are introduced.

417 See Kane 1974a: 212ff.; Müller, in addition, makes reference to the rites snāna, homa, puṇyāha, dakṣiṇā, āgnyāyatana, āghāra, nāndīmukhaśrāddha, prāṇāgnihotra, which are explained in the sūtra and shortly referred to in 2.2 of this book.

418 SANukr 1, pp. 8–12. On the god Viṣvaksena see Gupta 1976. Viṣvaksenārādhana corresponds to the Gaṇapatīpūjā of other Hindu traditions (on this see Kane 1974a: 213ff.).

419 See Kane 1974a: 315f., see Müller 1992: 39f.; for ācamana during pūjā see Tachikawa 2001: 29.

420 Tachikawa 2001: 37ff.

421 See Kane 1974a: 317 and 1973: 42.

422 On this see Kane 1974a: 315ff., see also the summary in Michaels 1998b: 261f.; see also Tachikawa 2001: 30.

br̥haspati and the others present recite the gāyatrī mantra out loud.⁴²³ The handbooks refer to this rite only by saying *prāṇān āyamyā*, “after he has restrained the breath.”⁴²⁴ As an act of inner purification and concentration the restraint of the breath precedes the “formal declaration” (*saṃkalpa*). In contemporary India a ritual undertaking is almost always begun with a *saṃkalpa*.⁴²⁵ It emerges only indirectly from the Vaikhānasa texts that a *saṃkalpa* sometimes also precedes parts of the ritual which are perceived of as separate entities. It should, however, be noted, that the *saṃkalpa* is not mentioned in the *Vaikhānasagr̥hyasūtra*. The first time it appears is in Nṛṣimha Vājapeyin’s *Bhāṣya*. Thus the *saṃkalpa* might have been assumed to be self-evident at the time of the *sūtra*. A *saṃkalpa* involves a spoken statement, which identifies the act which follows it as a ritual act and expresses the adoption of a “ritual stance” on the part of the main performer (*yajamāna*).⁴²⁶ Thus one of the *saṃkalpas* to be expressed during *viṣṇubali* is as follows: “Through the *viṣṇubali* ritual, [which is] the sacrifice for the Viṣṇu-follower in [my wife’s] womb, I perform the *saṃskāra* on this rightfully wedded wife of mine, having [so and so] name and belonging to [so and so] gotra” (SAnukr 2.22.19–23.4). Michaels (2005a: 50f.) shows that there are different possibilities for the construction of such a “formal declaration.” In the present case the *saṃkalpa* contains information about which ritual will be performed, and to what end. In addition it names those whom the ritual will affect, i.e. those who will be changed by the ritual: the unborn child and the wife of the *yajamāna*. The wording of the *saṃkalpa* must be adapted to the situation and the participants. This fact implies that the *saṃkalpa* must be “consciously” declared. This, however, cannot be confirmed from the three actual performances I witnessed. Grammatically the *yajamāna* is the subject of the act expressed in the *saṃkalpa*. Nevertheless, in all of the observed cases, the *yajamāna* was not aware of what he should say, or of what the *br̥haspati* said on his behalf. In one case the *yajamāna* did not even personally pronounce the *saṃkalpa* at the start of the ritual (see 4.5.4). The *saṃkalpa* as a spoken statement is accompanied by a particular posture of the hands and body. While the *br̥haspati* says the *saṃkalpa* for the *yajamāna*, or says it first for the *yajamāna* to follow, the *yajamāna* adopts the following posture: the left hand lies palm down on the right thigh, the right hand

423 At all three stagings the gāyatrī mantra recited was preceded by a *vyāhṛti*: *oṃ bhūr oṃ bhuvah oṃ suvah oṃ bhūr bhuvah suvah tat savitur vareṇyam bhargo devasya dhīmahi dhiyo yo nah pracodayāt*.

424 See Müller 1992: 40.

425 On this see the detailed account in Michaels 2005a.

426 On the significance of the so-called “ritual stance” or “ritual commitment” for a ritualized act see Humphrey & Laidlaw 1994: 5, 75, 88ff.

covers the left, with the back of the hand facing upward. At the end of the saṃkalpa water again plays a role as seal, confirmation and purification, namely when the yajamāna touches water. This takes place either by his touching a pot containing water, or the bṛhaspati sprinkling some drops of water on the yajamāna's hands with the bundle of darbha grass. In each of the handbooks the required wording of such a saṃkalpa is given, but they do not mention the appropriate posture, or attitude, knowledge of which is evidently assumed. An important component of the saṃskāras is the homa, the sacrifice into the fire which takes place while mantras are recited.⁴²⁷ The entire process of fire installation is called āghāra or agnipraṇayana in the Vaiṣṇava tradition. The procedure is described in *Vaiṣṇavasasmārtasūtra* II (*āghāravidhānam*). A Brahman lights his own domestic fire during the marriage ceremonies. Afterwards, he should perform the daily morning and evening offerings in it. However, since nowadays only few Brahmans are able to attend to their domestic fire daily, those who do not do so have to rekindle it for the performance of the saṃskāras.⁴²⁸ The prescriptions for the rekindling of the domestic fire are given in the ritual handbooks and can be enacted, as present day practice reveals, on a large or small scale. This means that sometimes the fire is produced "by friction" (agnimanthana), but in most cases the fire comes "from the house of a learned Brahman,"⁴²⁹ that is from the kitchen. In two of the viṣṇubali performances I observed and documented, this was done on a "small scale." In these cases, the relevant mantras were recited, while the fire itself was lighted from fire brought from the burning kitchen's hearth, brought to the ritual arena by a female relative of the main performer. This is also called "laukika" (worldly, common). In the enactment of viṣṇubali in the temple setting in Vijayawada, however, the fire was installed on a "large scale." Agnimanthana was performed there in an elaborate way (also called vaidika, "vedic"). The fire resides inside the the araṇī (wooden blocks made of aśvattha wood). These are then used to light the fire. A peg, a spindle and a rope are then used to churn the fire.⁴³⁰ In both cases the fire place is prepared by sprinkling water on it (prokṣaṇa). Only then the burning fire is put onto the altar or into the pit. In a next step, the gods Brahmā and Soma are respectively in-

427 See Kane 1974a: 207ff., see Pandey 1949: 36–38.

428 The creation of the fire: either it is a āhāvaniya agni, or an aupāsana agni. Both are generally the same, the same measurements apply, etc.

429 See Kane 1974a: 210; see DVD -> parts of the ritual -> preparatory rites -> vitalisation of the fire.

430 See also Dharmadhikari 1989: 2; see also Ranade 2006; s.v. agnimanthana.

voked at the sides of the fire place.⁴³¹ The utensils used for the homa are purified,⁴³² and then follows paristarāṇa, the strewing the darbha blades around the fire. The ends of the blades should point towards north or east. This rite confines the fire to the fire place and at the same time assures Agni, the god of the fire, of his place. Some other preliminary rites are the preparation of the so-called brahmāpraṇidhi and somapraṇidhi: two vessels are filled with puṇyāha water, akṣata, flowers, etc. Then a kūrca is immersed in the water contained in these vessels and mantras are spoken. Then the vessels are taken with the right hand, moved clockwise, and placed on two sides of the sacrificial fire. After the other utensils required for the sacrifice (e.g. ghee, caru rice) are purified a rite called nirvāpana is performed: the sacrificial ghee in the vessel is dedicated to Brahmā and Soma respectively. As I was told by many ritual specialists, nirvāpana serves to assure the two gods witnessing the sacrifice (Brahmā and Soma) that the offering is dedicated to them. Afterwards the clarified butter is poured into the fire. The wooden spoon used for this offering is called “sruva.” The formulas for the the sacrifice into the fire mostly begin with the sacred syllable *om*, which is also referred to as “praṇava.” The mantras which are recited during the offering into the fire—which during viṣṇubali includes milk porridge (*pāyasa*) as well as clarified butter—end with the exclamation “svāhā,” “hail!” All sacrifices into the fire are framed by a rite called pariṣecana, the sprinkling of water around the fire (see VaikhSmS 1.9, 1.14; prescribed for the beginning of an āghāra). This rite serves to tame and restrict the divinity to the fire, and also to mark the beginning and end of a sacrifice. In the handbooks pariṣecana is mostly referred to only by the first couple of words of the formula (*adīte ’numanyasva* or *adīte ’nvamaṃsthāḥ*; see VaikhSmS 1.14). While the yajamāna sits on the west, facing east, he sprinkles water on the four sides of the sacrificial fire, having recited before the sacrifice: *adīte ’numanyasva anumate ’numanyasva sarasvate ’numanyasva deva savitaḥ prasuva*,⁴³³ “Aditi, give your permission, Anumati give your permission, Sarasvatī, give your permission, o god Savitr, allow [the sacrifice].” Once the sacrifice to the fire is over, these deities are again called upon: *adīte ’nvamaṃsthāḥ anumate ’nvamaṃsthāḥ sarasvate ’nvamaṃsthāḥ deva savitaḥ prasā-*

431 As I was told, there exist local differences regarding the performance of this rite: in Andhra Pradesh usually two persons represent Brahmā and Soma, while in Tamil Nadu two vessels (*kalaśa*) with a coconut are kept, which represent Brahmā and Soma.

432 During this procedure the performer keeps all items (ladle, kūrca, etc.) in his left hand and purifies it with prokṣaṇa water.

433 The water is first sprinkled on the southern side (from west to east), then on the western side (from south to north), then on the northern side (from west to east), and last on the eastern side of the sacrificial fire (from south to north).

vīr, “Aditi, you have given your permission, Anumati, you have given your permission, Sarasvatī, you have given your permission, Savitrī, you have allowed [the sacrifice].” Bundles of blades of darbha grass,⁴³⁴ so-called *kūrca*, are used for the sprinkling of water in *pariṣecana*, for the invocation of the god, and for the transfer of worship materials to him. A *kūrca* is made up of differing numbers of blades of grass depending on the use intended. The *kūrca* is dipped in the vessel containing the water ritually purified by *puṇyāha*, and this water is then sprinkled with the *kūrca*. *Viṣṇubali* involves both, sacrifice (*homa*) and *pūjā*.⁴³⁵ The invocation (*āvāhana*) of the god takes place at the beginning of a *pūjā*, ensuring the divine presence. This *pūjā* implies that in the course of *viṣṇubali* (and in the *Cidambaram* performance also to *cakra* and *śaṅkha*) several items (*upacāra*)⁴³⁶ are offered to *Viṣṇu* in his twelve forms. These are a seat (*āsana*; in this case consisting of darbha-grass bundles), *puṣpa* (flowers), *gandha* (fragrant materials), *naivedya* (food), *dhūpa* (incense), and *tāmbulā* (betel nuts). Here too water is dripped on the offerings. It is poured together with the offering and thus seals that the offering is not any more the sacrificer’s (see Müller 1992: 46). Finally *dīpa* (light) a flammable piece of camphor is waved in front of the deity (*ārati*), honouring the deity (see Eck 1998). In the end, *namaskāra*, the salutation to the deity, is performed by the officiator. As these ritual elements hardly differed between the three stagings, one can speak of standardized transregional conventions.

4.3 The two ritual handbooks used during the performances

Many contemporary priests specialised in domestic rituals consult, or even read out fully, Sanskrit handbooks during the less frequently performed rituals such as the prenatal *saṃskāras*.⁴³⁷ In this section, the texts and translations of the passages on *viṣṇubali* in the two ritual handbooks used in Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu are given, translated and compared with each other in order to isolate and analyse variations on the textual level. For Andhra Pradesh it is the *Sūtrānukramaṇikā*, printed in Telugu script, and for Tamil Nadu it the *Pūrvaprayoga*, printed in Grantha script. The *Sūtrānukramaṇikā* was printed in the 1920s, the *Pūrvaprayoga* first appeared in 1979. The two works are the most recent com-

434 The botanical name of this type of grass is *poa cynosuroides*; on this see Müller 1992: 24, who refers to Gonda 1985.

435 See DVD -> Parts of the ritual -> main offerings -> *pūjā* for *viṣṇu*, and offering into the fire.

436 See Kane 1974b: 705ff.; also Michaels 1998b: 265ff.; for a detailed description of the performance of a *pūjā* with the “16 means of worship” see Tachikawa et al. 2001.

437 See B.K. Smith 1989: 138f.; see also Deshpande 1996.

plete presentations of the domestic rituals of the Vaikhānasas with detailed descriptions of diverse ritual elements in their prescribed order. For all their common features, there are differences especially in thoroughness, and in the ordering of ritual elements, which are discussed in section 4.3.4.

4.3.1 *Sūtrānukramaṇikā*

The text *Sūtrānukramaṇikā* was composed by the Sanskrit paṇḍit Gudupūḍi Śrīnivāsācārya (he died ca. 1960) from Kakulapadu (Kṛṣṇā District, Andhra Pradesh), and to date has only been printed in Telugu script.⁴³⁸ The *Sūtrānukramaṇikā* appears to have enjoyed great popularity from the beginning, as it has been reprinted many times.

The text is divided into three volumes. The first volume deals with some preparatory rituals, which precede many of the other rituals (see 2.2). The *Sūtrānukramaṇikā* here also describes different rites connected with setting up a fire-place and kindling the sacrificial fire (āghāra), and in addition the sacrifice in the end (antahoma), which closes the rituals. The nāndīmukha sacrifice, to include the ancestors in auspicious events (see 2.2), the related expiations, as well as añkurārpaṇa, the “offering of shoots,” contribute to the success of the ritual.⁴³⁹

The second volume of the *Sūtrānukramaṇikā* describes the saṃskāras with their associated expiations, and the third volume contains an account of the rituals for the dead (antyeṣṭi), as well as daily performances such as the worship of the domestic cult image, dietary prescriptions, sacrifices for particular months, special rules for women during menstruation, etc.

The second volume of the *Sūtrānukramaṇikā* is primarily of interest here. It opens with the rekindling (punarādhāna; SANukr 2, pp. 1–2) of the so-called aupāsana fire. This is a domestic fire which is first kindled in connection with the wedding rituals of the yajamāna. The kindling of this fire marks him out as the head of a household, with full rights to sacrifice. This fire should constantly be attended to.⁴⁴⁰ If the daily sacrifices are interrupted, the fire must be “rekind-

438 However, one passage from the section on viṣṇubali is given in abbreviated form in the *Pūrvaprayoga*, and to that extent also preserved in Tamil Grantha script.

439 Puṇyāha: SANukr 1, pp. 13–27; āghāra: SANukr 1, pp. 28–77; antahoma: SANukr 1, pp. 78; nāndīmukha: SANukr 1, pp. 78–113; añkurārpaṇa: SANukr 1, pp. 114ff. In the first volume of the *Sūtrānukramaṇikā* some statements are illustrated with quotations from Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita’s *Tāparyacintāmaṇi*, from Nṛsiṃha Vājapeyin’s *Sūtrabhāṣya* and from a work by Sundararāja.

440 In brief, the process of aupāsana is as follows: the man sits to the left of his wife and first sprinkles the fire with water (*pariṣecana*). He then puts a drop of clarified butter in

led.”⁴⁴¹ This is followed by an account of ritually seeking the assent of the assembled Brahmans for the performance of the rituals, and by the first sacrifice into the newly kindled fire.⁴⁴² The account of the actual *aupāsana* begins on page 6 of the second volume. It is to be offered into the domestic fire twice daily, morning and evening, after the ritual bath and after the evening rituals.⁴⁴³ As there are today hardly any Brahmans who perform *aupāsana* in the prescribed manner daily, it must be re-established with the appropriate expiations every time before *saṃskāras* are performed. The *Sūtrānukramaṇikā* goes on to describe the expiations and then the main sacrifice for *ṛtusaṃgamana* (SAnukr 2, 8.16–13.8), followed by a short discourse on the prenatal *saṃskāras* (*garbhasaṃskāra*), which are here identified as *garbhādhāna*, *pūṃsavana*, *sīmanta* and *viṣṇubali*.⁴⁴⁴ It is left open to the officiator to perform these *saṃskāras* together. If he chooses to do so, the rituals from *puṇyāha* up to the kindling of the fire have only to be performed once (SAnukr 13.15–17). Moreover, the statement is also to be found here that the performance of the five prenatal *saṃskāras* is valid for all the children of this wife (SAnukr 2, 13.23–24). At this point brief exceptional rules are given with reference to *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra* 6.3: in the absence or death of the child’s father, his father or brother, or a male relative of the pregnant woman, performs the *garbhasaṃskāras*. In these cases, the wording of the formal declaration varies according to whether the husband is dead or merely temporarily absent (SAnukr 2, 13.17–22). If a male child is born, without the *garbhasaṃskāras* having been performed, the expiations should if possible be performed individually, while the boy lies in the mother’s lap. If this is not pos-

his wife’s hand, then a handful of rice grains. The wife returns this to the man again, who divides it into two parts (one part is the offering to Sūrya, the other to Prajāpati) and puts it into the fire. If the woman is menstruating, *aupāsana* is deferred for four days and only resumed on the fifth day, with the appropriate expiations. It seems to be the *gṛhya* continuation of the *śrauta* *agnihotra* (see Bodewitz 1976/2003: 194).

441 The “re-kindling” of the sacrificial fire in two of the three documented *viṣṇubali* rituals is shown on the DVD: > parts of the ritual > preparatory rites > vitalisation of the fire.

442 *Parīṣatprārthana*: SAnukr 2, pp. 2–3; *punarādhānahoma*: SAnukr 2, pp. 4–6.

443 For a summary of *sandhyāvandana* see Michaels 1998b: 261ff. and note 111.

444 The correct moment in time for the performance of these rituals is first stated. This is followed by the statement that these *saṃskāras*—i.e. expiations together with the main sacrifice—are to be offered into the *aupāsana* or in the *laukika* fire (the “worldly” fire, which is used for cooking), and that for all four *saṃskāras* the *nāndīmukha* ritual is to be performed on the day before (SAnukr 2, 13.9–13.14). *Ṛtusaṃgamana* is not included in this enumeration, as this *saṃskāra* takes place without *nāndīmukha* on the previous day (see 2.2.1).

sible, the expiations can also be performed together (SAnukr 2, 13.24–14.3).⁴⁴⁵ For each of the saṃskāras described in what follows, two possibilities for the formal declaration (saṃkalpa, on this see 4.5.4) are given, the wording of which takes into account the circumstances, namely whether the garbhasaṃskāras are carried out together or individually. At the beginning of the ritual series the *Sūtrānukramaṇikā* describes the officiating yajamāna's⁴⁴⁶ request to the assembly of Brahmans for their blessing on the planned rituals. In the course of this ritual the performing priests receive the dakṣiṇā gift in return for their contribution to the success of the ritual and as compensation for the fact that with the gift they take on the ritual impurity of the officiator (SAnukr 2, 14.13–15.7).⁴⁴⁷ Only now is the sacrificial fire established. In the saṃkalpa, all the rituals to be performed are mentioned (SAnukr 2, 15.8–12). According to the *Sūtrānukramaṇikā* the sequence of prenatal rituals is garbhādhānaprāyaścitta, garbhādhāna, puṃsuvana-prāyaścitta, puṃsuvana, sīmantaprāyaścitta, sīmanta, viṣṇubaliprāyaścitta⁴⁴⁸ and viṣṇubali.⁴⁴⁹ The saṃskāras jātakarman, utthāna, nāmakaraṇa, varṣavardhana, annaprāśana, pravāsāgamana, piṇḍavardhana, caula, upanayana (with the appropriate atonement rituals), samāvartana, vivāha and niṣeka (see 2.2) are dealt with later in the second volume of the *Sūtrānukramaṇikā*.⁴⁵⁰

4.3.2 Pūrvaprayoga

The *Pūrvaprayoga* is a text by Śrīnivāsa Paṭṭācāryarāḷ [Bhaṭṭācārya], published in Kumbhakonam (Tamil Nadu) in 1979 in Grantha Tamil and Tamil script. To-

445 In all three performances documented this was the case: the prenatal saṃskāras (or some of them) were performed together, along with an atonement ritual for “not performing them at the prescribed time.” Two instances of these prāyaścittas are presented on the DVD (see “parts of the ritual” - > “atonement”).

446 In this section the father of the unborn child, who performs the ritual, is described throughout as the yajamāna or—in the subtitles of the DVD—as officiator.

447 Müller (1992: 41) also refers to the fact that the “fruit” of the ritual only after handing over the dakṣiṇā to the priest accrues to the yajamāna.

448 Regarding the content, it is here required that as expiation for a viṣṇubali ritual that is not performed, or performed too late, the six mantras of the vaiṣṇavasūkta and the viṣṇusūkta are recited four times each.

449 Garbhādhānaprāyaścitta: SAnukr 2, 15.13–16.16; garbhādhāna: SAnukr 2, 16.17–17.22; puṃsuvana-prāyaścitta: SAnukr 2, 18.1–22; puṃsuvana: SAnukr 2, 18.23–20.5; sīmantaprāyaścitta: SAnukr 2, 20.6–21.2; sīmanta: SAnukr 2, 21.3–22.6; viṣṇubaliprāyaścitta: SAnukr 2, 22.7–18; viṣṇubali: SAnukr 2, 22.19–27.12.

450 This second volume of the *Sūtrānukramaṇikā* contains a few quotations from the partially preserved *Vaikhānasagrhapariśiṣṭasūtra* (see 1.4).

gether with another prayoga text, the *Vivāhaprayoga*, it describes the 18 saṃskāras of the Vaikhānasas.⁴⁵¹ In the *Pūrvaprayoga* the saṃskāras from niṣeka / ṛtusamgamana to pārayaṇavratibandha are given, which is the “adoption of the pārayaṇa vow” during upanayana. The *Vivāhaprayoga* describes all rituals connected with marriage and ends with brief instructions on the duties of a householder (gr̥hasthadharma; VivāhaP, pp. 88f.). In the *Pūrvaprayoga* niṣeka is named as the first prenatal saṃskāra (see 2.2.1), after which ṛtusamgamana, garbhādhānaprāyaścitta, garbhādhāna, puṃsavana, sīmanta and viṣṇubali are described.⁴⁵² After this follow jātakarman, utthānaprāyaścitta, utthāna, nāmakaraṇaprāyaścitta, nāmakaraṇa, varṣavardhanaprāyaścitta, varṣavardhana, annaprāśanaprāyaścitta, annaprāśana, pravāsāgamana- and piṇḍavardhanaprāyaścitta, pravāsāgamana, piṇḍavardhana, cauḷaprāyaścitta, cauḷa and a general expiation, for all post-natal saṃskāras performed up to the time of upanayana (sāmānyaprāyaścitta), and upanayana with the appropriate vows.

4.3.3 Tabular comparison of the viṣṇubali sections

In what follows, the descriptions of viṣṇubali in the two prayoga texts will be compared with one another. In the *Sūtrānukramaṇikā* viṣṇubali comes after the description of the expiation for viṣṇubali, in *Pūrvaprayoga* after the description of sīmanta. The division of the ritual into phases is modelled according to the division in the *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra* and the other texts dealing with viṣṇubali given in 2.2.2–2.2.4.7, with some additional subdivision. Where the two texts contain parallel ritual sections they are compared with one another. In the left column the text and translation from the *Sūtrānukramaṇikā* is given, in the right column the parallel passage from the *Pūrvaprayoga* together with its translation. For the sake of clarity the textual passages are put in a table. The Tamil passages in the *Pūrvaprayoga* are marked in curved brackets in the text and translation. Many of the rites⁴⁵³ mentioned in both handbooks are only mentioned in this section, but are dealt with in section 4.4 in connection with the account of the practical performance of the rituals. The mantras and formulas mentioned for recitation in the texts are only translated when they are short invocations, sacrifici-

451 The *Pūrvaprayoga* refers to, and even on occasion quotes, the *Sūtrānukramaṇikā*.

452 Ṛtusamgamana: PūrvaP, pp. 1ff.; ṛtusamgamana: PūrvaP, pp. 13ff.; garbhādhānaprāyaścitta: PūrvaP, pp. 25ff.; garbhādhāna: PūrvaP, pp. 28ff.; puṃsavana: PūrvaP, pp. 33ff.; sīmanta: PūrvaP, pp. 35f.; viṣṇubali: PūrvaP, pp. 36ff.

453 This included the “restraint of the breath” (*prāṇāyāma*), the “sprinkling (of the fire)” (*pariṣecana*), the ritual swallowing” (*ācamana*), the “formal declaration” (*saṃkalpa*) and “worship” (*arcana*).

al or worship formulas to be composed by the officiator himself. Where the extracts use mantras from the Vedas, they remain untranslated.

While the *viṣṇubali* section in the *Sūtrānukramaṇikā* ends by quoting a verse from the *Ānandasamhitā*,⁴⁵⁴ in the *Pūrvaprayoga* an abbreviated citation from the *Sūtrānukramaṇikā* [praṇāma]—[pāyasapraśana] is found at the end of the *viṣṇubali* section, containing further details on the performance of *viṣṇubali*.⁴⁵⁵

<i>Sūtrānukramaṇikā</i>	<i>Pūrvaprayoga</i>
[saṃkalpa]	
SAnukr 2, 22.19–23.4 <i>viṣṇubaliḥ. ukhāvāsagandhapuṣpayuk- praṇidhiṃ bhūṣaṇavastrataṇḍulān dara- cakrasugavyapāyāsādyakhilam viṣṇuba- lau samāharet. iti saṃbhārān saṃbhṛtya prāṇān āyamyā deśakālau saṃkīrtya (śu- bhatīthau) gotrām nāmnīm enām mama dharmapatnīm garbhavaiṣṇaveṣṭyā viṣṇu- balikarmaṇā saṃskariṣyāmi (apa).</i>	PūrvaP 36.9–14 <i>viṣṇubaliprayogaḥ. prāṇān āyamyā ... śu- bhatīthau / nakṣatre rāśau jātām ... nām- nīm mama dharmapatnīm garbhasthaśī- śoḥ rakṣaṇārthaṃ garbhasthacakraṅka- nasiddhyarthaṃ garbhavaiṣṇavasid- dhyarthaṃ viṣṇubalikarmaṇā saṃskariṣ- yāmi. apa.</i>
Viṣṇubali: For <i>viṣṇubali</i> he should bring together the <i>praṇidhi</i> pot with mouth-scent, incense and flowers, [and] ornaments, clothes, rice grains, [and] conch-shell, disk, good cow-products, milk porridge etc. all this. After having brought together all these materials, he controls his breath, announces the place and time,	The performance of <i>viṣṇubali</i> . After having controlled the breath ... on an auspicious lunar day [he announces]: “Through the <i>viṣṇubali</i> ritual I perform the <i>saṃskāra</i> on my rightfully wedded wife, born on [so and so] lunar mansion [and] in [so and so] sign of the zodiac, in order to protect the child in the womb, [and] in order

454 SAnukr 2, 27.11–12: *tatsuto bhāgyavān dhanyo garbhavaiṣṇavasamjñikāḥ / aprākṛto mahātmāsau garbhacakraṇa lāṃchitah.*

455 PūrvaP 39.4–5: *śrīvaikhānasasūtrānukramaṇikā {viḷim mātiri kānappaṭukīratu}*, “It is viewed like [the mantra / the syllable] *viḷim*.” (?). PūrvaP 39.6–25: *prāṇān āyamyā ... śubhatīthau asyāḥ gotrāyāḥ nāmnīyāḥ. mama dharmapatnyāḥ garbhasthaśīśoḥ garbhavaiṣṇavatvasiddhyarthaṃ imaṃ garbhaṃ garbhacakraḥ karmaṇā saṃskariṣye* [= SAnukr 2, 25.23–26]. *agnīm pariṣicya. “bhūm ānanto ’gre” “vandyo na eṣa” iti dvau cakramantrau. “tan mā yaśo ’gre” “asmād upāsyē” dvau saṃkhamantrau. hutvā. ante tattat gāyatrīyā aṣṭottaraśata ājyāhutir hutvā. [= (roughly) SAnukr 2, 26.1–7]. “sudarśanāya vidmahe mahājvālāya dhūmahi tan naś cakraḥ pracodayāt svāhā.” “sudarśanāyedaṃ.” “vārdhijātāya vidmahe mahāśaṃkhāya dhūmahi tan naḥ pāñcajanyaḥ pracodayāt svāhā.” “saṃkhāyedaṃ.” [= (roughly) SAnukr 2, 26.7–15] sudarśanapāñcajanyaḥ grhītvā. tattan mantrau japitvā. tadagnau pratāpya pāyasaśeṣa ’mkanam kuryāt. [SAnukr 2, 26.15–18]. tataḥ patnyā saha pradakṣiṇa pūrvakaṃ devasya dakṣiṇataḥ uttarābhimukhas tiṣṭhan ṛgyajussāmātharvabhir mantraiḥ vaiṣṇavair devais saṃstūya. [= SAnukr 2, 26.19–21] keśavādīdvādaśanāmabhiḥ praṇamet. śrī bhagavantaṃ anusmaran taṃ pāyasaśeṣaṃ patnīm praśayet. [= (roughly) SAnukr 2, 27.3–4 and 27.9–10].*

<i>Sūtrānukramaṇikā</i>	<i>Pūrvaprayoga</i>
([and] the auspicious lunar day) [and recites]: “Through the viṣṇubali ritual, [which is] the sacrifice for the Viṣṇu follower in [my wife’s] womb, I perform the saṃskāra on this rightfully wedded wife of mine, having [so and so] name and belonging to [so and so] gotra.” [He then touches] (water).	to attain the marking of the [child] in the womb with the disk, [and] in order to make the foetus a Viṣṇu-follower [already] in the womb.” [He then touches] (water).
[purusāvāhana]	
SAAnukr 2, 23.5–9 <i>atha viṣṇubaliḥ uttarapraṇidhāv agnyādi-devān oṃ bhūḥ puruṣam oṃ bhuvah puruṣam oṃ suvah puruṣam oṃ bhūr bhuvah suvah puruṣam cety āvāhya // oṃ bhūḥ puruṣam āvāhayāmi / oṃ bhuvah puruṣam āvāhayāmi / oṃ suvah puruṣam āvāhayāmi / oṃ bhūr bhuvah suvah puruṣam āvāhayāmi //</i>	PūrvaP 36.14–17 <i>uttarapraṇidhā / vaṭapuram praṇidhiyil oṃ bhūḥ puruṣam āvāhayāmi / oṃ bhuvah puruṣa ... mi / oṃ suvah puruṣa .. mi / oṃ bhūr bhuvah suvah puruṣa ... mi /</i>
Now (begins) viṣṇubali. After having invoked the gods beginning with Agni in the praṇidhi pot, placed north [of the fire] [with the formulas]: <i>oṃ bhūḥ puruṣam, oṃ bhuvah puruṣam, oṃ suvah puruṣam, oṃ bhūr bhuvah suvah puruṣam</i> . [The mantras are]: “ <i>Oṃ bhūḥ</i> I invoke Puruṣa, <i>oṃ bhuvah</i> I invoke Puruṣa, <i>oṃ suvah</i> I invoke Puruṣa, <i>oṃ bhūr bhuvah suvah</i> I invoke Puruṣa.”	In the praṇidhi pot, placed north [of the fire] = in the praṇidhi [vessel] kept in the north. “ <i>Oṃ bhūḥ</i> I invoke Puruṣa, <i>oṃ bhuvah</i> I ... Puruṣa, <i>oṃ suvah</i> I ... Puruṣa, <i>oṃ bhūr bhuvah suvah</i> I ... Puruṣa.”
[puruṣārcana]	
	PūrvaP 36.17–18 <i>āsanādisamastopacārān samarpayāmi. kadalīm alam nivedayāmi.</i>
	I offer the seat etc., all the means of worship. I offer kadalīm alam [mantras](?)
[nirvāpaṇa]	
SAAnukr 2, 23.9–12 <i>tathaiva nirvāpayet // oṃ bhūḥ puruṣāya juṣṭam nirvāpāmi / oṃ bhuvah puruṣāya juṣṭam nirvāpāmi / oṃ suvah puruṣāya juṣṭam nirvāpāmi / oṃ bhūr bhuvah suvah puruṣāya juṣṭam nirvāpāmi //</i>	PūrvaP 36.18–22 <i>ājyanirvāpaṇam / oṃ bhūḥ puruṣāya juṣṭan nirvāpāmi / oṃ bhuvah puruṣāya juṣṭa ... mi / oṃ suvah puruṣāya juṣṭa ... mi / oṃ bhūr bhuvah suvah puruṣāya juṣṭa ... mi /</i>
In the same manner he should bestow [the clarified butter by reciting]: “ <i>Oṃ bhūḥ</i> I bestow what is agreeable to Puruṣa, <i>oṃ</i>	Bestowing the clarified butter [he recites]: “ <i>Oṃ bhūḥ</i> I bestow what is agreeable to Puruṣa, <i>oṃ bhuvah</i> I ... what is ag-

<i>Sūtrānukramaṇikā</i>	<i>Pūrvaprayoga</i>
<i>bhuvah</i> I bestow what is agreeable to Puruṣa, <i>om suvah</i> I bestow what is agreeable to Puruṣa, <i>om bhūr bhuvah suvah</i> I bestow what is agreeable to Puruṣa.”	agreeable to Puruṣa, <i>om suvah</i> I ... what is agreeable to Puruṣa, <i>om bhūr bhuvah suvah</i> I ... what is agreeable to Puruṣa.”
[āghāra]	
SAAnukr 2, 23.12–15 <i>tathaiva hutvā / adite 'numanyasva * om bhūh puruṣāya svāhā / om bhuvah puruṣāya svāhā / om suvah puruṣāya svāhā / om bhūr bhuvah suvah puruṣāya svāhā // adite 'nvamamsthāh * āghāraṃ hutvā /</i>	Pūrvap 36.22–37.4 <i>om bhūh puruṣāya svāhā / om bhūh puruṣāyedaṃ / om bhuvah puruṣāya svāhā / om bhuvah puruṣāyedaṃ / om suvah puruṣāya svāhā / om suvah puruṣāyedaṃ / om bhūr bhuvah suvah puruṣāya svāhā / om bhūr bhuvah suvah puruṣāyedaṃ /</i>
He offers in the same manner into the fire: “Aditi, give your permission” *, “ <i>Om bhūh</i> , to Puruṣa, hail! <i>Om bhuvah</i> , to Puruṣa, hail! <i>Om suvah</i> , to Puruṣa, hail! <i>Om bhūr bhuvah suvah</i> , to Puruṣa, hail!” “Aditi, you have given your permission.” * After having offered clarified butter into the fire,	“ <i>Om bhūh</i> to Puruṣa, hail! <i>Om bhūh</i> this is for Puruṣa. <i>Om bhuvah</i> to Puruṣa, hail! <i>Om bhuvah</i> this is for Puruṣa. <i>Om suvah</i> to Puruṣa, hail! <i>Om suvah</i> this is for Puruṣa. <i>Om bhūr bhuvah suvah</i> to Puruṣa, hail! <i>Om bhūr bhuvah suvah</i> this is for Puruṣa.”
[preparation of the sthaṇḍila]	
SAAnukr 2, 23.15–19 <i>agneḥ pūrvasyāṃ navavastrayuktaṃ taṇḍulāiḥ caturaśraṃ hastamātraṃ sthaṇḍilam kṛtvottarābhimukhaḥ gandhapuṣpākṣatayutair jalaiḥ praṇidhim āpūrya tat-praṇidhijale bhagavantam dhyātvā tat-sthaṇḍile dvādaśakūrcān pavitrāṇi vā prāg agrān udagantaṃ nidhāya</i>	Pūrvap 37.4–6 <i>agneḥ pūrvasyāṃ vrīhibhis taṇḍulair vā hastamātraṃ kṛte sthaṇḍile dvādaśakūrcān prāgagraṃ udagantaṃ āstīrya</i>
After having prepared a platform in the east of the fire, quadrangular and cubit-sized, with taṇḍula rice grains covered with a new cloth, he faces north and fills the praṇidhi pot with water mixed with scent, flowers and unbroken rice grains. After having meditated upon the glorious one in the water in that praṇidhi pot, he places twelve kūrca bundles or pavitras on that platform with their tips pointing towards east, ending [the row] in the north,	After having spread the twelve kūrca bundles, with their tips pointing towards east, ending [the row] in the north, on the cubit-sized platform prepared of vrīhi or taṇḍula rice grains in the east of the ritual fire,
[dvādaśanāmāvāhana]	
SAAnukr 2, 23.19–24.1 <i>teṣu praṇidhijalaṃ kūrcena srāvayan</i>	Pūrvap 37.6–8 <i>teṣu dakṣiṇādi teṅku mutal keśavam āvā-</i>

<i>Sūtrānukramaṇikā</i>	<i>Pūrvaprayoga</i>
<p><i>pratyāñmukhaṃ keśavādidvādaśanāma- bhir devaṃ viṣṇuṃ āvāhya // oṃ keśavam āvāhayāmi / oṃ nārāyaṇam āvāhayāmi / oṃ mādhavam āvāhayāmi / oṃ govindam āvāhayāmi / oṃ viṣṇuṃ āvāhayāmi / oṃ madhusūdanam āvāhayāmi / oṃ trivikra- mam āvāhayāmi / oṃ vāmanam āvāhayā- mi / oṃ śrīdharam āvāhayāmi / oṃ hr̥ṣī- keśam āvāhayāmi / oṃ padmanābham ā- vāhayāmi / oṃ dāmodaram āvāhayāmi //</i></p>	<p><i>hayāmi ... dāmodaram āvāhayāmi /</i></p>
<p>Dripping on these [kūrcas] the water from the prañidhi-pot with a kūrcā bundle, he faces east and invokes the god Viṣṇu with his twelve names, beginning with Keśava: “<i>Oṃ</i> I invoke Keśava, <i>oṃ</i> I invoke Nārāyaṇa, <i>oṃ</i> I invoke Mādhava, <i>oṃ</i> I invoke Govinda, <i>oṃ</i> I invoke Viṣṇu, <i>oṃ</i> I invoke Madhusūdana, <i>oṃ</i> I invoke Trivikrama, <i>oṃ</i> I invoke Vāmana, <i>oṃ</i> I invoke Śrīdhara, <i>oṃ</i> I invoke Hr̥ṣīkeśa, <i>oṃ</i> I invoke Padmanābha, <i>oṃ</i> I invoke Dāmodara.”</p>	<p>Beginning in [the seats’] south [=] from the south [he invokes]: “I invoke Keśava ... I invoke Dāmodara.”</p>
[instructions for the domestic image]	
	<p>PūrvaP 37.8–10 <i>grahe arcanābimbam asti cet agneḥ pūrvasyāṃ pratyāñmukhaṃ sthāpayitvā / kraha arātaṇa perumāḷai akṇiyiṅ kilāṅtapuram eḷḷappaṇṇavum</i></p>
	<p>If there is an idol of the god in the house, then he should place it in the east of the fire, facing west = one may install Perumāḷ worshipped in the house on the eastern side of the fire.</p>
[snapana]	
<p>SAnuKr 2, 24.1–11 <i>keśavādidvādaśamūrtibhyas tattannāma- bhiḥ pṛthakpṛthakkrameṇāsanapādyāca- manādīni datvā // keśavāya namaḥ āsa- naṃ samarpayāmi / ... dāmodarāya na- maḥ āsanaṃ samarpayāmi // keśavāya namaḥ pādyāṃ samarpayāmi ... dāmoda- rāya namaḥ pādyāṃ samarpayāmi / keśa- vāya namaḥ ācamaṇaṃ samarpayāmi / ... dāmodarāya namaḥ ācamaṇaṃ samarpa-</i></p>	<p>PūrvaP 37.11–13 <i>keśavādidvādaśamūrtibhyaḥ tattannāma- bhiḥ / pṛthakpṛthakkramaṇa āsanapādyā- camaṇāni datvā / āpo hiraṇya pavamā- naiḥ saṃsnāpya /</i></p>

<i>Sūtrānukramanikā</i>	<i>Pūrvaprayoga</i>
<p><i>yāmi // āpo hiraṇya pavamānais saṃ- snāpya // – āpo hi śṭhā mayobhuvah – janayathā ca naḥ // hiraṇyavarṇāḥ – brahmavarcanāya tvā // pavamānas su- varjanaḥ – jātavedāmorjayantyā punātu // keśavāya namaḥ snānaṃ samarpayāmi / – dāmodarāya namaḥ snānaṃ samar- payāmi //</i></p>	
<p>After having offered seat, water for washing the feet, and for rinsing the mouth etc. to the twelve forms [of Viṣṇu] beginning with Keśava, with the respective names, one after the other, in a row: “Salutations to Keśava, I offer a seat ... Salutations to Dāmodara, I offer a seat, Salutations to Keśava, I offer water for washing the feet ... Salutations to Dāmodara, I offer water for washing the feet. Salutations to Keśava, I offer water for rinsing the mouth ... Salutations to Dāmodara, I offer water for rinsing the mouth.” After having bathed [the twelve forms] with the [mantras beginning with] <i>āpo ... hiraṇya ... pavamānas ...</i> [These are the passages from] <i>āpo hi śṭhā mayobhuvah</i> [until] <i>janayathā ca naḥ</i>, [from] <i>hiraṇyavarṇāḥ</i> [until] <i>brahmavarcanāya tvā</i>, [and from] <i>pavamānas suvarjanaḥ</i> [until] <i>jātavedāmorjayantyā punātu</i>. [He then recites]: “Salutations to Keśava, I offer water for bathing ... Salutations to Dāmodara, I offer water for bathing.”</p>	<p>After having offered a seat, water for washing the feet, and water for rinsing the mouth, with [mantras] containing the twelve names, to each of the twelve forms [of Viṣṇu], which begin with Keśava, he gives bath [to them while reciting the mantras beginning with] <i>āpo ... hiraṇya ...</i> [and] <i>pavamānaḥ ...</i></p>
[arcana]	
<p>SA nukr 2, 24.11–13 <i>evaṃ plotavastrottariyābharaṇayajñopavī- tācamanapuṣpagandhadhūpadīpārghyā- camanaiḥ pratyekam arcayati.</i></p>	<p>PūrvaP 37.13–15 <i>evaṃ plotavastrottariyābharaṇayajñopavī- tācamanapuṣpagandhadhūpadīpārghyā- camanaiḥ pratyekam arcayati /</i></p>
<p>In this way he worships each of the [twelve forms] with cloth, upper garment, jewellery, sacred thread, water for rinsing the mouth, flowers, scent, incense, light, arghya water and water for rinsing the mouth.</p>	<p>In this way he worships each [of the twelve forms] with cloth, upper garment, jewellery, sacred thread, water for rinsing the mouth, flowers, scent, incense, light, water for arghya and water for rinsing the mouth.</p>

Sūtrānukramāṇikā	Pūrvaprayoga
[viṣṇusūkta / vaiṣṇavasūkta]	
<p>SAAnukr 2, 24.13–25.8 <i>agnim pariṣicya // adīte 'numanyasva — prasuva // ato devādyair viṣṇor nu kā-dyair ājyena juhūyāt // ato devā avantu no yato viṣṇur vicakrame / pṛthivyās sap-tadhāmabhis svāhā // idaṃ viṣṇur vica-krame tredhā nidadhe padam / sa mū-ḍham asya pāṃsure svāhā // trīṇi padā vicakrame viṣṇur gopā ādābhyah tato dharmāṇi dhārayanth svāhā // viṣṇoḥ karmāṇi paśyata yato vratāni paspaṣe in-drasya yubhyas sakhā svāhā // tad viṣṇoḥ paramaṃ padaṃ sadā paśyanti sūrayah / divīva cakṣur ātataṃ svāhā // tadviprā so vipan yavo jāgrvāmsas samindhate / vi-ṣṇor yat paramaṃ padaṃ svāhā // viṣṇor nu kaṃ vīryāṇi pravocaṃ yah pāṛthivāni nūmame rajāṃsi yo askabhāyaduttaram sadhasthaṃ vicakramāṇas tredhorugāyo viṣṇor arāṭam asi viṣṇoḥ pṛṣṭham asi viṣ-ṇoś japtre stho viṣṇos syūr asi viṣṇor dhruvam asi vaiṣṇavam asi viṣṇave tvā svāhā // tad asya priyam abhipātho aśyā-nnaro yatra devayavo madanti / urukra-masya sa hi bandhur itthā viṣṇoḥ pade parame madhya uthsas svāhā // pra tad viṣṇus stavate vīryāya mṛgo na bhīmaḥ kucaro giriṣṭhāḥ. yasyoruṣu triṣu vikra-manēṣv adhikṣiyantī bhuvanāni viśvā svā-hā // paro mātrayā tanuvāvṛdhāna na te mahitvam anvaśnuvanti / ubhe te vidma-rajasi pṛthivyā viṣṇo devatvaṃ parama-sya vidhse svāhā // vicakrame pṛthivīm eṣa etām kṣetrāya viṣṇur manuṣe daśa-syan. dhṛvāso asya kīrayo janāsa urukṣi-tiṃ sujanimā cakāra svāhā // trir devaḥ pṛthivīm eṣa etām vicakrame śatarcasam mahitvā / pra viṣṇur astu tava sastsavī yāntv eṣam hy asya sthavirusya nāma svāhā // adīte 'nvamaṃsthāḥ ... deva sa-viṭaḥ pṛāsāvīḥ //</i></p>	<p>PūrvaP 37.16–38.1 <i>atodevādiviṣṇ-n-kādyaiḥ ājyenā dvāda-śāhutīr hutvā / agnim pariṣicya / ato devā / viṣṇor nu kaṃ ... viṣṇave tvā svāhā / viṣṇava idaṃ / tad asya ... utsa svāhā / viṣṇava idaṃ / pra tad viṣṇu ... viṣvā svā-hā / viṣṇava idaṃ / paro matrayā ... vitse svāhā / viṣṇava idaṃ / vicakrame ... ca-kāra svāhā / viṣṇava idaṃ / trir devaḥ ... nāma svāhā / viṣṇava idaṃ /</i></p>
<p>After having sprinkled around the fire [while reciting:] “Aditi, give your con-</p>	<p>After having offered the twelve oblations of clarified butter into the fire [while re-</p>

<i>Sūtrānukramanikā</i>	<i>Pūrvaprayoga</i>
<p>sent” [until] “... stimulate,” he should offer clarified butter into the fire [reciting the mantras] beginning with <i>ato devā</i> [and with] <i>viṣṇor nu kā</i>. [He recites:] <i>ato devā avantu no yato viṣṇur vicakrame / pṛthivyās saptadhāmabhis svāhā // idaṃ viṣṇur vicakrame tredhā nidadhe padam / sa mūḍham asya pāmsure svāhā // trīṇi padā vicakrame viṣṇur gopā ādābhyaḥ tato dharmāni dhārayanth svāhā // viṣṇoḥ karmāni paśyata yato vratāni paspaṣe indrasya yubhyas sakhā svāhā // tad viṣṇoḥ paramaṃ padaṃ sadā paśyanti sūrayaḥ / divīva cakṣur ātataṃ svāhā // tadviprā so vipan yavo jāgrvāmsas samindhate / viṣṇor yat paramaṃ padaṃ svāhā // viṣṇor nu kaṃ vīryāṇi pravocaṃ yaḥ pāṛthivāni nūname rajāmsi yo askabhāyaduttaraṃ sadhasthaṃ vicakramānas tredhorugāyo viṣṇor arāṭam asi viṣṇoḥ pṛṣṭham asi viṣṇoś japtre stho viṣṇos syūr asi viṣṇor dhruvam asi vaiṣṇavam asi viṣṇave tvā svāhā // tad asya priyam abhipātho aśyānnaro yatra devayavo madanti / urukramasya sa hi bandhur ithā viṣṇoḥ pade parama madhya uthsas svāhā // pra tad viṣṇus stavate vīryāya mṛgo na bhūmaḥ kucaro giriṣṭhāḥ. Yasyoruṣu triṣu vikramaṇeṣv adhikṣiyantī bhuvanāni viśvā svāhā // paro mātrayā tanuvāvrđhāna na te mahitvam anvaśṇuvanti / ubhe te vidmarajasī pṛthivyā viṣṇo devatvaṃ paramasya vidhse svāhā // vicakrame pṛthivīm eṣa etāṃ kṣetrāya viṣṇur manuṣe daśasyan. dhṛvāso asya kīrayo janāsa urukṣitīm sujanimā cakāra svāhā // trir devaḥ pṛthivīm eṣa etāṃ vicakrame śatarcasam mahitvā / pra viṣṇur astu tava sastsavī yāntv eṣaṃ hy asya sthavidrasya nāma svāhā.” [Then he sprinkles water around the fire reciting:] “Aditi, you gave your consent” [until] “god Savitr you stimulated [the sacrifice].”</i></p>	<p>citing the <i>mantras</i> beginning with] <i>ato deva</i> [and] <i>viṣṇor nu kaṃ</i> he sprinkles water around the fire. [He recites] <i>ato devā</i> [and] <i>viṣṇor nu kaṃ</i> [until] <i>viṣṇave tvā</i> hail! This is for Viṣṇu! [He recites from] <i>tad asya</i> [until] <i>utsa</i> hail! This is for Viṣṇu! [He recites from] <i>pra tad viṣṇu</i> [until] <i>viṣva</i> hail! This is for Viṣṇu! [He recites from] <i>paro matrayā</i> [until] <i>vitse</i> hail! This is for Viṣṇu! [He recites from] <i>vicakrame</i> [until] <i>cakāra</i> hail! This is for Viṣṇu! [He recites from] <i>trir devaḥ</i> [until] <i>nāma</i> hail! This is for Viṣṇu!”</p>

<i>Sūtrānukramaṇikā</i>	<i>Pūrvaprayoga</i>
[pāyasānivedana]	
<p>SAnukr 2, 25.9–12 <i>pāyasam ājyasaṃyuktaṃ keśavādidvāda- śanāmabhiḥ pratyekaṃ deveśāya nivedya // keśavāya namaḥ ājyasaṃyuktapāyasam nivedayāmi ... dāmodarāya namaḥ ājya- saṃyuktapāyasam nivedayāmi // tataḥ pānīyācamanamukhavāsān pratyekaṃ dadyāt //</i></p>	<p>PūrvaP 38.1–3 <i>pāyasam ājyasaṃyuktaṃ haviḥ devaṃ ni- vedya / perumāḷukkum, kecavāti perumāḷ- ukkum. pāyasam annaṃ nivetanaṃ paṇṇi.</i></p>
<p>After having offered the milk porridge mixed with clarified butter to each god with [mantras mentioning] the twelve names, beginning with Keśava: “Salutations to Keśava, I offer milk porridge mixed with clarified butter ... Salutations to Dāmodara, I offer milk porridge mixed with clarified butter.” Then he should give water for drinking, water for rinsing the mouth, and mouth perfume to each of them.</p>	<p>After having offered the oblation of milk porridge mixed with clarified butter to the god = and one may offer to Perumāḷ and to Kecavāti Perumāḷ milk porridge and food (rice). Milk porridge is the food = the food is offered as nivedana [to the god].</p>
[pāyasahoma]	
<p>SAnukr 2, 25.12–22 <i>agnim pariṣicya // adite ’numanyasva * (keśavādi)dvādaśanāmabhir ato devā- dyair viṣṇor nu kādyair ājyamiśraṃ (pr- thakpātre) pāyasam aṅguṣṭhānāmikāma- dhyamair akṣamātram avadāya juhuyāt //</i> <i>oṃ keśavāya svāhā / oṃ nārāyaṇāya svā- hā / oṃ mādhavāya svāhā / oṃ govindā- ya svāhā / oṃ viṣṇave svāhā / oṃ madhu- sūdhanāya svāhā / oṃ trivikramāya svā- hā / oṃ vāmanāya svāhā / oṃ śrīdharāya svāhā / oṃ hr̥ṣīkeśāya svāhā / oṃ padma- nābhāya svāhā / oṃ dāmodarāya svāhā / ato devāḥ (6) viṣṇor nu kaṃ (6) adite ’va- maṃsthāḥ * (atra gṛhārcābimbasya san- nidhāpanam ārādhanādi ca kecid ācār- yās samācaḥṣate).</i></p>	<p>PūrvaP 38.3–7 <i>homam ceyyavum. dvādaśanāmabhiḥ ato devādi viṣṇor nu kādyaiḥ ājyamiśraṃ pā- yasam annaṃ juhuyāt / keśavāya svāhā / keśavāyedaṃ / ... dāmodarāyedaṃ / ato devā / viṣṇor nu kaṃ / adite ’nvamaṃ- sthāḥ /</i></p>
<p>After having sprinkled water around the fire [reciting:] “Aditi give your consent!” * He should offer milk porridge mixed with clarified butter into the fire, [reciting the mantras] containing the twelve names, (beginning with Keśava), [and the</p>	<p>And one may perform the homa. He should offer the food, the milk porridge mixed with clarified butter, [while reciting the mantras] with the twelve names, [and the mantras] beginning with <i>ato deva</i> [and] <i>viṣṇor nu kaṃ</i>. [He should re-</p>

<i>Sūtrānukramaṇikā</i>	<i>Pūrvaprayoga</i>
<p>twelve mantras] beginning with <i>ato devā</i> and <i>viṣṇor nu kaṃ</i> [and he should at the same time] place an amount equal to akṣa seed with thumb, ring and middle fingers (in a separate vessel): “<i>Oṃ</i> this is for Keśava, hail! <i>Oṃ</i> this is for Nārāyaṇa, hail! <i>Oṃ</i> this is for Mādhava, hail! <i>Oṃ</i> this is for Govinda, hail! <i>Oṃ</i> this is for Viṣṇu, hail! <i>Oṃ</i> this is for Madhusūdana, hail! <i>Oṃ</i> this is for Trivikrama, hail! <i>Oṃ</i> this is for Vāmana, hail! <i>Oṃ</i> this is for Śrīdhara, hail! <i>Oṃ</i> this is for Hṛṣīkeśa, hail! <i>Oṃ</i> this is for Padmanābha, hail! <i>Oṃ</i> this is for Dāmodara, hail! ([He recites the] six [mantras beginning with]) <i>ato devāḥ</i> ([and the] six [mantras beginning with]) <i>viṣṇor nu kaṃ</i>. [He sprinkles water around the fire reciting:] “Aditi, you gave your consent” * (Here some ācāryas teach the bringing and the worship of the idol kept in the house).</p>	<p>cite:] “To Keśava, hail! This is for Keśava ... This is for Dāmodara!” [And he should recite the mantras beginning with] <i>ato deva</i> [and] <i>viṣṇor nu kaṃ</i> [and finish with] “Aditi, you gave your consent.”</p>
[saṃkalpa 2]	
<p>SAnukr 2, 25.23–26 <i>tato devasya purata asīnaḥ yajamānaḥ ātmānaṃ devarūpaṃ smṛtvā // prāṇān ā- yama deśakālau saṃkṛtya (śubhatithau) asyā gotrāyāḥ nāmnyāḥ mama dharmā- patnyāḥ garbhasthaśiśoḥ garbhavaiṣṇa- vatvasiddhyarthaṃ imaṃ garbhaṃ gar- bhacakra karmaṇā saṃskariṣyāmi (apa).</i></p>	
<p>Then the officiator sits in front of the god and meditates on his self as having the form of the god. He restrains his breath and then announces the place and time [and says] (on the auspicious lunar day): “In order to attain the characteristics of a Vaiṣṇava already in the womb for the child in the womb of my rightfully wedded wife, who has [such and such] name, and who is from [such and such] gotra, I perform through the ritual of [imprinting] the disk [already] in the womb the saṃskāra for this embryo.” [He touches] (water).</p>	

<i>Sūtrānukramaṇikā</i>	<i>Pūrvaprayoga</i>
[cakraśaṅkhapūjā]	
<p>SAnukr 2, 26.1–4 <i>śaṅkhacakrau arcāsannidhau vidhivat pratiṣṭhāpya sthāpitau cet tūṣṇīm ādāya / (akṛtapratiṣṭhāsaṃskārau ced vidhivat pratiṣṭhāpya) pūrvoktasthaṅḍile nidhāya tattannāmanantrair āsanapādyācamana- puṣṭpagandhadhūpadīpārghyahaviḥpānī- yācamanamukhavāsāntam abhyarçya</i></p>	
<p>After installing in the appropriate manner the conch and disk near the idol, and in case they have already been installed, taking them quietly (if the saṃskāra of installing has not been performed. He should install them in the appropriate manner), place them on the above-mentioned platform and worship them with [the mantras containing] the respective names; [he should offer them the following means of worship:] a seat, water for washing feet, water for rinsing the mouth, flowers, scent, incense, light, water for arghya, oblations, water for drinking, water for rinsing the mouth, and mouth perfume as last item.</p>	
[cakraśaṅkhaḥoma]	
<p>SAnukr 2, 26.4–16 <i>agniṃ pariṣicya adīte 'numanyasva * bhūm ānanto 'gre vandyo na eṣa iti dvau cakramantrau tan mā yaśo 'gre asmād upāsyē ti dvau śaṅkhamantrau hutvānte tattadgāyatryāṣṭottaraśatājyāhutīr hutvā / bhūm ānanto 'gre bhuvanasya goptā vā- mabhya īsanty amarāmarāś ca / kurvate 'gnau suhutaṃ ghr̥tena svāhā // vandyo na eṣa vasuṣu nidadyāt tridhā tridhām ābibhryād adīnānt svāhā // sudarśanāya vidmahe mahājvālāya dhīmahi tan naś cakrah pracodayāt svāhā // tan mā yaśo 'gre tāvate vasūnām yajāmahe syād bha- vataḥ prasannaḥ / tadā vadaty uttamam jayante svāhā // asmād upāsyosyehi hi / vṛddhiśarma bhavato darāt svāhā // vā- rdhijātāya vidmahe mahāśaṅkhāya dhī-</i></p>	

<i>Sūtrānukramaṇikā</i>	<i>Pūrvaprayoga</i>
<p><i>mahi tan naḥ pāñcajanyaḥ pracodayāt svāhā // adīte 'nvamamsthāh *</i></p> <p>After having sprinkled water around the fire [reciting]: “Adīti, give your consent!” * At the end of offering into the fire [while reciting] the two cakra mantras <i>bhūm ānanto 'gre</i> [and] <i>vandyo na eṣa</i> [and then] the two śaṅkha mantras <i>tan mā yaśo 'gre</i> [and] <i>asmād upāśya</i>, he should offer 108 clarified butter offerings into the fire while reciting the respective [cakra and śaṅkha] gāyatrī mantras. [The cakra mantras are]: <i>bhūm ānanto 'gre bhuvanasya goptā vāmabhya īśanty amarāmārāś ca. Kurvate 'gnau suhutaṅ ghr̥tena svāhā</i> [and] <i>vandyo na eṣa vasuṣu nidadhīāt tridhā tridhām ābibhryād adīnānth svāhā</i>. [The cakra gāyatrī mantra is:] <i>sudarśanāya vidmahe mahājvālāya dhīmahi tan naś cakraḥ pracodayāt svāhā</i>. [The two śaṅkha mantras are:] <i>tan mā yaśo 'gre tāvate vasūnām yajāmahe syād bhavataḥ prasannaḥ. tadā vadaty uttamaṃ jayante svāhā</i> [and] <i>asmād upāśyosyehi hi. vṛddhiśarma bhavato darāt svāhā</i> [The śaṅkha gāyatrī mantra is:] <i>vārdhijātāya vidmahe mahāśaṅkhāya dhīmahi tan naḥ pāñcajanyaḥ pracodayāt svāhā</i>. [The he recites]: “Adīti, you have given your consent.” *</p>	
[cakraśaṅkhapratāpana]	
<p>SAnukr 2, 26.16–19 <i>sudarśanapāñcajanyaḥ ghr̥tvā tattanmantrau japitvā tadagnau pratāpya pāyasaśeṣe 'ṃkanaṃ kuryāt // bhūm ānanto 'gre ... ghr̥tena // vandyo na eṣa vasuṣu — bibhryād adīnān // tan mā yaśo 'gre ... jayante // asmād upāśyo ... bhavato darāt //</i></p>	
<p>After taking the disk and the conch [and] uttering the respective mantras, and after he heated them in this fire, he should mark the remainder of the milk porridge. [He recites:] <i>bhūm ānanto 'gre</i> [until] <i>ghr̥tena</i> [and] <i>vandyo na eṣa vasuṣu</i> [un-</p>	

<i>Sūtrānukramanikā</i>	<i>Pūrvaprayoga</i>
<p>til] <i>bibhṛyād adīnān</i>, [and] <i>tan mā yaśo 'gre</i> [until] <i>jayante</i> [and] <i>asmād upāsyo</i> [until] <i>bhavato darāt</i>.</p>	
[vedamantra]	
<p>SAAnukr 2, 26.19–27.3 <i>tataḥ patnyā saha pradakṣiṇapūrvakaṃ devasya dakṣiṇata uttarābhimukhas ti-ṣṭhan ṛgyajussāmātharvabhir mantrair vaiṣṇavair devaṃ saṃstūya // agnim īle purohitaṃ yajñasya devam ṛtvijam / hotāraṃ ratnadhātamaṃ // iṣe tvo 'rje tvā vāyava sthopyāyava stha devo vas savitā prārpayatu śreṣṭhatamāya karmaṇa āpyāyadhvam aghniyā devabhāgam ūrjasvatīḥ payasvatīḥ prajāpatīr anamīva aya-kṣamās mā va stena īsata māghaśaṃso rudrasya hetīḥ pari vo vṛnaktu dhruvā asmin gopatau syāta bahvīr yajamānasya paśūn pāhi // agna ā yāhi vītaye grṇāno havyadātaye / ni hotā satsi barhiṣi // śaṃ no devīr abhiṣṭaya āpo bhavantu pītaye / śaṃ yor abhisravantu naḥ // ato devāḥ (6) viṣṇor nu kaṃ (6) sahasraśrīṣā puruṣaḥ ... santi devāḥ //</i></p>	<p>PūrvaP 38.7–9 <i>ṛgyajussāmātharvabhir mantraiḥ vaiṣṇavais sahasraśrīṣādyaiḥ devaṃ saṃstūya</i></p>
<p>Then, after circumambulating [the fire] with his wife, while he is standing south of the god facing northwards, the god is praised with vaiṣṇava mantras from Ṛg-, Yajur-, Sāma- and Atharvaveda: <i>agnim īle purohitaṃ yajñasya devam ṛtvijam, hotāraṃ ratnadhātamaṃ. iṣe tvo 'rje tvā vāyava sthopyāyava stha devo vas savitā prārpayatu śreṣṭhatamāya karmaṇa āpyāyadhvam aghniyā devabhāgam ūrjasvatīḥ payasvatīḥ prajāpatīr anamīva aya-kṣamās mā va stena īsata māghaśaṃso rudrasya hetīḥ pari vo vṛnaktu dhruvā asmin gopatau syāta bahvīr yajamānasya paśūn pāhi. agna ā yāhi vītaye grṇāno havyadātaye, ni hotā satsi barhiṣi. śaṃ no devīr abhiṣṭaya āpo bhavantu pītaye, śaṃ yor abhisravantu naḥ</i>, [and the] (six) [mantras starting with] <i>ato devāḥ</i> [and the] (six) [mantras starting with] <i>viṣṇor</i></p>	<p>After having praised the god with the vaiṣṇava mantras from Ṛg-, Yajur-, Sāma- and Atharvaveda [and those] beginning with <i>sahasraśrīṣā</i></p>

<i>Sūtrānukramanikā</i>	<i>Pūrvaprayoga</i>
<i>nu kaṃ, [and the passage from] sahasra-śrīśā puruṣaḥ [until] santi devāḥ.</i>	
[pranāma]	
<p>SAnukr 2, 27.3–8 <i>praṇavādinamontaiḥ keśavādyair nāma- bhiḥ prayekaṃ daṇḍavat praṇamet // oṃ keśavāya namaḥ / oṃ nārāyaṇāya namaḥ / oṃ mādhavāya namaḥ / oṃ govindāya namaḥ / oṃ viṣṇave namaḥ / oṃ madhu- sūdanāya namaḥ / oṃ trivikramāya na- maḥ / oṃ vāmanāya namaḥ / oṃ śrīdha- rāya namaḥ / oṃ hr̥ṣīkeśāya namaḥ / oṃ padmanābhāya namaḥ / oṃ dāmodarāya namaḥ //</i></p>	<p>PūrvaP 38.9–15 <i>praṇamet / agniṃ ṅle ... dhātamaṃ / iṣe- tvorje ... pāhi / agna āyāhi ... bharhiṣi / śannodevī ... sravantunaḥ / ato devā / sa- hasraśrīśaṃ devaṃ / inta mantiraṅkalai kaikūppic collavum. keśavādidvādaśanā- mabhiḥ praṇamet // namaskarikkavum. keśavāya namaḥ ... dāmodarāya namaḥ /</i></p>
<p>He should prostrate like a stick to each [god] while [reciting mantras] that have <i>oṃ</i> in the beginning, that end with <i>namaḥ</i> and that contain the names, the first of which is Keśava: “<i>Oṃ</i> salutations to Keśava, <i>oṃ</i> salutations to Nārāyaṇa, <i>oṃ</i> salutations to Mādhava, <i>oṃ</i> salutations to Govinda, <i>oṃ</i> salutations to Viṣṇu, <i>oṃ</i> salutations to Madhusūdana, <i>oṃ</i> salutations to Trivikrama, <i>oṃ</i> salutations to Vāmana, <i>oṃ</i> salutations to Śrīdhara, <i>oṃ</i> salutations to Hr̥ṣīkeśa, <i>oṃ</i> salutations to Padmanābha, <i>oṃ</i> salutations to Dāmodara.”</p>	<p>He should salute [and recite the following mantras]: <i>agniṃ ṅle ... dhātamaṃ. iṣet- vorje ... pāhi. agna āyāhi ... bharhiṣi. śannodevī ... sravantunaḥ. ato devā. Sa- hasraśrīśaṃ devaṃ.</i> He should recite these mantras worshipping with joined hands. He should salute the god [while reciting the mantras] containing the twelve names, beginning with Keśava. [He recites:] “Salutations to Keśava ... Salutations to Dāmodara.”</p>
[cakraśaṅkhatāpana]	
	<p>PūrvaP 38.15–16 <i>pāyasaśeṣe cakraśaṅkhāv aṃkhayitvā le- khayitvā</i></p>
	<p>After having marked [or] drawn the disk and conch in the remainder of the milk porridge</p>
[pāyasaprasāna]	
<p>SAnukr 2, 27.9–10 <i>bhagavantam anusmaraṃs taṃ pāyasaśe- ṣaṃ patnīm prāśayati // tato 'ntahomaḥ //</i></p>	<p>PūrvaP 38.16–39.3 <i>pāyasaśeṣaṃ patnīm prāśayet / homaśe- śānnattil śaṅkhacakraṃ eluti tarpattiṅṅal japikkavum. bhūm ānanto 'gre bhuvana- sya gopīā vāmbhyaṃ raṃsanty amarā- marāś ca / kurvate 'gnau suhrtaṃ ghr̥te- na / vandyo na eṣa vasuṣu nidadhyāt / tri- dhā tridhām ābibhryād adīnaḥ / tan mā yaśo 'gre tāva ke vasūnām yajāmahe</i></p>

<i>Sūtrānukramaṇikā</i>	<i>Pūrvaprayoga</i>
	<i>syād bhavataḥ prasannaḥ. / tadā vadatty uttamaṃ jayante / asmād upāsyo 'syehi hi / vṛddhiśarmabhavato dharāt / pāyasaśe-ṣaṃ patnīm prāśayet / antahomaṃ /</i>
While thinking of the glorious one, he feeds his wife with the remainder of milk porridge. Then [he performs] the final homa.	He gives the remainder of the milk porridge to his wife for her to eat. And one may write the cakra and śaṅkha into the remainder of the homa with the tarpam grass and recite it. [He recites the cakra mantras:] <i>bhūm ānanto 'gre bhuvanasya goptā vāmabhyam raṃśanty amarāmarāś ca. kurvate 'gnau suhrtaṃ ghrtena</i> [and] <i>vandyo na eṣa vasuṣu nidadhyāt. Tridhā tridhām ābibhryād adīmaḥ</i> [and the and the śaṅkha mantras:] <i>tan mā yaśo 'gre tā-va ke vasūnām yajāmahe syād bhavataḥ prasannaḥ. tadā vadatty uttamaṃ jayante</i> [and] <i>asmād upāsyo 'syehi hi. vṛddhi-śarmabhavato dharāt.</i> He makes his wife eat the remainder of the milk porridge. [Then follows] the final homa.

4.3.4 Comparison of the two ritual handbooks

For several reasons the *Pūrvaprayoga* is considerably shorter than the *Sūtrānukramaṇikā*. Some of the rituals to be performed before each saṃskāra are not described separately therein. Knowledge of them is evidently assumed. The expiations for puṃsavana, sīmanta and viṣṇubali are also lacking. The *Pūrvaprayoga* assumes much more knowledge, experience and capacity for projection on the part of the performer than the *Sūtrānukramaṇikā*.⁴⁵⁶ In the latter mantras are often quoted in full, while the *Pūrvaprayoga* only quotes the first, and occasionally also the last words of the mantras to be recited. The performance of the relevant ritual acts are also only seldomly described in detail in the *Pūrvaprayoga*.⁴⁵⁷ This applies for example to the preparations for the ritual in [saṃkalpa], the account of the platform and the invocation of the twelve forms of the god in section [dvādaśanāmāvāhana] as well as their worship in section [snapana].

456 For example for the first invocation of god in [puruṣāvāhana] in the *Sūtrānukramaṇikā* the full wording of the *Vaikhānasmārtasūtra* is quoted. In the *Pūrvaprayoga* by contrast only a keyword is quoted, which is explained in Tamil.

457 Thus in section [āghāra] in the description of the sacrifice of clarified butter to Puruṣa, the prior pariṣecana is explicitly mentioned only in the *Sūtrānukramaṇikā*.

Overall the *Pūrvaprayoga* is evidently rather intended as an *aide memoire* for experienced ritual specialists, while the *Sūtrānukramaṇikā* is oriented toward those with less experience. On the other hand, the *Sūtrānukramaṇikā* assumes a better knowledge of Sanskrit on the part of the user, as it contains no explanations in Telugu, while the *Pūrvaprayoga* often explains Sanskrit terms in Tamil.

The most significant differences between the two ritual texts is to be found in section [saṃkalpa] and SANukr [saṃkalpa 2]: the wording of the formal declarations (*saṃkalpa*) differ considerably. According to the *Sūtrānukramaṇikā* the officiator should simply announce that “the sacrifice for prenatal vaiṣṇava nature” (*garbhavaiṣṇaveṣṭi*) and viṣṇubali will be performed. The *Pūrvaprayoga* is much more detailed. Here several goals or purposes of the ritual are explicitly mentioned. According to this, viṣṇubali serves to protect the unborn child, it marks the unborn child with the disk, and it establishes the embryo’s “prenatal vaiṣṇava nature.” The *Sūtrānukramaṇikā*, in contrast, does not mention these specific aims in the first saṃkalpa, but only later [saṃkalpa 2], when a second saṃkalpa is spoken. Here the purpose of the ritual is likewise said to be to achieve a prenatal vaiṣṇava nature for the foetus. According to the *Sūtrānukramaṇikā* therefore, viṣṇubali is constituted not by one, but by two rituals or separate rites, with the second part being called “garbhacakra-karman,” following the terminology introduced first by the *Ānandasamhitā*. Section SANukr [cakraśaṅkha-pūjā] deals with the installation of the two metal symbols of disk and conch and their worship. This section, too, directly depends on the *Ānandasamhitā*, in which this rite occupies a prominent position (see 2.2.4.2). Another borrowing of the *Sūtrānukramaṇikā* from the *Ānandasamhitā* is the instructions regarding the sacrifice of clarified butter to the fire during recitation of the cakra and śaṅkha mantras, and the 108 sacrifices prescribed in SANukr [cakraśaṅkha-homa].

Due to the considerable variability of the ordering of the ritual elements in the performance of rituals in practice (see below, 4.5), during which the ritual texts are continually consulted, it is noteworthy how little the two ritual texts actually diverge in this respect. The differences concern only the moments for recitation of the cakra and śaṅkha mantras and for the marking of the milk porridge. While in the *Sūtrānukramaṇikā* in [cakraśaṅkha-pratāpana] the branding of the milk porridge with the heated symbols follows immediately after the sacrifice of clarified butter during recitation of the cakra and śaṅkha mantras, in the *Pūrvapra-*

yoga it only happens later in [cakraśaṅkhatāpāna], that is, immediately before the feeding of the pregnant woman in [pāyasaprasāna].⁴⁵⁸

Although the *Pūrvaprayoga* is in general shorter than the *Sūtrānumāṅikā*, it nevertheless does contain some passages which describe ritual elements which go beyond those in the *Sūtrānumāṅikā*. Thus according to section [puruṣārcana] of the *Pūrvaprayoga* the yajamāna should recite the following during the invocation of puruṣa: “I offer the seat etc., all the means of worship.” This represents a summary of the worship of Puruṣa who is invoked here, which is regarded by the author as the inevitable next step after the invocation of. This could be a characteristic of the Tamil tradition, as it is only described in the *Pūrvaprayoga* and also only performed in Cidambaram (see 4.4.3 [puruṣārcana]). At three points ([āghāra], [viṣṇusūkta / vaiṣṇavasūkta], [pāyasahoma]) the *Pūrvaprayoga* prescribes short formulas which are not mentioned in the *Sūtrānumāṅikā*: at the offering of clarified butter to the fire when the forms of god are mentioned by name after the mantras which end in “svāhā,” each time a formula should be spoken by the receiver of the gift. For example, after “for Keśava, svāhā” (...) the formula “this is for Keśava” (...) should be spoken. The ritual element [instructions for the domestic image] also appears only in the Tamil tradition. According to this the domestic divine image should be set up in a particular position among the twelve seats. In the *Sūtrānumāṅikā* by contrast (although the existence of this image is assumed; see [pāyasahoma] and [vedamantra]), its position is not prescribed.

Already in the Tamil introduction to the *Pūrvaprayoga* a problem with respect to the meaning of the viṣṇubali saṃskāra is brought to the attention of the user. Various arguments which also play an important role in the *Daśavidhahetunirūpana* are brought to bear in this introduction, although the author of the introduction does not refer to this text.⁴⁵⁹ Although not mentioned in the *Sūtrānu-*

458 Although in one Tamil passage of the *Pūrvaprayoga* the drawing of the symbols is mentioned as an alternative to branding, in actual practice this is only performed in southern Tamil Nadu, as I was told.

459 It is mentioned in the introduction of the *Pūrvaprayoga* that viṣṇubali has a purificatory effect upon a Vaikhānasa even as a foetus, that through viṣṇubali the Vaikhānasas become garbhavaiṣṇavas, that they are special in as much as they follow only their own sūtra, and that this sūtra is indeed the only vaiṣṇava sūtra. Moreover reference is made here to the idea that the Vaikhānasas were the first Vaiṣṇavas, and that all other vaiṣṇava groups first emerged through divisions among the Vaikhānasas. Only the Vaikhānasas, according to the introduction, are so-called paramaikāntins, which is also important in relation to the temple rituals. As a garbhavaiṣṇava a Vaikhānasa may perform temple service immediately after upanayana, while other Vaiṣṇavas first require a dīkṣā. According to this introduction, the marking of the milk porridge in the context of

maṇikā, the corresponding awareness of this problem is much clearer than in the *Pūrvaprayoga* due to the strong similarity between *Sūtrānumaṇikā* and the tenth chapter of the *Ānandasamhitā*. In the *Pūrvaprayoga* a clearer separation is made between the meaning attributed to the ritual elements and their performance, while in the *Sūtrānumaṇikā* it is apparent that greater efforts are made to express the meaning ritually or to reveal the connection between content and action.

Despite all the differences in detail, the similarities between the two ritual handbooks predominate in the description of the viṣṇubali saṃskāra: there can be no doubt that they present one and the same ritual of this specific tradition. Not only the similarities in what is said, but also that which is not dealt with in both texts is significant, as will become clear in the observation of ritual practice. Thus, neither handbook mentions the participation of the pregnant woman in the ritual acts. Only in section [vedamantra] of the *Sūtrānumaṇikā* do we read that the yajamāna should circumambulate the fire clockwise with his wife, and then recite mantras standing in front of the divine image. Other than that, in both texts, the woman is only mentioned as the one who should be fed with the milk porridge.⁴⁶⁰ Neither are others present at the performance of the ritual mentioned. Only from puṇyāha, and the feeding of the Brahmans which ends the saṃskāras, is it to be assumed that others must be present. Above all it is remarkable that there is not a single word in either text about the role of the bṛhaspati as the priest who leads the ritual. Rather the two handbooks suggest that the yajamāna performs the recitations and the ritual acts independently without aid or specialist doing or for him. As discussed in 4.5.3, it is exactly this factor which allows for a considerable degree of variety in the performance of the ritual, even when the written instructions are closely followed. As soon as the yajamāna is identified with the bṛhaspati at the start of the ritual, he as an individual fades into the background, and the form of the performance is laid entirely in the hands of the bṛhaspati. Although it is the yajamāna who formally authorizes the performance of the ritual through the saṃkalpa, it is *de facto* the bṛhaspati who shapes the ritual.

viṣṇubali is in principle performed through the drawing of the symbols (see Pūrvap, pp. 6–8) or even through mantras alone.

460 The passages on viṣṇubali in other texts involve the woman somewhat more. Thus according to SR-Vṛtti [praṇāma] and TPC [praṇāma] the wife should also bow before the twelve mūrtis (see 2.2.2.3, and 2.2.3). According to SY-N the yajamāna should take a ritual bath together with his wife before the start of the ritual (see 2.2.4.6).

4.4 Actual performance: three examples

In this section analysed material from three performances of viṣṇubali which I was able to observe and to document in South India is presented. This sheds light on the relation between the written texts and the observable ritual act, that is on the realization of the text in action, its “staging.” After the tabular comparison of the structure of the rituals in 4.4.2, a detailed description of the three rituals follows in 4.4.3. Video and audio coverage of the stagings are presented on the accompanying DVD. As only video clips and no photos are available for many ritual sequences, some of the pictures in this section of the book are taken from the digitized video sequences which affects the quality of the images.

Not only do the different stagings depart from the ritual handbooks in several ways, but they also differ in many respects from one another. Here it becomes clear, as will be discussed in detail in 4.5, that the basic text is only one factor among many that influences the concrete enactment of a ritual. Many other factors are equally important: place, time, the officiator, other participants, gestures and movements, language, speech acts, verbal and gesticular instructions, materials (clothing, ornaments, etc.), the interaction and relationship between the participants, the nature of the reliance on the texts involved and much more. Especially the specialists contracted for the ritual, the so-called *br̥haspatīs* (priests), have a considerable influence. For the staging of the ritual they rely on the one hand on the ritual handbooks, but on the other also considerably on their personal experiences and pre-knowledge. Thus they also have in mind and follow unwritten “stage directions” for the rituals or individual rites. This personal background is based to a great degree on their training and the repetitions of the ritual performances. As bearers of “ritual competence” they are the guarantors of the proper performance and therefore also of the efficacy of the rituals. They embody the tradition and at the same time they are those who “individuate” the tradition each time the ritual is performed. Thus the individual development of the priests who conduct the rituals is a decisive factor for the ritual form of the *samskāras*. For this reason the training of the domestic priests of the Vaikhānasa tradition is dealt with in section 4.6, which describes as examples the career of three such ritual specialists. Finally some institutions for training ritual specialists of the Vaikhānasa tradition are introduced and discussed in 4.6.5.

As we shall see, in spite the use of nearly identical texts, the actual performances differ to a great degree. Performance and performers, and the use of texts during the enactments of the rituals are isolated as main factors contributing to ritual variance, in spite of the widespread assumption that rituals are rather sta-

tic, and also in spite of the professed view of the practitioners themselves, that these rituals are performed “in the same way since time immemorial.”

Three performances of *viṣṇubali* will now be compared with each other and with the ritual texts which are used. Here I investigate questions such as how the relationship between text and performance in general may be characterized, how and why changes in the ritual come about, to what extent this is the expression of a particular religious or ritual identity, and whether this allows us to draw any further conclusions about ritual as a mode of action.

Through the mediation of my friends Dr S. Muttubhattar (Chennai) and A. Rangacharyulu (Vijayawada) I was invited to three performances of prenatal saṃskāras in Vaikhānasa families. One performance took place in Cidambaram (Tamil Nadu), and two in Vijawada (Andhra Pradesh). The description and analysis presented here is based on my observations during the events, on the repeated revisiting of my audio-visual documentations, and on the semi-structured interviews with the participants after the performances.⁴⁶¹ On all three occasions the *garbhasaṃskāras* were performed during the woman’s first pregnancy. In Cidambaram I took photographs and made an audio recording of the events. In the domestic setting in Vijayawada and in the performance in a small temple in Vijayawada I was allowed to make video and audio recordings of the rituals.

After a comparative description and analysis of the circumstances (participants, equipment, setting, background, etc.), the descriptions of the three events will be presented one after the other, preceded by one comparative table listing the sequence of the rites. The text of the descriptions is provided with some pictures. A detailed visual representation of the events is given on the DVD, both comparatively and in the details of the individual performances. For those sequences described here which are given on the DVD, reference to the time code is made in the text.

A few remarks shall precede the comparative description and analysis of the performances. In the following detailed textual descriptions and in the subtitles of the DVD the names of the diverse actors and participants are not given. Instead, I chose to refer to their ritual roles which are not necessarily obvious to the untrained eye but which is important information for this structural com-

461 On the events and the author’s position in the field, see also Appendix 3. The dates of the performance of the saṃskāras were: 13.11.2000 Cidambaram, 27.11.2000 in the domestic setting in Vijayawada, and 20.1.2001 in a small temple in Vijayawada. These events involved the performance of the prenatal life-cycle rituals *ṛtusamgamana*, *garbhādhāna*, *puṃsavana*, *sīmanta* and *viṣṇubali* in Cidambaram, *sīmanta* and *viṣṇubali* in the domestic setting in Vijayawada, and *garbhādhāna*, *puṃsavana*, *sīmanta* and *viṣṇubali* performed in the temple setting in Vijayawada.

parison of the diverse events. The priest who leads the rituals is referred to throughout as the *br̥haspati* here.⁴⁶² He is the ritual specialist who directs and coordinates the performance, and who also instructs the actual officiator, the father of the unborn. The officiator is consistently referred to as *yajamāna* here.⁴⁶³ Even during the smallest event, the one in the domestic setting in Vijayawada, at least one further person was present to support the priest. In what follows I refer to this person, or persons, as assistant(s). As the short formulas of invocation, sacrifice and worship spoken by the *br̥haspati* or *yajamāna* have been given and translated in the previous section 4.3, and the mantras from the Vedic *saṃhitās* have already been given at full length in 2.2.2.1, they are only mentioned here,⁴⁶⁴ rather than being given in full length in the text and/or translation. The twelve forms of the god *Viṣṇu*⁴⁶⁵ which play a role in the context of *viṣṇubali* are here referred to collectively as “*mūrti*.”

4.4.1 Comparison of the scene of the three performances

“Rites are not are not absolute performances in themselves. They are necessarily associated with and permeated by social, practical and other realities since they only take shape through and due to these factors” says Colas (2005: 28). Thus, for example the family and professional background of the participants fundamentally informs the ritual enactments.

462 The titles most often used for these domestic priests are *br̥haspati*, *purohita* or *ācārya*. In the context of temple ritual, the term *ācārya* describes a “master” by contrast with a simple temple priest, who is usually described as *arcaka* or, though rarely in the *saṃhitā* texts, as *pūjaka* (see Colas 1996: 129f., 153). In the temple, the *ācārya* is responsible for the proceedings and leads the rituals while other priests are available to assist him. The *ācārya* takes the highest place in the hierarchy of ritual specialists in the temple (see Colas 1996: 132, 143, 153f.). In order to avoid confusion in what follows I use throughout the term *br̥haspati* for the domestic priest who is charged with primary responsibility for the performance of the *saṃskāras*. On the DVD, which is also available separately, I tried to avoid using too many technical terms. There he is referred to as “priest.”

463 In some places in the *Sūtrānumaṅikā* the officiator is called “*yajamāna*” (SANukr 2, 5.14, 13.3, 14.6 and 25.23). On the DVD he is consistently referred to as “officiator.”

464 Some mantra series now have own names. Thus six mantras are collectively labelled “*vaiṣṇavasūkta*” (see 2.2.2.1) another six mantras are called “*viṣṇusūkta*” (see 2.2.2.1), and an extract from the *Ṛgveda* is labelled “*puruṣasūkta*” (RV 10.90). For the sake of simplicity, in the description of the stagings the collective names are used.

465 These are *Keśava*, *Nārāyaṇa*, *Mādhava*, *Govinda*, *Viṣṇu*, *Madhusūdana*, *Trivikrama*, *Vāmana*, *Śrīdhara*, *Hṛṣīkeśa*, *Padmanābha* and *Dāmodara*.



Plate 1 (left): from left to right: *br̥haspati* Katukallūr S. Manivanna Bhaṭṭācārya, *yajamāna* K. Bārajī Bhaṭṭācārya and his wife Śrīvidyā (Cidambaram).

Plate 2 (right): from left to right: *br̥haspati* Parāṅkuśa Raṅgācārya-svāmi, the pregnant woman Kalyānī, and *yajamāna* Jvāla Narasiṃhācāryulu (performance in the domestic setting in Vijayawada).



Plate 3 (left): *yajamāna* Śrīnivāsa Cakravartin and his wife Vasudharā (performance in the Kodaṅḍarāma temple in Vijayawada).

Today, the performance of *saṃskāras* is always entrusted to a leading priest (*br̥haspati*) who performs the rituals for, and with, the actual patron (*yajamāna*). In each of the three cases at hand, the *yajamāna* is the father of the unborn child who is to undergo this life-cycle ritual.⁴⁶⁶ And in all the observed stagings the *yajamāna* is either a close relative of a practising temple priest, or himself a temple priest. Therefore either the *yajamāna* himself,⁴⁶⁷ or those who performed the ritual for the couple,⁴⁶⁸ are experts in the performance of rituals, although they do not necessarily have routine in this specific ritual. The *br̥haspatis* who led the three ritual events I documented all had close ties to the family of the respective *yajamāna* or his wife.⁴⁶⁹

In Cidambaram, besides the *br̥haspati* Katukallūr S. Manivanna Bhaṭṭācārya only the *yajamāna* K. Bālajī Bhaṭṭācārya and—toward the end—his wife Śrīvidyā were immediate participants in the ritual (see plate 1, p. 192). During the ritual an assistant, namely K. S. Vāsudeva Bhaṭṭācārya (the *yajamāna*'s sister's husband and at the same time brother of the *br̥haspati*), began to give instructions to the *yajamāna* as the *br̥haspati*'s gestures were not immediately intelligible to the *yajamāna*. Another assistant joined the *br̥haspati* during most of the recitation. In the *viṣṇubali* performance in the domestic setting in Vijayawada there were only a few participants: the concerned couple, Jvāla Narasiṃhācāryulu and his wife Kalyānī, the main priest Parāṅkuṣa Raṅgācāryasvāmi (see plate 2, p. 192) and the closest relatives of the pregnant woman in whose paternal home the ritual was performed.

466 However, already in the *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra* (6.3) it is stated that if the father is not available, he can be replaced by a male (*sapinda*) relative of his side, or even by a male relative of the pregnant woman's side.

467 The *yajamāna* in Cidambaram is a temple priest at the Govindarāja shrine in the Naṭarāja temple in Cidambaram, and the *yajamāna* in the event performed in a domestic setting in Vijayawada is a temple priest at a small temple in Hyderabad.

468 The *yajamāna* of the performance in the temple setting in Vijayawada is the son-in-law of the temple priest at the Kodaṅḍarāma temple in Vijayadharapuram, Vijayawada. The *yajamāna* himself, however, has a secular profession and therefore his personal experience with performing rituals is very limited.

469 In Cidambaram, both the *br̥haspati* entrusted with leading the rituals, as well as his brother who functioned as the assistant, are related to the *yajamāna*. In the domestic setting in Vijayawada a *br̥haspati* from Penukancipolu (Kṛṣṇā District) was entrusted with performing the *viṣṇubali* and *sīmanta saṃskāras*. He is the father of the *yajamāna* and at the same time the maternal grandfather of the pregnant woman. The acting priest in the performance in the temple in Vijayawada has inherited ties to the performing families and is usually called for this family's domestic rituals.



Plate 4 (left): The fire altar in the domestic setting in Vijayawada.

Plate 5 (right): The fire altar set up in the Kodaṅḍarāma temple in Vijayawada.



Plate 6 (left): The ready-made homa-kunḍa provided in the marriage hall in Cidambaram.

The assistant here is the father of the pregnant woman. He helped the *br̥haspati*, who was evidently not very experienced in this ritual, at many points with the recitation, and performed some central acts for him, or for the *yajamāna*.⁴⁷⁰

The third documented *viṣṇubali* ritual also took place in Vijayawada. The couple, Śrīnivāsa Cakravartin and his wife Vasudharā (see plate 3, p. 192), enacted the ritual in the small Kodaṇḍarāma temple, in which the Vasudharā's father serves as main priest. The performing priest, Parāṅkuśam Vāsudevācāryulu comes from a nearby small town for this ritual. He brought three assistants, who lended a hand in the staging of the ritual by reading from the ritual handbook, taking over most recitations and in many ways leading the *yajamāna* through his actions.

The participation of the pregnant woman in the rituals appears to be variable, and in the first place depended upon her state of health. Thus, the pregnancy of Śrīvidyā in Cidambaram was problematic. She had been strictly confined to bed for the last months, the only exception was this event. She was present from the beginning of the ritual, but withdrew for long periods into a separate room.⁴⁷¹ By contrast, in the *viṣṇubali* performance in the temple setting in Vijayawada, Vasudharā was present during all rites and was considerably involved in the event.

As already mentioned, the normal practice today, even in orthodox families, is to perform several *saṃskāras* at once.⁴⁷² In Cidambaram and in the Kodaṇḍarāma temple in Vijayawada all the prenatal *saṃskāras* were performed together. In the event in the domestic setting in Vijayawada only the *saṃskāras* prescribed for the eighth month of pregnancy, namely *sīmanta* and *viṣṇubali*, were performed at that time.

In all three cases, however, the corresponding *prāyaścittas*, such as the “atonement ritual for not carrying out the prenatal *saṃskāras* at the prescribed time,” were enacted along with the ritual. These atonement rituals also make good for any other deficiency that might have occurred during the performances (see *VaikhSmS* 6.3). This rite involves a piece of gold (*suvarṇagarbha*; ideally in the form of an embryo) that is tied around the belly of the pregnant woman.

470 Because of this simplicity, but also because I could cover this event fully with a (NTSC) DV video camera (kindly provided by M. Hariharan, Chennai), I chose this occasion to represent the “full ritual” on the DVD.

471 Because of her condition I was asked not to take video coverage. At that time videoing domestic rituals was not yet common in this very conservative tradition and the use of a video camera was evidently perceived as an unnecessary risk to the woman's and child's health. But I was allowed to take still pictures, along with a professional photographer, who was hired by the family.

472 Kane (1974a: 199) says that this might have been the case already for several centuries.



Plate 7 (left): A small metal throne stands at the southern end of the rostrum. On it are the symbols of the disk and conch, a small Navanī-takṣṇa, a figure of the snake Ādiśeṣa, and a sā-lagrāma stone.

Plate 8 (below): On a cloth with a layer of rice grains are two rows of leaves. On the second row the offerings for the twelve mūrtis are placed. The metal symbols of the disk and conch are laid on the first row.



Plate 9 (below): In the domestic setting in Vijayawada a long table north of the fire-place served as the rostrum. Two rows of twelve leaves for the invocation of the twelve mūrtis are arranged on it.



The number of rituals performed at the respective occasions influenced the length of the ritual activity. The scale of the family celebrations accompanying the rituals differed greatly in all three cases. In Cidambaram up to 100 guests were present at different times, who had even come from distant places in Tamil Nadu such as Tenali or Chennai, just for this event. Quite clearly this is also a question of prestige: at this occasion a professional photographer and two musicians were engaged, and due to the number of invited guests the rituals took place not in a domestic environment but in a rented “marriage hall.”

By contrast, the two stagings in Vijayawada were celebrated as family events, with only the closest family members and a few friends. However, in the performance in the Kodaṇḍarāma temple in Vijayawada, many people were present for their personal temple activities who were not invited for the *saṃskāra*. These differences are also determined by the profession of the *yajamāna* or the host. The Govindarāja shrine in the Natarāja temple in Cidambaram has very close connections, stretching back to Rāmānuja, with the Govindarāja temple in Tirupati. It is therefore also closely connected with Tirumalai, the now largest pilgrimage centre in India, which has also given rise to close familial relations. The Govindarāja shrine in Cidambaram itself is likewise an important destination for *vaiṣṇava* pilgrims. Thus the temple priests in Cidambaram also enjoy considerable esteem within the *vaiṣṇava* communities, and their lavish stagings of rituals have to be understood within this context. The hosts of both celebrations in Vijayawada by contrast are *arcakas* in small Viṣṇu temples, hardly known beyond the bounds of the part of the town in which they are located. Moreover, the respective *yajamānas* were not in their own circles, as in both cases the family of the pregnant woman organized the rituals and their own professional and familial connections were in different cities.⁴⁷³ On the other hand, some family members or friends of the families involved in the rituals in Vijayawada are very active in several regional or trans-regional *Vaikhānasa* associations (see Hüsken 2001b). Therefore on the video clips a banner in the background is to be seen, advertising the association “*Vaikhānasa Youth Forum*.” This banner was set up because I took the video coverage of the event.

473 The *yajamāna* in the domestic setting in Vijayawada lives with his wife in Hyderabad (Andhra Pradesh), and the *yajamāna* of the performance in the Kodaṇḍarāma temple in Vijayawada lives with his wife in Ananthagiri (Nalgonda District, Andhra Pradesh). Both had travelled to Vijayawada especially for the rituals, and the women also stayed on for the delivery of their first child, as is the custom in South India.

In all three cases, the preparations for the rituals were already completed on the day prior to the ritual, or on the morning of the same day. The equipment and materials used in the three stagings differed, in part considerably, as is immediately evident from a glance at the fire altars (see p. 194, plates 4-6). Due to the more extensive celebrations, the rituals in Cidambaram were performed in a so-called “Marriage Hall,” which is a room large enough to accommodate more than 100 people with an attached kitchen and sanitary facilities, rented out for such events. The building is situated next to the famous Naṭarāja temple in Cidambaram. The mobile enclosure for the sacrificial fire also belonged to the equipment of these premises. The assistant (the brother of the bṛhaspati) made a considerable contribution to the preparation of the place for the event, ensuring that the objects and materials are available in sufficient quantities. On the morning before the start of the ritual, over the entrance of the marriage hall a canopy of coloured cloth was set up, and at each side of the entrance a trunk of a banana tree with flowers and unripe fruit.⁴⁷⁴ In the anteroom of the marriage hall were two musicians (a drummer and a musician with a wind instrument called Nāgasvaram) who, taking their cue from the Brahmans, musically underlined the drama of central rites (see below, plate 10).



Plate 10: The musicians playing during the performance in Cidambaram.

474 This structure is set up before the ritual event, on an auspicious moment, calculated by an astrologer. The Tamil term for ritually setting up this structure is *pantalkāl*. Moreover, in South Indian vaiṣṇava traditions a ritual called *dahdhyārādhana* is usually performed on the day before.

In Cidambaram the rostrum for the twelve forms of the god (mūrti) consisted of a layer of rice grains on the floor covered by a banana leaf, its tip pointing north, and on it another layer of rice grains on which are the twelve kūrcas as “seats” (āsana) for the god (see plate 7, p. 196). The shorter ends of the kūrcas point east. For each kūrcā there was also a betel leaf, two betel nuts and a banana lying on the rice base.⁴⁷⁵ At the southern end of the rostrum, facing north, stood a small metal throne with the symbols of the disk and conch (see plate 11, p. 200), with a small Kṛṣṇa figure (as the so-called Navanītakṛṣṇa), and a figure of the snake Ādiśeṣa and a so-called sālagrāma stone, which represented the domestic image of the god.⁴⁷⁶ In the domestic setting in Vijayawada the rituals were performed on a large roofed terrace, about 20 square metres in size, in front of the host’s home. Some preparations, such as the erection of a fireplace were completed by the bṛhaspati just before the rituals. His wife scattered white, yellow and red powder ornaments on the fire-altar, and on the eastern side of the fireplace she sprinkled the outlines of the disk and conch, as well as a puṇḍra symbol (see plate 4, p. 194). A long table placed to the north of the fireplace served as the rostrum, on which the twelve mūrtis were to be invoked. On it were arranged two rows of twelve betel leaves each with flower petals, two betel nuts and a banana as the place for the invocation of the twelve mūrtis (see plate 9, p. 196). In the beginning of the ritual stood a decorated metal image of Viṣṇu on another table on the eastern side of the terrace. The assistant shifted this image later, during the ritual, on the table with the rostrum. A plate with flowers, a half coconut, akṣata rice grains and the two metal symbols of the disk and conch were during the ritual placed on the table with the rostrum, at the western end of the two rows of betel leaves (see plate 12, p. 200).

475 I was unable to observe whether the placing of the kūrcas on this base followed the pattern from south to north, as required by *Pūrvaprayoga* [instructions for the domestic image], as the kūrcas already lay on the rostrum before my arrival.

476 A sālagrāma, a round black stone with fossilization inside, comes from a river in Nepal. The fossilization is seen as a specific manifestation of Viṣṇu, in many cases as “disk” and “conch.” The god Viṣṇu is always present in such a sālagrāma. A sālagrāma can therefore be worshipped in the home in place of a pictorial representation of the god: as Viṣṇu is always present within, a simple pūjā suffices, while the worship of an iconic representation of the god first requires an invocation, in order to realize the presence of the god in the image.



Plate 11 (left): The metal symbols of disk and conch are kept on the throne along with the Navanītakṛṣṇa and sālagrāma, facing the rostrum (Cidambaram).

Plate 12 (right): A plate with flowers, a half coconut, akṣata rice grains and the two metal symbols of the disk and conch are placed on the table with the rostrum (domestic setting; Vijayawada).



Plate 13 (left): The two metal symbols of the disk and conch at first were on a plate together with a porcupine quill for sīmanta and other utensils (Vijayawada; temple setting).

In the other performance in Vijayawada the rituals were enacted in the Kodaṇḍarāma temple, in a covered area immediately in front of the three main shrines, in the midst of the usual temple bustle. Although many people were thus present for short periods, only some of them were especially invited to attend the saṃskāras. Even the father of the pregnant woman was present only some of the time, for as arcaka he was performing the regular worship of the deity and had to attend to the devotees who came to the temple. The two metal symbols of the disk and conch at first were on a plate together with a porcupine quill for *śimanta* and other utensils (see plate 13, p. 200), but later got a special place on the rostrum. The rostrum was prepared to the north of the fire. It consisted of a cloth with a layer of rice grains on which were two rows of betel leaves oriented north-south. The row of leaves immediately in front of the *yajamāna* were not at first decorated. Later were the offerings for the twelve *mūrtis* arranged on this row: flower petals, dates, betel nuts, *akṣata* rice grains and twelve *kūrcas* as seats with the short end pointing east. Four more betel leaves formed the second row: on the outer two leaves were flowers and *akṣata* rice grains deposited, and on each of the inner leaves two bananas, petals and *akṣata* rice grains. Later the metal symbols of the disk and conch were laid on these leaves (see plate 8, p. 196).

The spatial starting point at the beginning of the *viṣṇubali saṃskāra* thus differed with respect to the position and orientation of the rostrum and the “seats” on it of the twelve *mūrtis*,⁴⁷⁷ with respect to the positioning of the two metal symbols and with respect to the position of the assembled Brahmans. There was nevertheless a core position which was the same in each of the three stagings: the *yajamāna* sat to the west of the sacrificial fire, facing east. To the right was the place for his wife, and the *brhaspati* sat to the south of the fire, looking north, where the *praṇidhi* vessel was located. These are the ideal coordinates for every ritual (apart from the inauspicious death rituals) which involves a sacrificial fire: there is hardly ever any variation.⁴⁷⁸ However, the respective positions of the rostrum, the twelve seats, their orientation etc., although not arbitrary, were nevertheless adapted to suit local conditions. Therefore despite the identical instructions in the written handbooks, they differed considerably.⁴⁷⁹

477 The orientation of the rostrum affected both the direction and order of the invocation and worship of the twelve *mūrtis*: in the temple setting in Vijayawada and in Cidambaram the invocation took place from south to north, as the texts specify, in the domestic setting in Vijayawada the *mūrtis* were invoked from west to east.

478 See Kane 1974a: 207f., 212f.

479 Both in Cidambaram and in the Kodaṇḍarāma temple in Vijayawada the seats were already arranged on the rostrum in advance. In the domestic setting in Vijayawada, by



Plate 17 (above): The yajamāna heats disk and conch in the sacrificial fire (Cidambaram).

Plate 18 (below): While the br̥haspati speaks mantras and holds a darbha grass blade against the vessel with milk porridge, the yajamāna dips the heated metal symbols into the porridge.



contrast, the invocation of the twelve mūrtis took place without the darbha grass blades already being laid out. These were only laid in place during the following worship.

It is possible that local traditions play a greater role, as the two rostrums in Vijayawada were structurally more similar. Only in two of the performances, in Cidambaram and in the domestic setting in Vijayawada, did the domestic divine image have a place on, or next to, the rostrum. In the ritual enacted in the Kodaṅḍarāma temple in Vijayawada, such an image played no immediate role, as the rituals were performed directly in the line of sight of the divine images in the temple. Evidently the worship of an additional divine image was therefore seen to be unnecessary or even inappropriate. Moreover, the two domestic images worshipped in Cidambaram and in the domestic setting in Vijayawada could not have been more different: in Vijayawada an iconic image was set up on the rostrum and worshipped (see plate 9, p. 196), while in Cidambaram the divine image was aniconic, namely a sālagrāma stone (see plate 11, p. 200).

The symbols of the disk and conch were very similar in all three stagings; only that in Cidambaram they did not have wooden handles.

The three performances also differed considerably in the number of the rites performed.⁴⁸⁰ Whether these differences are based on local differences or are to be ascribed to the different scale of the celebrations escapes my knowledge. As has frequently been stated,⁴⁸¹ rituals are usually characterized by being spatially, verbally or otherwise framed, thus being set apart from everyday actions. The ritual frame is constituted, for example, by acts such as changing of clothing, entering or leaving a “ritual area” or speech acts which frame the ritual insofar as they announce “this is ritual.” This is clearly observable in all three rituals at hand. None of the yajamānas and bṛhaspatīs wore everyday clothing for the performances, and the women were also dressed festively. By this and many other signs, in particular through the speech act of the, the ritual acts were marked as such and distinguished from everyday acts. An overview over the sequence of events in the three documented performances of viṣṇubali is given now first in a table, and then in detail. The detailed account contains photographs, and references to the corresponding sequences on the DVD. An analysis of the comparative account follows in 4.5.

480 In Cidambaram these were: viṣvakṣenārādhana, puṇyāha, punarādhāna, pariṣatprārthana, aupāsana, aupāsana, ankurārpaṇa; in the domestic setting in Vijayawada these were: viṣvakṣenārādhana, puṇyāha, agnipratiṣṭhāpana; in the performance in the Kodaṅḍarāma temple in Vijayawada these were: pariṣatprārthana, viṣvakṣenārādhana, puṇyāha, agnipratiṣṭhāpana (on these rites see 4.2).

481 Based on Bateson (1955) this “framing” is usually understood as meta-communication that shapes and orients cognition and attitudes (see Humphrey & Laidlaw 1994: 75; see also Handelman 2006, who proposes the idea of “moebius framing,” which stresses the ongoing relationship of the frame to its inside and to its outside).



Plate 19 (above): The yajamāna spoons some branded milk porridge into his wife's right hand (Cidambaram).

Plate 20 (below): The pregnant woman swallows the branded milk porridge (Cidambaram).



4.4.2 Table: a comparison of the structure of the three performances

The table presented here offers a comparative oversight of the structure of the three performances. The Sanskrit terms in square brackets refer to the division of the main sacrifice of viṣṇubali into ritual phases on the basis of the ritual handbooks (*Sūtrānukramaṇikā* for the two events in Vijayawada and *Pūrvaprayoga* for Cidambaram).

Cidambaram [handbook used: Pūrvaprayoga]	Domestic setting in Vijayawada [handbook used: Sūtrānukramaṇikā]	Temple setting in Vijayawada [handbook used: Sūtrānukramaṇikā]
[saṃkalpa]	[saṃkalpa]	[saṃkalpa]
[puruṣāvāhana]	[puruṣāvāhana]	[puruṣāvāhana]
	[preparation of the sthaṇḍila]	
[puruṣārcana]		
[nirvāpaṇa]	[nirvāpaṇa]	[nirvāpaṇa]
[āghāra]	[āghāra]	[āghāra]
[saṃkalpa 2]		
[dvādaśanāmāvāhana]	[dvādaśanāmāvāhana]	[dvādaśanāmāvāhana]
[arcana] and [pāyasani vedana]	[snapana and arcana]	[snapana and arcana]
		[cakraśaṅkha pūjā]
		[pāyasani vedana]
		[praṇāma]
[vedamantra]		
[arcana]		
[viṣṇusūkta / vaiṣṇavasūkta]	[viṣṇusūkta / vaiṣṇavasūkta]	[viṣṇusūkta / vaiṣṇavasūkta]
		śaraṇāgati?
	[pāyasani vedana]	
[pāyasahoma]	[pāyasahoma]	
	[pāyasani vedana]	
	[saṃkalpa 2]	
	[cakraśaṅkha pūjā]	
	[cakraśaṅkha homa]	[cakraśaṅkha homa] and [cakraśaṅkha pratāpaṇa]
[praṇāma]		
[cakraśaṅkha pūjā, cakraśaṅkha pratāpaṇa]	[cakraśaṅkha pratāpaṇa]	
	[praṇāma]	
	[prāyaścitta]	
	[vedamantra]	
[pāyasaprāśana]	[pāyasaprāśana]	[pāyasaprāśana]

4.4.3 A comparative description of the three performances

Viṣṇubali in Cidambaram [handbook used: *Pūrvaprayoga*]

After the performance of the other prenatal life-cycle rituals together with their *prāyaścittas*, the *viṣṇubali saṃskāra* starts.

[saṃkalpa]

The *br̥haspati* reads out the *saṃkalpa* and the *yajamāna* restrains his breath. The *br̥haspati* says the *saṃkalpa*, inserting the place and time as well as the *gotra* name and the personal name of the pregnant woman. He retains eye contact with the *yajamāna* while he speaks. The *yajamāna* does not repeat the *saṃkalpa* after him, but nevertheless adopts the appropriate bodily posture and attentively.⁴⁸²

[*puruṣāvāhana*]

Parīṣecana follows: the *br̥haspati* says the formula and the *yajamāna* sprinkles around the fireplace with water.⁴⁸³ Now the god *Puruṣa* is invoked. The *br̥haspati* recites the mantras while the *yajamāna* sprinkles water—following the gestures of the *br̥haspati*—on the *praṇidhi* vessel standing to the north of the fire.

[*puruṣārcana*]

The *br̥haspati* recites the mantras that dedicate some articles of worship to the god *Puruṣa*. Among these are grains of *aḥṣata* rice which, at the instigation of the *br̥haspati*, the *yajamāna* silently scatters on the dish standing to the left of the sacrificial fire.

[*nirvāpaṇa*]

The *br̥haspati* recites the mantras with which the clarified butter is dedicated to the god *Puruṣa* while the *yajamāna* with a small metal spoon scoops up the clarified butter in front of him, and lets it drip back into the dish.

[*āghāra*]

The *br̥haspati* recites the formula for the offering of clarified butter to *Puruṣa*. On each “*svāhā*” that ends these mantras the *yajamāna* spoons some clarified butter from the dish in front of him to the fire with a metal spoon.⁴⁸⁴ The closing *parīṣecana* follows: the *yajamāna* sprinkles water around the fireplace with a *kūrca* while the *br̥haspati* recites corresponding mantras.

482 See DVD -> parts of the ritual -> preparatory rites -> formal declaration.

483 This rite is not specifically mentioned here in the *Pūrvaprayoga*.

484 The recitation of “*oṃ bhūḥ puruṣāyedaṃ*,” prescribed by the *Pūrvaprayoga* in [*āghāra*] is missing here.

[saṃkalpa 2]

Following the bṛhaspati's instructions the yajamāna stands up, walks clockwise round the fire and then sits down in front of the rostrum on which the seats for the twelve mūrtis are prepared (see plate 7, page 196). Once he has taken his seat, the bṛhaspati, together with other Brahmans present, recites the gāyatrī mantra. Meanwhile the yajamāna performs the restraint of the breath. The bṛhaspati announces a further saṃkalpa while the yajamāna adopts the corresponding body and hand posture: "mama dharmapatnyā garbhasthaśiṣuṃ garbhavaiṣṇava-tvasiddhyartham viṣṇubalikarmaṇā saṃskariṣye, keśavādidvādaśanāmamūrtin ārādhana-prārthanakarma kariṣye" ("I will make perfect the son which is in the womb of my duly wedded wife through the viṣṇubali ritual, in order to attain [for him] the state of being a Vaiṣṇava already in the womb, [and] I will perform the ritual of invoking and venerating the twelve forms [of Viṣṇu], namely Keśava and so on.")⁴⁸⁵

[dvādaśanāmāvāhana]

The bṛhaspati invokes the twelve forms of the god with their mantras.⁴⁸⁶ At the same time the yajamāna performs the corresponding actions: he sprinkles water on the twelve kūrcas (Viṣṇu's seats) on the rostrum. He takes the sprinkling water from a pot standing to his right, from which he has already taken water for pariṣecana.

[arcana] and [pāyasanivedana]

The worship of the twelve mūrtis, which are now present on these seats, and of the sālagrāma follows. As offerings to the mūrtis the yajamāna scatters akṣata rice grains on the twelve seats and bathes the twelve mūrtis by again sprinkling water on them. The bṛhaspati also recites the formulas for other means of worship. The yajamāna performs the offering of food (*nivedana*). This process is concealed from the eyes of all persons who are no temple priests (arcakas), as an assistant of the bṛhaspati shields the scene with a cloth (pic). In temples in Tamil Nadu the feeding of the gods (*nivedana*) usually takes place behind closed curtains; no-one other than the arcakas may see this. The bṛhaspati names once each of the worship objects used.⁴⁸⁷ While the bṛhaspati recites "puṣpam samarpayāmi" ("I offer flowers"), the yajamāna lays flowers on the rostrum and on the

485 Such a second formal resolution is not prescribed in the *Pūrvaprayoga*, but in [the *Sūtrānukramaṇikā* [saṃkalpa 2], albeit in slightly different words.

486 The formulas do not begin with "om" according to *Pūrvaprayoga* [āghāra], but only according to *Sūtrānukramaṇikā* [āghāra].

487 The twelve mūrtis are not individually invoked as prescribed in *Pūrvaprayoga* [arcana]. The name of each of the twelve mūrtis is not mentioned for each of the means of worship.

throne. At “dīpam darśayāmi” (“I show light”) the yajamāna swings a lighted camphor lamp over the rostrum.

[vedamantra]

All Brahmans present recite the beginnings of the four Vedas as well as other vedic passages. During the entire recitation the yajamāna, reciting along with the other Brahmans, sits calmly in front of the rostrum and holds a metal plate with both hands, on which lie akṣata rice grains, flowers, a pavitra ring and some coins (see plate 21 below).⁴⁸⁸



Plate 21: Veda recitation by the assembled Brahmans (Cidambaram).

[arcana]

The worship of the twelve mūrtis continues while the bṛhaspati recites the appropriate formulas. Meanwhile the yajamāna scatters flowers on the twelve mūrtis from the plate which he already held in his hands during the preceding recitations. The assembled Brahmans together recite some auspicious verses (maṅga-

488 This whole section is not mentioned in the *Pūrvaprayoga* at this point. The recitation of the three bathing mantras prescribed in *Pūrvaprayoga* [snapana] is also not performed. The recitation of the beginnings of the Vedas is a component of *Pūrvaprayoga* [vedamantra].

laśloka). The yajamāna offers fruits to the twelve mūrtis, holding a tray with bananas, apples, and dry fruit over them. Again the yajamāna waves the camphor lamp over the rostrum. When the recitation ends the yajamāna, still seated, makes a bow to the twelve mūrtis, bowing his head and touching the ground in front of the rostrum with both hands.⁴⁸⁹ The yajamāna changes his place again on the bṛhaspati's instructions and sits to the west of the sacrificial fire, facing toward the fire.

[viṣṇusūkta / vaiṣṇavasūkta]

The Brahmins present recite the whole of the vaiṣṇavasūkta and viṣṇusūkta, adding at the end of each of the twelve mantras "svāhā." On each "svāhā" the yajamāna takes a little clarified butter from the dish in front of him with the metal spoon and pours it into the fire.⁴⁹⁰ At the end this sacrifice the yajamāna recites "oṃ bhūr svāhā, oṃ bhuvāḥ svāhā, oṃ suvāḥ svāhā, oṃ bhūr bhuvāḥ suvāḥ svāhā."⁴⁹¹ Then the Brahmins recite the twelve mantras of the vaiṣṇavasūkta and the viṣṇusūkta, which they also end with "svāhā." The yajamāna again spoons clarified butter into the fire on each "svāhā."⁴⁹² While this recitation and offering of clarified butter is still going on, the bṛhaspati prepares the milk porridge for the coming sacrifice, mixing it with clarified butter in a cup.⁴⁹³

[pāyasahoma]

The bṛhaspati hands the milk porridge mixture over to the yajamāna in a cup. While the bṛhaspati recites the twelve mantras together with the assembled Brahmins, the yajamāna offers the milk porridge to the fire with the metal spoon on each "svāhā," as he had done with the clarified butter before.⁴⁹⁴ In closing the bṛhaspati recites: "oṃ bhūḥ svāhā, oṃ bhuvāḥ svāhā, oṃ suvāḥ svāhā, oṃ bhūr

489 This procedure contains several borrowings from the worship of the god in the temple and diverges considerably from the information in *Pūrvaprayoga* [arcana].

490 In *Pūrvaprayoga* [viṣṇusūkta / vaiṣṇavasūkta] the exclamation "viṣṇava idam" ("this is for Viṣṇu!") is prescribed after each of the twelve mantras, but this is left out here.

491 These mantras are not mentioned in the *Pūrvaprayoga*.

492 This second series of mantras with offering of clarified butter is not prescribed by the *Pūrvaprayoga*. A closing pariṣecana as the end of the offering is also missed out here, again in deviation from the *Pūrvaprayoga*.

493 The offering (*nivedana*) of the milk porridge prescribed in *Pūrvaprayoga* [vedamantra] is missed out here.

494 Deviating from the *Pūrvaprayoga*, the bṛhaspati says "oṃ keśavāya svāhā" instead of "keśavāya svāhā." In addition, the exclamations "keśavāyedaṃ" to "dāmodarāyedaṃ" are left out in the performance. Also missing is the recitation of the vaiṣṇava- and viṣṇusūkta during the sacrifice of the milk porridge prescribed according to *Pūrvaprayoga* [pāyasahoma].

bhuvāḥ suvaḥ svāhā” while the yajamāna puts more milk porridge to the fire.⁴⁹⁵ The closing pariṣecana is then performed: the bṛhaspati recites the formulas and the yajamāna sprinkles water with a switch of darbha grass around the fire.

[praṇāma]

The pregnant woman now joins her husband. The yajamāna stands up and both bow twelve times, while the bṛhaspati and the others present recite the twelve mantras, from “oṃ keśavāya namaḥ” to “oṃ dāmodarāya namaḥ.”

[cakraśaṅkhapūjā, cakraśaṅkhapratāpana]

The yajamāna takes his seat in front of the fire. The pregnant woman sits to his right. The bṛhaspati passes the metal symbols of the disk and conch to him. With the help of the assistant, the yajamāna sprinkles the two symbols with pañcagavya (the “five cow products”), while the bṛhaspati recites the sudarśana gāyatrī and the pāñcājanya gāyatrī. This ablution of Viṣṇu’s two weapons consecrates them for the ensuing ritual. While the bṛhaspati recites the invocation and worship formulas for the two symbols,⁴⁹⁶ the yajamāna heats the two symbols in the fire and dips them in the cup of milk porridge (see plates 17-18, p. 202). At the same time the bṛhaspati holds a blade of darbha grass on the edge of the cup. This is repeated twice.⁴⁹⁷ With some of the other Brahmans the bṛhaspati recites the cakra and śaṅkha mantras, the twelve mantras from “oṃ keśavāya namaḥ” to “oṃ dāmodarāya namaḥ” and “oṃ sudarśanāya namaḥ, oṃ pāñcājanyāya namaḥ.” Afterwards the bṛhaspati and his assistants again recite the cakra and śaṅkha mantras, which they end with “svāhā.”⁴⁹⁸ After the marking of the milk porridge the bṛhaspati recites “oṃ bhūr svāhā, oṃ bhuvāḥ svāhā, oṃ suvaḥ svāhā, oṃ bhūr bhuvāḥ suvaḥ svāhā.”

[pāyasaprāśana]

The yajamāna and the bṛhaspati stand up. Both stand in front of the pregnant woman, who also gets up from her chair. Three times the yajamāna uses a spoon to put a little of the milk porridge from the cup into her hand. Each time the pregnant woman slurps it from her hand (see plates 19-20, p. 204). The music grows louder and the bṛhaspati again recites the cakra gāyatrī and the śaṅkha gāyatrī. Finally the pregnant woman receives some water from the yajamāna for

495 This mantra is not explicitly prescribed by the *Pūrvaprayoga*.

496 This corresponds to *Sūtrānukramaṇikā* [cakraśaṅkhapratāpana] but is not prescribed in the *Pūrvaprayoga*.

497 The invocation and the worship of the cakra and śaṅkha take place simultaneously with the marking of the milk porridge.

498 This mantra recitation, not prescribed in the *Pūrvaprayoga*, corresponds to *Sūtrānukramaṇikā* [cakraśaṅkhaḥoma], although there no sacrifice into the fire is prescribed for the recitation of the cakra and śaṅkha mantras.

ritual sipping (*ācamana*). The yajamāna sits down again in his place in front of the fire and the saṃkalpa for the final sacrifice is spoken.

Viṣṇubali in a domestic setting in Vijayawada [handbook used:
Sūtrānukramaṇikā]

[saṃkalpa]

The bṛhaspati and the assistant recite the gāyatrī mantra while the yajamāna restrains his breath. This recitation extends to the saṃkalpa for viṣṇubali. While the bṛhaspati speaks the saṃkalpa, the yajamāna and also his wife adopt the corresponding hand positions. Both look toward the sacrificial fire. The bṛhaspati inserts the gotra name and the personal name of the pregnant woman into the saṃkalpa.⁴⁹⁹ The assistant indicates to the yajamāna that he should touch the opening of the vessel of water standing to his right. The pregnant woman gets up and moves into the living quarters.

[puruṣāvāhana]⁵⁰⁰

The bṛhaspati reads out the instructions from *Sūtrānukramaṇikā* 2.23.5–9 up to “āvāhya” and recites the invocation formulas. At the same time the yajamāna takes a bundle of darbha grass, dips it in the water vessel to his right, and drips water onto the vessel standing to the north of the fire.

[nirvāpaṇa]⁵⁰¹

The bṛhaspati reads out the instructions from *Sūtrānukramaṇikā* [nirvāpaṇa]. The yajamāna takes a tin of clarified butter and refills the dish in front of him. The bṛhaspati recites the nirvāpaṇa formulas. The yajamāna spoons clarified butter out of the dish with a wooden sruva spoon and pours it back into the dish from the height of a few centimetres.

[āghāra]⁵⁰²

Now follows pariṣecana, introducing the offering of clarified butter: the bṛhaspati recites the mantras and the yajamāna takes water from the pot in front of with a darbha grass bundle and sprinkles with it around the fire. Immediately thereafter the bṛhaspati and the assistants recite the formulas for offering to the fire. Using the wooden sruva spoon, the yajamāna pours a little clarified butter to the fire on each “svāhā.” The sequence ends with the closing pariṣecana. The

499 Although prescribed in *Sūtrānukramaṇikā* [saṃkalpa], he does not mention the place and time. However, these specifications were in fact named during the first saṃkalpa at the beginning of the entire ritual sequence.

500 Here starts the video sequence “full ritual” on the DVD.

501 See video sequence “full ritual” on the DVD, starting from 00:00:59.

502 See video sequence “full ritual” on the DVD, starting from 00:01:26.

bṛhaspati recites the formula and the yajamāna sprinkles around the fire with water as before.

[preparation of the sthaṇḍila]⁵⁰³

The yajamāna stands up and positions himself before the prepared table, the rostrum, on the northern side of the terrace. The bṛhaspati reads out the text which describes this rostrum.⁵⁰⁴

[dvādaśanāmāvāhana]

The bṛhaspati and the assistant recite the mantras invoking the twelve mūrtis. The yajamāna goes along the table from west to east. He sprinkles with a kūrca water on the nearer row of betel leaves. He takes this water from the vessel which earlier stood to the right of him in front of the fire, from which he also had taken water for the invocation of Puruṣa.

[snapana] and [arcana]⁵⁰⁵

The bṛhaspati reads out the instructions at the start of *Sūtrānukramaṇikā* [snapana] and the abbreviated formulas given there for the offering of the seats etc. He recites only the first and last of the mantras.⁵⁰⁶ During the recitation the yajamāna again distributes flowers, sandal paste and unbroken rice grains (akṣata) on the first row of betel leaves, sprinkles them with water and waves a tray with burning camphor and incense over the seats. The bṛhaspati now recites the first of the three mantras prescribed in *Sūtrānukramaṇikā* [snapana] for the bathing of the god. The yajamāna again sprinkles water. The recitation breaks off. The assistant hands the kūrca over to the yajamāna who distributes them— from west to east on the betel leaves. The yajamāna then takes his seat in front of the fire.

[viṣṇusūkta / vaiṣṇavasūkta]⁵⁰⁷

The bṛhaspati recites the twelve mantras of the vaiṣṇavasūkta and the viṣṇusūkta together with the assistant, ending each with “svāhā.” On each “svāhā” the yajamāna pours clarified butter with the spoon from the vessel in front of him into the fire. Afterwards the bṛhaspati and the assistant recite the closing formula for pariṣecana, while the yajamāna sprinkles water around the fire.

503 See video sequence “full ritual” on the DVD, starting from 00:02:03.

504 The rostrum is erected to the north of the fire (pic), not to the east as specified in *Sūtrānukramaṇikā* [preparation of the sthaṇḍila].

505 See video sequence “full ritual” on the DVD, starting from 00:02:26.

506 He does not actually recite the mantras for each of the twelve mūrtis individually as prescribed in *Sūtrānukramaṇikā* [snapana].

507 See video sequence “full ritual” on the DVD, starting from 00:04:09.

[pāyasanivedana]⁵⁰⁸

The bṛhaspati reads out the instructions. As he does so the assistant places the god's image on the oblong table on the north side of the terrace, in the centre behind the rows of betel leaves (see plate 9, p. 196). The yajamāna stands up and makes his way to the table with the twelve seats. There he first distributes twelve leaves as a front row, pours a little clarified butter into a large pot of milk porridge and spreads this, first with his fingers and then with a spoon, on the twelve leaves (from west to east). Standing at the western head of the table, the assistant prepares a plate with flowers and two leaves. The yajamāna puts two dabs of milk porridge on each of these leaves. Nivedana now takes place: the yajamāna sprinkles water on the leaves with milk porridge while the bṛhaspati recites the twelve mantras from “oṃ keśavāya namaḥ” to “oṃ dāmodarāya namaḥ.”⁵⁰⁹ The bṛhaspati reads out the instructions, the assistant recites the formula and the yajamāna offers drinking water, water to rinse the mouth and betel nuts to the mūrtis, as he sprinkles water over the seats, and then touches the seats with his right hand.⁵¹⁰

[pāyasahoma]⁵¹¹

The yajamāna sits down in front of the fire and sprinkles water around it while the bṛhaspati says the pariṣecana formulas. The bṛhaspati reads out the instructions. He begins with the recitation of the mantras “oṃ keśavāya svāhā, oṃ nārāyaṇāya svāhā.” Then the pregnant woman is called in. She sits down to the right of her husband. He puts a leaf into her hand. Using his hand, the yajamāna puts a little milk porridge onto it, and then he adds clarified butter with a spoon. The pregnant woman puts it to the fire, while the yajamāna separately pours clarified butter into the fire. Every time they make this offering, one of the twelve mantras directed to the twelve mūrtis is recited (“keśavāya svāhā” to “dāmodarāya svāhā”). The bṛhaspati and the assistant adjust the speed of the recitation to that of the yajamāna's and the pregnant woman's offerings. The recitation continues seamlessly with the vaiṣṇavasūkta and viṣṇusūkta with the couple making an offering of mixed milk porridge and clarified butter into the fire on each “svāhā.” The bṛhaspati recites the formula for the closing pariṣecana and the yajamāna sprinkles water around the fire.

508 See video sequence “full ritual” on the DVD, starting from 00:05:34.

509 Although it is specified in *Sūtrānukramaṇikā* [pāyasanivedana] that each of the twelve mūrtis should individually be addressed in the mantras, this is abbreviated in the recitation.

510 Again in *Sūtrānukramaṇikā* [pāyasanivedana] the formulas are prescribed for all twelve mūrtis, but here the means of worship are in fact offered together.

511 See video sequence “full ritual” on the DVD, starting from 00:07:36.

[pāyasanivedana]⁵¹²

The ṛhaspati slips a few lines and begins to read again the ritual instructions for *Sūtrānukramaṇikā* [pāyasanivedana]. He and the assistant recite again “keśavāya namaḥ ājyasamyuktam pāyasam nivedayāmi” etc. This time, however, after Dāmodara, Vāsudeva, Saṃkarṣana, Pradyumna and other forms of the god are included in the recitation. The yajamāna, standing in front of the rostrum, lays flowers in front of the god’s image and on the tray with the metal symbols, and sprinkles the twelve seats again with water.

[saṃkalpa 2]⁵¹³

The ṛhaspati reads the instructions. He and the assistant recite the gāyatrī mantra. The yajamāna restrains the breath. The ṛhaspati reads out the wording of the saṃkalpa for “garbhacakra karma,” inserting the gotra name as well as the personal name of the woman.⁵¹⁴ During the reading of the saṃkalpa the yajamāna stands between the fire and rostrum but he adopts the corresponding posture of the hands.

[cakraśaṅkhapūjā]⁵¹⁵

The ṛhaspati reads out the instructions. The yajamāna takes the tray with the symbols from the table and passes it to the assistant sitting to the north-west of the fire. He takes the symbols from the plate, dips them in clarified butter, lays flowers on the tray, briefly heats the symbols and places them again on the tray. The ṛhaspati reads out further instructions from *Sūtrānukramaṇikā* [cakraśaṅkhapūjā]. The yajamāna, who is still standing in front of the table, takes the tray back again and places it at the feet of the god’s image. The assistant begins to recite the invocatory formulas for the disk and conch. Then the first cakra mantra is recited. The yajamāna sprinkles the symbols with water. The assistant and the ṛhaspati recite the formulas for some of the means of worship while the yajamāna stands with joined hands in front of the rostrum. The yajamāna lights two incenses and waves them over the symbols. Afterwards he also waves a camphor light over the symbols and in front of the image of the god. The ṛhaspati and the assistant meanwhile recite the corresponding offering formulas. As they recite “havis nivedayāmi” the yajamāna also places the large pot with milk porridge on the table in front of the image of the god and lays two betel leaves with betel nuts there. He then retakes his place in front of the fire.

512 This scene is not represented in the video on the DVD.

513 See video sequence “full ritual” on the DVD, starting from 00:11:57.

514 The announcement, prescribed in the text, of the time and place is left out.

515 See video sequence “full ritual” on the DVD, starting from 00:12:32.

[cakraśaṅkhahoma]⁵¹⁶

The bṛhaspati and the assistant recite the opening formula of the pariṣecana while the yajamāna sprinkles water around the fire. The bṛhaspati and the assistant recite the first cakra mantra seven times, which they end with “svāhā.” They then recite the cakra gāyatrī twelve times in all, likewise ending each time with “svāhā.” On each “svāhā” the yajamāna pours clarified butter to the fire with the wooden sruva spoon. After this the assistant reads out the second cakra mantra twice and recites once each of the other mantras given in the *Sūtrānukramaṇikā*: the cakra gāyatrī, the two śaṅkha mantras and the śaṅkha gāyatrī. To finish pariṣecana is done again: the bṛhaspati and the assistant reciting the formulas while the yajamāna sprinkles water around the fire.⁵¹⁷

[cakraśaṅkhapratāpana]⁵¹⁸

The bṛhaspati reads out the instructions. The yajamāna gives the symbols and the plate to the assistant who is sitting to the north-west of the fire. The assistant then arranges leaves on the plate and the two dabs of milk porridge. He gives the plate back to the yajamāna, who holds the tray with the two symbols in his hands. While the yajamāna holds the plate, the bṛhaspati and the assistant together recite each of the two cakra mantras once, one after the other, and then the two śaṅkha mantras. One of the other Brahmans present starts to recite the vedamantras but soon stops again. Meanwhile the assistant heats the two symbols together in the fire, holding both in his right hand. He takes the heated cakra symbol, makes the yajamāna hold it together with him and together they press the symbol on the dab of rice on the right (from the yajamāna’s point of view).⁵¹⁹ Thereafter the assistant heats the śaṅkha symbol and presses it, together with the yajamāna, onto the other dab. The assistant lays both symbols back on the plate. The yajamāna holds the tray during the remaining recitation.⁵²⁰

516 See video sequence “full ritual” on the DVD, starting from 00:14:56.

517 The performance again diverges from *Sūtrānukramaṇikā* [cakraśaṅkhahoma] with respect to the mantras and their frequency. Moreover, the 108 clarified butter offerings into the fire are not made.

518 See video sequence “full ritual” on the DVD, starting from 00:17:29.

519 According to *Sūtrānukramaṇikā* [cakraśaṅkhapratāpana], the heating and the marking of the milk porridge should take place during the recitation of the cakra and śaṅkha mantras.

520 The circumambulation of the fire and the recitation of the puruṣasūkta described in *Sūtrānukramaṇikā* [vedamantra] are not performed. Nevertheless, the puruṣasūkta is recited later, during [pāyasapraśana].

[praṇāma]⁵²¹

The yajamāna stands up, bows before the rostrum and performs one bow before each of the twelve mūrtis while the bṛhaspati and the assistant recite the twelve mantras from “oṃ keśavāya namaḥ” to “oṃ dāmodarāya namaḥ.” At the same time the grandmother of the pregnant woman smears her temples, throat and upper arms with sandal paste.

[prāyaścitta]⁵²²

A ritual which is not part of viṣṇubali is now performed, namely an atonement ritual (*prāyaścitta*) for not having performed or for not having performed at the prescribed time some of the prenatal saṃskāras (see VaikhSmS 6.3). For this the assistant hands the yajamāna a golden foetus symbol, called suvarṇagarbha, on a tray. The yajamāna first places it with a flower in front of the divine image. He takes a garland of flowers from the image of the god, and passes it to the grandmother of the pregnant woman, who hangs the garland around the neck of the pregnant woman. Then the yajamāna tries to tie the suvarṇagarbha around his wife’s stomach. However, the thread is too short. While the Brahmans start to recite mantras dedicated to Viṣṇu, the pregnant woman’s aunt brings a new thread. Now the yajamāna accomplishes his task.

[vedamantra]⁵²³

The assistant trickles clarified butter on the two dabs of milk porridge marked with the symbols. He hands the plate to the yajamāna, who is standing next to his wife. The yajamāna hands the pregnant woman a leaf with a dab of milk porridge. Meanwhile all Brahmans present start to recite the puruṣasūkta.

[pāyasaprāśana]⁵²⁴

After a short pause the pregnant woman swallows the milk porridge in one go. The same happens with the second dab of milk porridge. Immediately afterwards the woman receives from her aunt some water to drink, and then the yajamāna trickles three times water for ritual swallowing (*ācamana*) into her hand. She slurps this down in one go. All Brahmans present continue to recite.

521 See video sequence “full ritual” on the DVD, starting from 00:20:40.

522 See video sequence “full ritual” on the DVD, starting from 00:21:12; see also “parts of the ritual” -> “atonement” on the DVD.

523 See video sequence “full ritual” on the DVD, starting from 00:23:28.

524 See video sequence “full ritual” on the DVD, starting from 00:24:22.

[blessings]⁵²⁵

Finally those present receive flower petals from the assistant and throw these first on the head of the pregnant woman, then on the yajamāna's head.⁵²⁶ Viṣṇubali is thereby brought to a conclusion.

Viṣṇubali in a small temple in Vijayawada [handbook used:
Sūtrānukramaṇikā]

[saṃkalpa]⁵²⁷

The assistants recite the gāyatrī mantra and the bṛhaspati indicates to the yajamāna that he should restrain his breath. An assistant recites the saṃkalpa, and together with the bṛhaspati he adds the personal name and the gotra name of the pregnant woman. The bṛhaspati sees to it that the yajamāna adopts the appropriate hand and body postures and leads him through the saṃkalpa. The yajamāna, who has no knowledge of Sanskrit, tries to repeat the words after the bṛhaspati. The bṛhaspati makes the yajamāna touch the opening of the water pot with his right hand. Immediately afterwards the bṛhaspati indicates to the couple that they should take their place in front of the rostrum with the twelve seats for the mūrtis.

[puruṣāvāhaṇa]

While the couple seat themselves in front of the rostrum, an assistant recites the four mantras for the invocation of the god Puruṣa. During this the bṛhaspati sprinkles the vessel standing to the north of the fire with water. The yajamāna is not involved.

[nirvāpaṇa]

The assistant reads out the nirvāpaṇa mantras, while the bṛhaspati, using a piece of wood as a spoon, dips it into a dish of clarified butter standing in the northwest corner of the sacrificial fire, and lets the clarified butter drop back into the dish from the height of a few centimetres. The yajamāna is also not involved here.

[āghāra]

The bṛhaspati performs pariṣecana, sprinkling water around the fire while an assistant recites the formulas. The assistant reads out the ritual instruction “tathaiva hutvā” from *Sūtrānukramaṇikā* [āghāra]. The bṛhaspati indicates to the

525 See video sequence “full ritual” on the DVD, starting from 00:26:09; see also “parts of the ritual” -> “concluding rites.”

526 What now takes place is not the final sacrifice, as specified in *Sūtrānukramaṇikā* [pāyasaprāśana], but śimanta.

527 The saṃkalpa represented on the DVD (“parts of the ritual” -> “preparatory rites” -> formal declaration”) is the saṃkalpa spoken at the very beginning of the entire ritual event, not the one spoken at the beginning of viṣṇubali.

yajamāna to sit down in front of the fire again. His wife remains seated in front of the rostrum. The assistants recite the mantras together with the *br̥haspati*, and on each “*svāhā*” the yajamāna puts clarified butter to the fire with the piece of wood. As closing *pariṣecana* the *br̥haspati* sprinkles water around the fire and the assistant recites the corresponding formulas.

[preparation of the *sthaṇḍila*]⁵²⁸

The yajamāna takes his place again next to his wife in front of the rostrum. The assistant reads out from the ritual handbook the instructions for the rostrum and the laying out of the seats on it.

[*dvādaśanāmāvāhana*]⁵²⁹

An assistant reads out the instructions. Another assistant sitting opposite the yajamāna indicates to him how he should proceed. The assistants begin the invocation of *Viṣṇu* with “*oṃ viṣṇave...*” Meanwhile the yajamāna sprinkles water on the seats of the first three *mūrtis* with a *darbha* grass bundle. As the *br̥haspati* notices that the names of the gods used are not those prescribed in the handbook, he corrects the assistants. They inform the yajamāna that he should start anew. The yajamāna and his wife respectfully put their hands together in the direction of the rostrum. After that the assistants begin the recitation again together with the *br̥haspati*. While they recite “*oṃ keśavam āvāhayāmi*” to “*oṃ dāmodaram āvāhayāmi*,” the yajamāna again sprinkles water on the *kūrcas* one after another from east to west, supervised by one assistant.

[*snapana*] and [*arcana*]⁵³⁰

The assistant reads the instructions. The yajamāna and his wife receive *akṣata* rice grains from the assistants and scatter these over the twelve seats. The *br̥haspati* then recites in detail the formulas for the offering of the seats (*āsana*) to all twelve forms of the god while the yajamāna sprinkles water on the seats. The *br̥haspati* recites an abridged form of the offering of the means of worship. The yajamāna and his wife again receive *akṣata* rice grains, which they scatter over the twelve seats. The yajamāna sprinkles water from a small vessel with a

528 See video sequence on the DVD -> “parts of the ritual” -> “main offerings” -> “*pūjā* for *viṣṇu*,” starting from 00:04:24. This *sthaṇḍila* had been prepared by two assistants of the priest beforehand: one of them placed the *darbha* grass bundles as seats on the twelve leaves placed on a layer of rice grains, another assistant provided betel nuts, unbroken rice grains (*akṣata*) flowers, and placed one coin on each leaf. Another assistant prepared two leaves in the front row as seats for *Viṣṇu*’s weapons.

529 See video sequence on the DVD -> “parts of the ritual” -> “main offerings” -> “*pūjā* for *viṣṇu*,” starting from 00:06:14.

530 See video sequence on the DVD -> “parts of the ritual” -> “main offerings” -> “*pūjā* for *viṣṇu*,” starting from 00:05:22.

flower over the seats. One after another the assistant hands the yajamāna burning incense and a small burning camphor lamp, which the yajamāna waves clockwise over the seats, while the pregnant woman touches the back of his right hand with her right hand and thus performs the movement with him.⁵³¹

[cakraśaṅkhapūjā]⁵³²

The worship and invocation of the disk and conch follow now.⁵³³ Dabs of milk porridge are spread on the first row of twelve betel leaves. An assistant invokes the disk and conch in their two symbols while the others recite the corresponding invocation mantras. He then places flower petals on the two leaves and worships the disk and conch with perfumed water, and finally with a burning camphor lamp and incense. Then another assistant places a small vessel with milk porridge between the two symbols, and also two dabs of milk porridge on the two leaves. The other assistant pours a little clarified butter over these two dabs and then offers it to the disk and conch by sprinkling some water on the dabs. Afterwards the yajamāna waves a burning camphor lamp over the rostrum, his wife again holding his right hand with her right hand and so performing the movement with him. At the same time those assembled recite verses of praise.

[pāyasanivedana]⁵³⁴

The assistant again sprinkles water on all the milk porridge dabs on the rostrum and the assembly recites a nārāyaṇa gāyatrī. The yajamāna and his wife again scatter akṣata rice grains on the seats of the gods and on the two metal symbols. Finally each of them again receives some akṣata rice grains in their hands and an assistant sprinkles water on them. Both put these grains on the ground in front of them.

[praṇāma]⁵³⁵

The yajamāna and the pregnant woman stand up. They stand in front of the rostrum with their hands respectfully joined while the bṛhaspati and the assistants recite the twelve formulas from “oṃ keśavāya namaḥ” to “oṃ dāmodarāya namaḥ.” The yajamāna is asked to repeat these formulas one after the other.

531 The three prokṣaṇa mantras prescribed in *Sūtrānukramaṇikā* [snapana] are not recited here and the ritual sections [snapana] and [arcana] are taken together. Moreover, the worship described in *Sūtrānukramaṇikā* [arcana] is simply read out, but not actually performed.

532 See video sequence on the DVD -> “parts of the ritual” -> “main offerings” -> “pūjā for viṣṇu,” starting from 00:07:54.

533 In *Sūtrānukramaṇikā* the worship of the two symbols is prescribed only for a later point.

534 No video representation of this sequence is given on the DVD.

535 No video representation of this sequence is given on the DVD.

[viṣṇusūkta / vaiṣṇavasūkta] and [pāyasahoma]⁵³⁶

The couple sits down again in front of the fire. The yajamāna restrains the breath. The bṛhaspati leads him through a short saṃkalpa which ends on “hoṣye.”⁵³⁷ The yajamāna touches the edge of the water pot. He now performs pariṣecana alone for the first time, while the assistant speaks the corresponding formulas. Those present—except the bṛhaspati and the yajamāna—recite the twelve mantras of the Vaiṣṇavasūkta and the Viṣṇusūkta. Meanwhile the yajamāna puts clarified butter with a wooden stick into the fire. At the start of the seventh mantra, that is, at the recitation of the Viṣṇusūkta, the bṛhaspati indicates to the pregnant woman to put milk porridge from the pot standing in front of her to the fire with her hand. From this point on the yajamāna and his wife together offer clarified butter and milk porridge to the fire on each “svāhā.”⁵³⁸ The pregnant woman continues to put milk porridge to the fire while the yajamāna offers clarified butter and the assistants recite the twelve mantras from “oṃ keśavāya namaḥ” to “oṃ dāmodarāya namaḥ.”

[śaraṇāgati?]⁵³⁹

Afterwards the bṛhaspati recites four times the mantra: “oṃ hūṃ hrīm̐ kṛṣṇāya govindāya vallabhāya svāhā.” On “svāhā” the pregnant woman and the yajamāna offer milk porridge and clarified butter to the fire as before.⁵⁴⁰ After brief instructions in Telugu from the bṛhaspati, the yajamāna and his wife put their hands together while the bṛhaspati twice pronounces the following formula for them: “devakīputra govinda vāsudeva jagatpate dehi me tanayam. kṛṣṇa tvām ahaṃ śaraṇaṃ gataḥ”⁵⁴¹ and “hrīm̐ kṛṣṇāya svāhā” The yajamāna tries to pro-

536 See video sequence on the DVD -> “parts of the ritual” -> “main offerings” -> “offering into the fire,” starting from 00:04:42.

537 I could not clearly understand this saṃkalpa, but as it ended on “hoṣye” the wording could not be the same as the only much later prescribed saṃkalpa in *Sūtrānukramaṇikā* [saṃkalpa 2].

538 The separate sacrifices of clarified butter and milk porridge prescribed in *Sūtrānukramaṇikā* [viṣṇusūkta / vaiṣṇavasūkta] and [pāyasahoma] are therefore taken together here.

539 See video sequence on the DVD -> “parts of the ritual” -> “main offerings” -> “viṣṇu marks the foetus,” starting from 00:05:43.

540 The deviation here from the instructions in *Sūtrānukramaṇikā* [pāyasahoma] is very clear: a further offering of milk porridge should follow with the recitation of the vaiṣṇavasūkta and viṣṇusūkta. The last mantra which is recited several times by the bṛhaspati is not mentioned in the *Sūtrānukramaṇikā*.

541 This part of the ritual is not mentioned in the *Sūtrānukramaṇikā*. In translation this reads: “O son of Devakī, Kṛṣṇa, Govinda, Vāsudeva, Lord of the worlds, give me

nounce these formulas after him. On “svāhā” he offers clarified butter into the fire.⁵⁴²

[cakraśaṅkhahoma] and [cakraśaṅkhapatāpana]⁵⁴³

The offering of clarified butter during the recitation of the cakra and śaṅkha mantras takes place, together with the heating of the two symbols. The bṛhaspati recites the first cakra mantra three times, and then “oṃ cakrāya svāhā, oṃ hrīm cakrāya svāhā, oṃ sudarśanāya svāhā.” Meanwhile the yajamāna offers clarified butter into the fire. The bṛhaspati first heats the symbol of the disk in the fire. He then presses it on one of the two dabs of milk porridge, which lie there on two leaves on a cloth on a plate. On the prompting of the bṛhaspati the yajamāna continues with the offerings. The bṛhaspati then marks the other dab of milk porridge, reciting the Śaṅkha mantra and then “oṃ śaṅkhāya svāhā, oṃ hrīm śaṅkhāya svāhā, oṃ pāñcajanya svāhā.” The bṛhaspati takes the stick from the yajamāna’s hand and trickles a little clarified butter on the two dabs, holding his left hand over his heart as he does so.⁵⁴⁴

[pāyasaprāśana]⁵⁴⁵

The bṛhaspati silently takes one of the two dabs of milk porridge from the plate and gives it to the yajamāna who then passes the dab on to the pregnant woman. She takes the milk porridge from the leaf into her hand and swallows it in one go. The bṛhaspati recites two short mantras ending in “svāhā.” He gives the second dab of milk porridge to the yajamāna, thereby uttering two more mantras.⁵⁴⁶ The pregnant woman also swallows the second dab of milk porridge. The bṛhaspati puts a little water into the pregnant woman’s hand. She pours it

offspring! O Kṛṣṇa, I have taken refuge in you!” This therefore might represent a formula for taking refuge in Kṛṣṇa, which the couple speaks.

542 A second saṃkalpa is described in *Sūtrānukramaṇikā* [praṇāma]. This element is evidently lacking here and is substituted by this formula of taking refuge.

543 See video sequence on the DVD -> “parts of the ritual” -> “main offerings” -> “viṣṇu marks the foetus,” starting from 00:07:10.

544 The rising and circling of the fire prescribed in *Sūtrānukramaṇikā* [vedamantra] is left out here, as is the recitation of the beginning of the vedas and the sūktas. The 108 offerings of clarified butter prescribed in *Sūtrānukramaṇikā* [cakraśaṅkhahoma] are also not actually performed. *Sūtrānukramaṇikā* [praṇāma], the bowing of the yajamāna before the twelve mūrtis, likewise plays no role.

545 See video sequence on the DVD -> “parts of the ritual” -> “main offerings” -> “viṣṇu marks the foetus,” starting from 00:08:38.

546 The first mantra contains the words: *sudarśanam mahājvāla samāprabha ... svāhā*, the second mantra contains *pāñcajanya ... vidmahe mahāviṣṇave ... svāhā*. These mantras are not prescribed in *Sūtrānukramaṇikā* [pāyasaprāśana].

behind her seat, whereupon the bṛhaspati sprinkles the fire while an assistant speaks the pariṣecana formula. Viṣṇubali is thereby concluded.

4.5 Factors behind ritual variance

Here the following questions are dealt with on the basis of the material presented so far: how and why enter variations the ritual, how may the relation between text and performance in general be characterised, when and why may a ritual or a ritual element be seen as “defective” or “invalid,” how may the role of the bṛhaspati in the course of the ritual be characterised, how does the ritual specialist relate to the text he uses, what is the function of the “formal declaration” (*saṃkalpa*), and to what extent are the issues related to the specific Vaikhānasa identity worked out on the basis of the texts relevant in the observed ritual practice.

The comparison of the stagings shows that the specific circumstances are highly relevant for the actual form of the performance. This holds true for the familial and professional background of the yajamāna, the economic situation of the families involved, the spatial situation, and the pregnant woman’s health. For example, the degree and mode of integration of components from the temple ritual depends on the context. In Cidambaram the yajamāna and also many of the male guests present were practising temple priests. Accordingly, those ritual elements which are performed many times every day in the temple, such as the worship of the god (*pūjā/arcana/ārādhana*) with different means of worship (*upacāra*), were carried out here in accordance with the customs of the temple: the feeding of the god, for example, was screened from public view. In the temple setting in Vijayawada the ritual was performed in front of the *sanctum sanctorum* of the temple. For this reason domestic images of the god were not used and the temple image played an important role, especially during the kindling of the fire. However, apart from such differences, which are based on individual and local particularities, further more general factors may be isolated which contribute to the variance in ritual.

4.5.1 Text and performance

The sections of the ritual handbooks presented in 4.3 contain instructions for the staging of the main sacrifice during viṣṇubali. Although the two handbooks differ in style and at times in detail, there are no fundamental disagreements in the sections on viṣṇubali. Thus differences in the texts cannot be responsible for differences in performance. This comes as a surprise, since ritual rules, once set down in writing, are frequently seen to “freeze” the performance and to make

variations or deviations almost impossible.⁵⁴⁷ Moreover, many scholars define ritual as being rule-governed (“prescribed” or “structured”) and even being mainly constituted by rules: it is only by following the rules that the ritual can be performed.⁵⁴⁸ Thus it might be expected that the performance of rituals governed by identical (the two events in Vijayawada) or at least similar (Cidambaram) textual instructions would differ little, if at all.

The description of the three performances and the video sequences on the DVD nevertheless show clearly that the stagings differed from one another, at times even considerably, and also deviated from the underlying texts. How is this to be explained? If ritualised actions are to be understood as units or elements always already constituted by rules (see Humphrey & Laidlaw 1994: 88f.), then for the rituals discussed here these rules are evidently not (only) the written instructions of the ritual handbooks.

What Welbon (1984: 97), Brunner (1999: 263–268) and Fuller (2003: 81, 87) say about the relation of āgamic texts and temple ritual holds true for the relation of handbooks and the performance of domestic rituals as well: in the past these ritual texts were never conceived as models that must be followed prescriptively. Knowledge of rituals leads to knowing the meaning of the texts, not the other way round. In present day practice too the written instructions serve more as guidelines than as a rulebook.⁵⁴⁹ This holds true even for the ritual performances during which the instructions are read out aloud. Ritualised reading (recitation) is a ritual presentation of texts which is not to be confused with reading a text for getting information.

It is moreover striking that the rites not described in the texts were identical in all the stagings. Basic rites (building-blocks of many rituals) used in the course of many domestic rituals are for example the recitation, the body posture, and the hand gestures during the saṃkalpas, and the offering of the clarified butter to the fire. These rites have to some degree a “trans-confessional” character. They are not only used in this way in the Vaikhānasa tradition, but are the common property of most sanskrit Brahmanic ritual traditions. These elements are

547 See, for example, Platvoet 1995: 29 and note 24. It is moreover a fact that the printing of the ritual texts made the interaction between text and performance less flexible: the texts, which were seldom read, interpreted and perhaps copied before, were ossified by printing, that is, through the change of medium from individually copied palm-leaf manuscripts to a uniform printing on paper. This aspect is not pursued further in the present work; see Fuller 2003: 86ff.

548 See Humphrey & Laidlaw 1994: 117. References to diverse definitions of “ritual” are given in Snoek 2006.

549 See also Buss 2007: 168.

embodied in every ritual specialist and consulting ritual instructions is not necessary here.⁵⁵⁰ Significant differences in the stagings occurred especially in those rites which are unique to viṣṇubali, and for which the ritual handbooks were consulted throughout. Here it became clear that the education and personal background of the bṛhaspati, as well as his experience in performing this ritual, were important factors for the enactment.

The use of the ritual handbooks is, however, judged ambivalently. On the one hand the use of written ritual instructions is seen as a proof that the rituals are in fact enacted according to the rules, on the other it is also something that the ritual specialists of the tradition themselves regard as a deficiency: it reveals that the knowledge of the bṛhaspati is insufficient and he has to rely on the guidelines in the form of a text.⁵⁵¹ In fact, the persuasiveness of the performances, even for me as an outsider, exists in an inversely proportional relationship to the degree of reference to the text. In Cidambaram the bṛhaspati came across as very experienced in the performance of the rituals. This impression was reinforced by the very high speed of his recitations. Where the text implicitly assumed materials or actions, he swiftly supplied or performed them. He knew the sequence of the ritual so well, that without further ado he even integrated the instructions from the *Sūtrānukramaṇikā* into the staging when he divided the ritual into two sections by introducing the second saṃkalpa not given in his ritual handbook. The situation in the domestic setting in Vijayawada was quite different. The bṛhaspati came across as very inexperienced in performing the prenatal saṃskāras and stuck to the letter of the ritual handbook. This even led to him allowing a ritual section to be performed twice, when he slipped some lines in the handbook. Overall the handbook was read

550 What is true for several rites in the observed performances, is true for entire “genres” of ritual, too: in the performance of initiation (*upanayana*), marriage (*vivāha*) and to a somewhat lesser degree also to the eightieth birthday (*śatābhīṣeka*), local traditions and customs are apparent to a high degree, while many of the specific features of the different sūtra traditions fall by the wayside. Thus, one of the components of the marriage ritual of the Vaikhānasa is niṣeka, which is traditionally regarded as the first saṃskāra of a Vaikhānasa, and as such constitutes a fundamental aspect of Vaikhānasa identity. In practice, however, it is apparent that niṣeka is in fact only rarely performed as a part of the marriage ceremony (see 2.2.1; see Hüsken 2005).

551 Welbon (1984: 98) even says: “... the reliance on a written ‘crib’ is probably disturbing not only because it may indicate that the performer’s learning is insecure. We ought also to be reminded that there is a great danger that certain efforts to ensure the maintenance of āgamic standards may actually exacerbate the difficulties challenging the survival of tradition and may, in fact, hasten its demise.” However, at the same time it has to be taken into account that ritualized reading can also enhance the perceived meaningfulness.

very slowly, and the ritual acts and the related recitations were often not well synchronized. In the temple setting in Vijayawada, by contrast, it was very clear that the *br̥haspati* regarded the details of the underlying text as guidelines or recommendations. This suggested a high degree of experience in the performance of these rituals. Although he followed the *Sūtrānukramaṇikā* in the essential elements, in doing so he nevertheless made strenuous efforts to convey ritually his understanding of the central significance of *viṣṇubali*, namely that the unborn child takes refuge in *Viṣṇu* as *Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva*. Thus immediately before the feeding of the pregnant woman with the marked milk porridge, he had the *yajamāna* speak the formula for taking refuge on behalf of the unborn child: “O son of *Devakī*, *Kṛṣṇa*, *Govinda*, *Vāsudeva*, Lord of the worlds, give me offspring! O *Kṛṣṇa*, I have taken refuge in you!” This creativity emphasises the *br̥haspati*’s ritual competence and in no way devalues his performance.

4.5.2 Mistakes in ritual

As I have argued elsewhere (Hüsken 2007b), we can gain important insights into the process by which the concrete form of the ritual emerges by considering deviations from ritual norms which are evaluated negatively (flaws, mistakes, errors, slips etc.). In the present examples it is evident that not each and every deviation from written instructions is perceived as a “mistake.” Thus, at some points in the performance in Cidambaram some mantras prescribed by the *Pūrvaprayoga* were not recited. In the performance in the domestic setting in Vijayawada it was striking that the sequence of rites prescribed in all the ritual texts, and confirmed in advance by the *br̥haspati* as the correct ritual sequence, was not adhered to. Shortly before the end of *viṣṇubali*, the atonement ritual for *sīmanta* (*sīmantaṅprāyaścitta*) was inserted. Moreover, the main sacrifice for *sīmanta* took place only after the conclusion of *viṣṇubali*, although the texts suggest that *sīmanta* precedes *viṣṇubali*. Due to a slip in reading, the *br̥haspati* allowed one ritual element to be performed twice. Occasionally the prescribed mantras were not recited, or recited at the wrong point. In the temple setting in Vijayawada at a certain point the participants hardly followed the sequence of rites as given in the *Sūtrānukramaṇikā* at all when putting the instructions into action. Some rites were left out, and the *br̥haspati* had the *yajamāna* speak a *saṃkalpa* which differed significantly from the *saṃkalpa* described later in the *Sūtrānukramaṇikā*. Some rites were fused with one another and the *br̥haspati* supplied mantras which appear in neither of the ritual handbooks. In addition the *br̥haspati* had the *yajamāna* pronounce a formula for taking refuge that is not even mentioned by the handbooks. These changes and deviations did not lead to

the ritual or parts of the ritual being judged to have been “wrongly performed.” Rather, it became clear that one can only speak of “mistakes” when the *br̥haspati* leading the ritual himself explicitly or performatively declares certain acts or recitations to be mistaken. This is only the case if he revokes them and insists on a new, corrected performance of the rite in question. During the three stagings I was able to observe this in the following cases: unlike in Cidambaram and in the domestic setting in Vijayawada, the *br̥haspati* in the temple setting in Vijayawada indicated to the *yajamāna* to take his place in front of the platform with the seats for the god too early, namely, immediately after the first *saṃkalpa*. The *br̥haspati* did not at first correct his error and therefore performed the actions for the invocation of *Puruṣa* and the “filling” of the clarified butter himself. Only when the connected clarified butter sacrifice came up did the *br̥haspati* call the *yajamāna* back to the sacrificial fire so that he could perform the relevant actions there. The same *br̥haspati* had another rite corrected: when his assistants began to invoke *Viṣṇu* with names other than those of the twelve *mūrtis*, while the *yajamāna* began to sprinkle the “seats” of the *mūrtis* with water, the *br̥haspati* intervened and ordered that the invocation must be restarted, which happened immediately.

Deviations from the text were in principle not judged to be “mistakes” in ritual. Apparently the *br̥haspati* alone is competent to declare a ritual action correct or deficient. At the same time it is precisely the *br̥haspati* who is also competent to point out and correct mistaken ritual actions. The question as to who is competent and eligible to perform a ritual correctly, on the one hand, and who possesses the authority and competence to disclose mistakes and to correct them, on the other, is of utmost importance here.⁵⁵² Here it is the ritual specialist as competent ritual agent who alone has the power to react creatively to contingencies and to deviate from the norm. His ritual competence is therefore not only established through knowledge of and adherence to rules, but also through his interactive and improvisational skills (see Schieffelin 1998: 198). In the performance of rituals the *br̥haspati* evidently not only has the competence to introduce changes in relation to the written instructions, but also to add, omit and replace rites, and to invert their order.

552 Brosius (2007: 302) characterises this competence as “the ownership of the right to know how, when and by whom a ritual could be performed effectively.”

4.5.3 The role of the bṛhaspati

Although several people are involved in the different tasks for staging the ritual,⁵⁵³ it is invariably the bṛhaspati alone who leads it. The division of roles between the bṛhaspati, his assistants and the yajamāna differed in the three stagings. Nevertheless it was always the bṛhaspati who assigned the roles,⁵⁵⁴ and it was never left to the yajamāna to decide which ritual acts he performed and in what way.

Moreover, how the bṛhaspati led the rituals and in what way he relied on the text also differed in all three cases. In Cidambaram he himself used the *Pūrvaprayoga*, reading out a part of the instructions and then converting them into recitation, or having the corresponding actions done. Recitation by the Brahmins present was initiated in Cidambaram by the bṛhaspati, in that he struck up the first words of the mantra, those present joining in provided they were familiar with the mantras. Where particular actions were required, the bṛhaspati indicated this to the yajamāna with clear gestures while he himself recited, or he called out brief instructions in Tamil to the yajamāna. Often the assistant sitting to the yajamāna's left indicated what he should do, or assisted him to do it. In the domestic setting in Vijayawada the bṛhaspati read out the relevant section of the *Sūtrānukramaṇikā* in full. Where recitation of formulas or mantras was required, the bṛhaspati began these after the respective section had been read out. The assistant then performed or co-ordinated the accompanying ritual actions of the yajamāna. Thus in the domestic setting in Vijayawada and in Cidambaram the bṛhaspatīs did not perform the ritual acts, but instead either the yajamāna or the assistant. In the temple setting in Vijayawada, by contrast, an assistant read out the *Sūtrānukramaṇikā*, and he also began the required recitations. The bṛhaspati put some of the instructions into action himself, others he left to the yajamāna to perform, making clear to him with gestures or instructions in Telugu what was expected of him.

This high degree of agency assigned to the bṛhaspati is all the more surprising as the texts know nothing of him or his role: they consistently indicate that

553 These are the bṛhaspati and one or more assistants, who in the temple setting in Vijayawada were his pupils, but in the domestic setting in Vijayawada and in Cidambaram were relatives of the yajamāna. In addition there were always also other Brahmins present, who supported the officiator while reciting mantras. These assistants are, just like the bṛhaspati, not mentioned in the ritual handbooks.

554 In the different performances the participation of the pregnant women differed, the degree and kind of their involvement being left to the bṛhaspati to determine, although the woman's state of health is also taken into consideration.

the yajamāna is the acting person. In fact the passages on the main sacrifice for viṣṇubali give not the slightest hint that anyone other than the yajamāna—and occasionally the pregnant woman—are involved to any great extent in the staging. Although this fact is mentioned in the margins of the scholarly literature several times, the significance of it has nevertheless never been pointed out.⁵⁵⁵

Not a single word is said about the bṛhaspati in the ritual handbooks, but in all three stagings he was the ritual specialist with primary responsibility. He led the rituals, functioning as “director” of the rites that he initiated. He co-ordinated the recitations and actions by his instructions and gestures, and in part performed them himself. In this the handbooks served as guiding principles for action; nevertheless there was no general standard and no higher authority standing over the bṛhaspati in the situation. Although the structure of the different performances was the same in all essentials, the performances can evidently be abbreviated or embellished according to the discretion or the taste of the bṛhaspati in which the individual’s feel for the appropriateness of any particular element also played an important role. Thus the manner in which the bṛhaspati wished, or was able, to carry out the performance determined the form of the staging. In this respect the performances in the domestic setting in Vijayawada and in the temple setting in Vijayawada are two widely-separated examples: while the bṛhaspati in the temple setting wanted to present a good and convincing performance, the bṛhaspati in the domestic setting in Vijayawada clearly was primarily concerned to stick to the ritual text with as few deviations as possible. Nevertheless in each case the bṛhaspatīs were entirely free in this regard.⁵⁵⁶

4.5.4 Saṃkalpa as transfer of agency

Can one really speak of the bṛhaspati’s agency? From the ritual texts, and among them above all from the content of the saṃkalpa, it seems clear that the husband

555 B. K. Smith (1989: 151), for example, refers only to the priest in domestic ritual as an “optional helper.” Caland (1929: 13, note 1) concludes from one passage in the *Vaiṅkhanasasmārtasūtra*, where an ācārya is mentioned, that this must be the leading priest, although this is not in the text. Müller (1992: 34) remarks that an ācārya is only mentioned in the description of the rituals for sūdras without attending to the fact that nowhere is a priest mentioned for the rituals of the twice-born, including Brahmins. This is different for śrauta rituals, as Michaels (2007) remarks.

556 Platvoet (1995: 33) calls this aspect in particular the performative dimension of ritual: rituals, as social events, must capture the attention of those involved. It should be added that in the cases dealt with here, the style of performance makes no difference to the efficacy of the ritual. Nevertheless, this “scene-setting” to a certain degree influences the chance of future engagements of the bṛhaspati.

of the pregnant woman and father of the unborn child is the performer of the ritual action. The saṃkalpa reads in the *Sūtrānukramaṇikā*: “Through the viṣṇubali ritual, [which is] the sacrifice for the Viṣṇu follower in [my wife’s] womb, I perform the saṃskāra on this rightfully wedded wife of mine, having [so and so] name and belonging to [so and so] gotra.” or, still more explicit in the *Pūrvaprayoga*: “Through the viṣṇubali ritual I perform the saṃskāra on my rightfully wedded wife, born on [so and so] lunar mansion [and] in [so and so] sign of the zodiac, in order to protect the child in the womb, [and] in order to attain the marking of the [child] in the womb with the disk, [and] in order to make the foetus a Viṣṇu-follower [already] in the womb.”

Michaels (2005: 47f.) deals in detail with saṃkalpas and characterises them as promissory speech acts. A saṃkalpa, he argues, must be consciously declared, as the literal meaning of saṃkalpa (“will, intention, decision”) itself suggests. However, Michaels adds that “a saṃkalpa cannot be considered as a communicative or informative act because its purpose is neither to communicate nor to inform anybody [... i]t just signalises that from that point in time on [...] all actions that follow [...] may be considered as being of a ritual or sacred nature” (2005: 59). He thereby refers to Humphrey & Laidlaw (1994: 74) who point out: “[...] the communication here is not intrinsic to the *ritual* character of these acts. It belongs rather to the as it were ‘pre-existing’ linguistic act which has been ritualized.” Ritual, according to Humphrey & Laidlaw (1994: 88ff.), is a type of action which is different from everyday activity by the “ritual stance,” or “ritual commitment” which the actor assumes in performing. A ritual act is perceived as a unit already established in advance, in which the nature and sequence of actions are determined not by the intention of the actor but are rather “predetermined,” not entirely authored by the actors themselves.⁵⁵⁷ As the introduction to and the beginning of the ritual, the saṃkalpa serves precisely to create the adoption of this “ritual stance.”⁵⁵⁸ Thus the fact that in practice only few yajamānas understand the content of this speech act does not affect the change in the plane of action which is initiated by the saṃkalpa. The bṛhaspati, however, understands or is aware of the meaning of the saṃkalpa, and moreover is capable of

557 On the basis of this definition, Michaels (1998b: 257) lists five criteria which distinguish everyday actions from ritual actions: causal change, formal resolution, formal criteria for action, modal criteria for action, and change of identity, status or competence.

558 In the cases at hand, however, the ritual action framed by the saṃkalpa and the antahoma did not mark the beginning of the ritual as a whole, but marked the beginning of a specific section of the rituals performed at one stretch. One might therefore prefer to speak of a “nested frame,” a frame within a frame: “Nested framing continues the logic of hierarchical meta-messaging that characterizes lineal framing” (Handelman 2006).

including the appropriate details with regard to the ritual's time, performers, locality, and objectives (see Deshpande 1996: 404f.).⁵⁵⁹

Although the saṃkalpa does not express the intention of the agent, its content is not independent of ritual events: through declaring in the saṃkalpa the time, place and person, the yajamāna is identified and authorized to perform the ritual (Michaels 2005: 57). However, it is precisely this aspect that deserves our special attention. The yajamāna as is the actual performer of the ritual which—through his wife—has an effect on his child. It is into his mouth that the words of the formal declaration are placed. In practice, however, it is not the yajamāna who utters the formula, but the bṛhaspati (n the domestic setting in Vijayawada and in Cidambaram) or one of the assistants (in the temple setting in Vijayawada). In none of the three performances I observed did the yajamāna speak this saṃkalpa himself.⁵⁶⁰ On account of this fact and also on account of the further course of events, I argue here that for the events framed by the saṃkalpa and the “offering at the end” (*antahoma*) the yajamāna is identified with the bṛhaspati. Both actors merge. This identification includes the transfer of agency from the yajamāna to the bṛhaspati.

By analysing the announcement of the time and place (*deśakāla*) in the context of a saṃkalpa Michaels shows how the time and locality of the ritual is generalized and thereby transcended by, for example, referring to the cosmographic territory (such as “Brahmā region”) and the cosmographic time (such as the yuga and mahāyuga).⁵⁶¹ This is true also for the yajamāna who loses his individuality in the saṃkalpa by being brought, through his genealogy, into an immediate relationship with a mythical Ṛṣi and the progenitor of his clan (Michaels 2005: 57f.). This de-individualizing of the yajamāna is not only expressed through the wording of the saṃkalpa but also has concrete effects upon the performance: it is not the yajamāna who in fact performs the ritual actions and speech acts, but rather the bṛhaspati who performs it or an assistant who does it

559 A saṃkalpa consists of building blocks which can be put together in different ways, but is recognisable by virtue of its structure. A saṃkalpa does not have to be identical with the “ideal” model, but it must resemble it. “To be sure, not all [...] features of a saṃkalpa are found in the written sources [...], but they can generally be observed in ritual practice” says Michaels (2005: 50).

560 Gérard Colas informed me that according to Berti (2001: 18) contemporary priests in the Kullu valley mention the name of the yajamāna in the saṃkalpa and that from his own observation the ritual specialists in Andhra Pradesh simply have the yajamānas say *mama*, that is “mine,” after them, in order to show that they are the actual agents.

561 See Michaels 2005: 55f.; Tambiah (1979: 123) argues that “the cosmogony is repeatedly enacted in the archetypes reiterated in order to achieve the double feat of projecting concrete present time into mythical time.”

on his orders. This identification of the yajamāna and the bṛhaspati takes effect, at the latest, with the saṃkalpa, thus at the beginning of the ritual performance. Bṛhaspati and yajamāna are now no longer separate individuals, but rather melted in the person of the bṛhaspati. For the period of the ritual agency and ritual competence are united, and the bṛhaspati performs the rituals not “for the yajamāna” but rather “as the yajamāna.”⁵⁶² He is the only one competent to act and to decide how the ritual should be performed. He assigns roles, decides whether the rituals are ‘correct’ or not, who participates and what is done. Even the presence of other, more experienced ritual specialists and/or the availability of written instructions do not change this situation.

It is for this reason too that the division of tasks in the context of the ritual varies: due to the fusion of the agency of the yajamāna and the ritual competence of the bṛhaspati it makes no difference to the outcome of the ritual who performs what.⁵⁶³ In the context of the ritual the yajamāna as individual is transcended and identified with the religious powers in the person of the bṛhaspati.

Michaels (2005: 61) assumes that the “announcement of time and place” prescribed as a part of the saṃkalpa contributes to the transformation of religious ideas into a ritual, and therefore speaks of a type of space *an sich*, expressed in the saṃkalpa. Equally central, however, is the identification—also accomplished in the saṃkalpa—of the officiator, the yajamāna, with religious power, which in the case of Brahmanic domestic ritual is represented by the bṛhaspati. The result is the transformation of the yajamāna into a person *an sich* whose agency is incorporated into and enacted by the bṛhaspati.

4.5.5 Power and status

This central opposition between religious status and (worldly) agency, dissolved during the ritual and reinstated afterwards, is also the key for understanding why even within the group of the Vaikhānasas, who as temple priests are “professional” intermediaries between the god and the devotees, domestic rituals are always performed with a bṛhaspati as intermediary.⁵⁶⁴ When asked, all the Vaikhā-

562 During one ritual sequence in the temple setting in Vijayawada the yajamāna/bṛhaspati even appeared to be identified with the unborn child: the bṛhaspati spoke for the yajamāna the formula of taking refuge, in which the “agent” is the unborn child.

563 The same principle lies behind the perception of the bṛhaspati’s assistants. They are evidently understood as “part” of the bṛhaspati and perform, on the bṛhaspati’s instructions, some ritual acts and recitations for, or “as,” the yajamāna.

564 It must be emphasised, however, that this is a situation peculiar to the Vaikhānasas. Brahmanic ritual specialists are usually either the specialists in domestic ritual or the

nasas, in both Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh unanimously stated that despite the potential competence of the yajamāna to perform domestic rituals, the presence of a br̥haspati is indispensable. Only one Vaikhānasa reported that he has himself performed the prenatal saṃskāras for his first child, without the participation of a br̥haspati. Even in this case, however, his father was present and supervised parts of the ritual. The employment of a ritual specialist is evidently not merely a matter of lack of skills or knowledge on the side of the yajamāna. It rather seems that even rituals in the domestic sphere require mediation of a br̥haspati guaranteeing successful interaction with the god, which is essential for an orderly ongoing social existence (see Tambiah 1979: 119). Once the ritual is over, the latent opposition between (worldly) power (yajamāna) and (religious) status (br̥haspati) is reinstated. In the context of domestic rituals this fusion ends with the dissolution of the place of sacrifice which signals the end of the ritual, and is moreover performatively expressed by the yajamāna handing over the ritual fee (*dakṣiṇā*) to the br̥haspati. This handing over of *dakṣiṇā* implies that in exchange for this compensation the agency for ritual action as well as the religious merit arising from it are claimed by the yajamāna (see Colas 1989: 133f.). The dissolution of the temporary unit br̥haspati-yajamāna is also expressed by the br̥haspati's blessings for the yajamāna and his wife, and by his participation in the common meal after the ritual.⁵⁶⁵

4.5.6 Ritual practice and the meaning attributed to the ritual

From the analysis of the texts (see 2.2.2.2–2.2.4.7) it emerges that for centuries a specific Vaikhānasa identity as opposed to other groups of vaiṣṇava temple priests has been connected primarily with their prenatal saṃskāras. In the course of the historical development the ritual element of branding the upper arms from the pañcasam̥skāra initiation has been integrated into the viṣṇubali saṃskāra as the branding of the milk porridge. Moreover, Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita linked this ritual element to the Śrīvaiṣṇava concept of “taking refuge in Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa” (*samā-*

specialists in temple ritual. Here, the Vaikhānasas are to some extent exceptional, as they have their own tradition for both domestic and temple ritual. Pāñcarātra ritual specialists usually do not perform domestic rituals but employ a br̥haspati who is well versed in the relevant sūtra.

565 This relationship between the yajamāna and the br̥haspati in the context of domestic ritual resembles the structure of the relationship between Śrīvaiṣṇavas and Vaikhānasas in the context of temple rituals (see 5.2). The parallel is to be located, however, on an abstract level and is not perceived as such by the participants. In actuality the ācārya or the arcaka in temple ritual is primarily seen as a specialist in the task at hand (rituals).

śrayana) in the same way as the Śrīvaiṣṇavas linked pañcasamṣkāra to the taking refuge. The identification of the ritualized taking refuge with the prenatal viṣṇubali samṣkāra is explicitly formulated and defended in Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita's texts *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa* and *Vaikhānasamahimañjarī*, as well as in Raghupatihātṭācārya's *Mokṣapāyapradīpikā* (see 2.2.5.5). Even today these two aspects (branding and taking refuge) remain important issues in the performance of the viṣṇubali ritual. In each of the three ritual events witnessed and documented, the branding of the milk porridge was an integral component.⁵⁶⁶ Moreover, in the performance in the temple setting in Vijayawada the "taking refuge" of the child was even explicitly acted out. Although this is not described or even mentioned in the handbooks and could only be observed in one of the three performances, the integration of elements of the "taking refuge" appears not to be exceptional. For example, the Vaikhānasa scholar and practitioner Anantapadmanābhācāryulu Gāru from Machilipatnam stated that the aṣṭākṣara mantra, the dvaya mantra and the caramaśloka are whispered in the ear of the pregnant woman in the course of viṣṇubali before the branded milk porridge is given to her. These mantras play an important role in the Śrīvaiṣṇavas' "taking refuge" during pañcasamṣkāra. It is clear from these two examples, that the change in the meaning attributed to the ritual on the theological and soteriological level has also affected its practice.

4.6 On ritual competence: the bṛhaspati

While the Vaikhānasas themselves assume that their samṣkāras have been performed unaltered up to the present according to the vedic specifications (here: according to the *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra*), it became evident that changes can nevertheless be seen in both texts and practice. In this section one aspect of how such changes enter tradition will be dealt with. Agency⁵⁶⁷ and the diverse modes of transmitting ritual competence are of central importance. As is clear from what has already been said, as bearer of ritual competence the bṛhaspati is cen-

566 Contemporary practice in the marking of the milk porridge also allows for other variants. Thus the milk porridge does not necessarily have to be marked with the heated metal symbols. It is equally possible to draw the symbols of the conch and disk on the milk porridge with darbha grass, as follows from the *Pūrvaprayoga*. Moreover, several Vaikhānasas in southern Tamil Nadu told me that they do not mark the milk porridge physically but chant the sudarśana and pāñcajanya mantras over it before feeding the pregnant woman.

567 Ahearn (2001) offers a summary of recent research on agency especially from the point of view of linguistic ethnology. See also Sax 2006, and references there.

tral in determining the actual form of the rituals. The transfer of agency from the yajamāna to the bṛhaspati through the saṃkalpa is one of the factors which make the action a ritual action. The bṛhaspati is moreover recognized as having the competence (*adhikāra*) to lead or to perform the rituals in question.

It is therefore only by taking into account questions of ritual competence, its definition in a given context, its transmission and its confirmation that a comprehensive picture emerges of how ritual tradition is maintained *and* changed (see also Welbon 1984: 97). Because the nominal performer, the yajamāna, transfers his agency to him, the bearer of ritual competence has the authority not only to perform the ritual, but also to adapt it to contextual needs. As is clear from the analysis of ritual practice in 4.5.3, the bṛhaspati's authority to act includes that, for example, he can change the sequence of actions, abbreviate or expand performances, omit or add rites, substitute materials and even invent rites (see Michaels 2007: 124). Repeatability and repetition—as features of ritual—anchor rituals in the past and relate them to the future. It is precisely this potential repeatability which constitutes the ritual's potential for innovation: ritual is newly constructed in each performance but is perceived of as a repetition of former enactments (see Hüsken 2007a: 286). In this process, rituals are linked mainly through the ritual specialists to the past and the future, since the bearers of ritual competence “inherit, individuate, and transmit tradition” (Welbon 1984: 97). These individuated rituals become in turn prototypes of the next performance, which is then subject again to changes when enacted.⁵⁶⁸ Moreover, at least in the case examined here, it is the ritual specialists who transmit, or modify, not only the concrete performance but also the interpretation of the rituals. The individual development and training of the performing bṛhaspati, as well as his interactive competence, are important factors in this process.

It is thus instructive to take a closer look at the processes of transmission of ritual competence among the Vaikhānasas. I will therefore present here three short vitae of Vaikhānasa ritual specialists, and introduce some institutionalised training centres for Vaikhānasas.⁵⁶⁹

568 There are, however, always limitations to this innovative ritual creativity. These limitations are set by such factors as the concrete local and historical context or a sense of appropriateness.

569 This section is based on several periods of research in South India (8/2000–3/2001; 11/2001–2/2002; 6–8/2005) during which I visited the ritual specialists, conducted narrative, structured and semi-structured interviews with several Vaikhānasa scholars and practitioners, and visited some training institutions (*pāṭhaśālā*).

4.6.1 Traditional Brahmanic training

The Brahmanic sūtras and śāstras preserve detailed prescriptions for the education of boys and young men of the three “twice-born” classes (*varṇa*) during the first “stage of life” (*āśrama*) as a brahmacārin. The texts specify that this phase should last for up to twelve years, from initiation (*upanayana*) at the age of eight to twelve years to their return to their home and subsequent marriage.⁵⁷⁰ At the heart of the learning process lies the personal relationship between the teacher and student. This is already implied by the terminology: the initiation which comes at the start of the training is regarded as a second birth. It makes the person concerned one of the “twice-born” (*dvija*). The teacher takes the place of the father, and during the training the student lives in the teacher’s house.⁵⁷¹

Several scholarly works have taken up the practical aspects of traditional training and its historical development within different Brahmanic Hindu traditions.⁵⁷² Reference is however seldom made to the training of ritual specialists within a specific tradition.⁵⁷³ In relation to the temple priests this may, among other reasons, be due to the rather marginal position that the arcakas hold in traditional Brahmanic learning (see also 2.1.2). For the most part they are not seen as scholars in the classical sense, although their profession is in many ways based on the knowledge of Sanskrit (Michaels 2001b: 7).

There is also little that can be learnt about the training of ritual specialists from the texts of the Vaikhānasa tradition. This is true of both temple and domestic ritual. In the sūtras there is certainly no statement of the requisite qualifications of the ritual specialists who guide the saṃskāras. It is implicitly presupposed there that (in the case of viṣṇubali) the performer is the father of the unborn child (see 4.5.3). The texts on temple ritual are also silent on the question of the arcaka’s education. However, although training of ritual specialists is not described in the Vaikhānasasamhitās, these texts at least contain brief statements

570 On education or different models of learning presented in ancient Indian literature see Mookerji 1947; see also Kane 1974a: chapter VII.

571 As we will see, in the Vaikhānasa tradition it is in fact often the father who takes on the training of his son.

572 See Mookerji 1947; see also the literature listed in the articles by Michaels, Aklujkar, and Deshpande in Michaels (ed.) 2001.

573 Subramaniam (1974) discusses purohitas among the smārta Brahmins in Mayavaram and Manakkal, in particular their social standing, on the basis of field research in the 1950s. Knipe (1997) deals with a small and unusual vaidika community of Brahmins in the Godāvarī delta, which until recently did not use any written texts in training their sons. Data similar to those in the present work have been gathered by Fuller (1997, 2001, and 2003: 80–113) for the training of śaiva priests in southern Tamil Nadu.

on the desirable or necessary qualifications of those who perform temple rituals (*arcaka*) and for the head priests (*ācārya*).⁵⁷⁴ These passages almost always state that the person concerned must have undergone the life-cycle rituals prescribed in the *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra*. Moreover they must know the Veda and its auxiliary sciences (*vedāṅga*). They should hail from a Vaikhānasa family and be in either the first or the second stage of life, i.e. they should either be students (*brahmacārin*) following initiation (*upanayana*), or head their own household (*gr̥hastha*) following marriage (*vivāha*).⁵⁷⁵ Here too, there is no reference to the way in which future arcakas are to be trained. However, the requirement in the *saṃhitās* that an *ācārya* or an *arcaka* must hail from a Vaikhānasa family and that he must have received the *saṃskāras* of the Vaikhānasa tradition indicates that the Vaikhānasas had already become an endogamous group with hereditary vocation by the time of the *Vaikhānasasaṃhitās*. The training of an *arcaka*, and also training for performing domestic rituals, therefore might well have taken place within the family.

Apart from these important hints we cannot know for certain how priestly knowledge and competence were preserved and transmitted in the past and, as we shall see, we should avoid projecting present day practices to a more remote past. Nevertheless, in order to convey an idea of how the transmission of ritual competence might look, some contemporary examples of the training of Vaikhānasa ritual specialists are presented here.⁵⁷⁶

574 The relevant term for qualification or entitlement to perform ritual is *adhikāra* or *adhikārin*. In the *saṃhitās* and in Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita's *Daśavidhaheturirūpaṇa* the term *adhikāra* usually refers to the entitlement to worship Viṣṇu, reserved only for the Vaikhānasas (ĀS 3.21–22; KhA 41.7–10 and 19–20; PrA 33.33; DHN^D 20.6–8, 27.16–19, 47.17–19). At one place in the *Khilādhikāra* entitlement to function as *yajamāna* (officiator) of a sacrifice is extended to *anulomas* and *śūdras* under certain conditions (KhA 23.8; see Colas 1996: 123ff.). Followers of other *sūtras* are said to be entitled to carry out Pāñcārātra rituals in SA (65.124–125). In the more recent literature of the Vaikhānasas *adhikāra* and *adhikārin* are often mentioned in connection with the so-called *vaidika prapatti*, by which reference is made to the *viṣṇubali saṃskāra*. On the transmission of *adhikāra* through the religious teacher see Gengnagel 2001.

575 See VK paṭala 27; PrA 11.2ff.; KrA 1.22ff.; KhA 1.38ff.; ĀS 3.21ff; *Arcanatilaka* 5.15.

576 The data presented in 4.6.2–4 are based on semi-structured, structured and narrative interviews I conducted with the persons concerned. However, the reader should be aware of the fact that I do not intend to present the concerned persons' views and interpretations of their own life story and family history as 'factual', but rather as (retrospectively) constructed identity. It is important to note that this construction took place in a specific and unusual situation ("interview"), and that the material here aims at conveying how my interview partner saw themselves and their history.

4.6.2 A classical expert

Anantapadmanābhācāryulu Gāru⁵⁷⁷ was born in 1917 in Pamaru, a small town between Vijayawada and Machilipatnam in Andhra Pradesh. According to the oral history of his family their ancestors came from a town on the banks of the Tambraparni river in southern Tamil Nadu,⁵⁷⁸ where the family was known for performing the daily sacrifice into the three sacrificial fires (*agnihotra*).⁵⁷⁹ Even today members of the family therefore bear the epithet “Agnihotra.” Anantapadmanābhācāryulu Gāru reports that inscriptions in Śrīkākulam (Andhra Pradesh) indicate that the family was summoned from Tamil Nadu to perform ritual in this then leading city of the coastal region.

He was the youngest of eight siblings, seven boys and one girl. Anantapadmanābhācāryulu Gāru and all of his brothers took up the family vocation, that is, they became arcakas or, in the case of one brother, an āyurvedic doctor. Anantapadmanābhācāryulu Gāru learnt Sanskrit quite early at a college close to his home town, while his father and his grandfather introduced him to ritual practice. This part of his training began in his fourteenth year and lasted for four years. At the age of eighteen he was in a position to perform rituals independently. His uncle who was a student of Pārthasārathi Bhaṭṭācārya’s father played an important role in his education in the performance of temple ritual. After the basic training by this uncle, he spent a further four-year period with Vedāntam Śāstrācāryulu in Sīpuri.⁵⁸⁰ Anantapadmanābhācāryulu Gāru mentioned also several other teachers who contributed to his education and who were important to him.⁵⁸¹ His skills and the areas of his activity were as diverse as the list of his

577 I conducted the interviews with Anantapadmanābhācāryulu Gāru on 16.12.2001 and 26–27.1.2002 in his house in Machilipatnam. In January, 2006, this wonderful, gentle, loveable, and knowledgeable man passed away, aged 89, hopefully now reunited with his beloved wife at the feet of Lord Viṣṇu. I would like to thank especially Mr A. Rangacharyulu, who established the contact for me with his uncle, Anantapadmanābhācāryulu Gāru, and Mr P. V. Ramanacharyulu, who kindly accompanied me from Vijayawada to Machilipatnam and served as an interpreter.

578 The Tambraparni is a river in the present Tirunelveli District. The family has no connection to this region today.

579 On this see Bodewitz 1976.

580 He was the brother of his father’s cousin.

581 These were Gudipudi Śrīnivāsācārya from Kakulapadu (Kṛṣṇā District, Andhra Pradesh), a Sanskrit paṇḍit and poet, who composed the prayoga text *Sūtrānukramanikā* (see 4.3.1); R. B. Śrīnivāsa Bhaṭṭācāryulu, the older brother of Pārthasārathi Bhaṭṭācārya; Pārthasārathi Bhaṭṭācārya; R. Śrīnivāsācāryulu from Maheśvari (West Godāvāri District, Andhra Pradesh) for Sanskrit and Telugu; Vedāntam Keśavācāryulu, a Sanskrit paṇḍit and poet; Vedāntam Vipranārāyaṇācāryulu, an āgama scholar; Vedāntam Śrīni-

teachers. Until the late 1990s he himself led the daily ritual in the temple in which his family serves as priests. In addition, in the 1990s he designed and planned the Hayagrīva temple in Machilipatnam and performed the temple inauguration (*pratiṣṭhā*). For health reasons Anantapadmanābhācāryulu Gāru soon had to hand over temple duties to a grandson he had trained himself. As he was also no longer able to perform the elaborate regular domestic worship he had deposited his domestic shrine in the sanctum sanctorum (*garbhagrha*) of the Hayagrīva temple. He always took care not only of the rituals, but also of many necessary tasks around the actual ritual activity. Thus he himself manufactured the metal insignia of Viṣṇu, conch and disk, kept in the Hayagrīva temple. He made the stone image of Vikhanas, the mythical founder of the tradition, for the shrine of the Vaikhānasāśrama in Tirumalai,⁵⁸² and he himself carved the wooden reliefs needed for the several temple rituals. Nevertheless he said that he had never been systematically instructed in these handicrafts. In the course of his long life Anantapadmanābhācāryulu Gāru had also gained a reputation as an āyurvedic doctor. He explained the connection between the Vaikhānasa tradition and Āyurveda on two different levels. Firstly, one form of Viṣṇu is called Sarvabhūta-dhanvantarī, “the healer of all beings,” and those Vaikhānasas who practice medicine follow his example. Furthermore in each of the saṃskāras in the Vaikhānasasūtra, said Anantapadmanābhācāryulu Gāru, medical plants are used. Anantapadmanābhācāryulu Gāru often also performed the rituals required for the planning and building of houses (*vāstu*) and advised the constructors on architectonic questions. He also performed life-cycle rituals for non-Vaikhānasas, drew up ritual diagrams (*yantra*) for special occasions and people, cast horoscopes as an astrologer, advised on educational questions and much more. As a result of these many talents and activities, but also because of his kind and compassionate character, Anantapadmanābhācāryulu Gāru enjoyed a very high regard in and around Machilipatnam. Both times I visited him a constant stream of petitioners came from many villages, near and far, in expectation of his advice or practical help on different matters or simply asking for his blessings. Here it is clear that the charisma of the person involved also plays a considerable role in the recognition of ritual competence. Anantapadmanābhācāryulu Gāru passed on

vāsācāryulu from Poranki (Andhra Pradesh), a specialist in Veda and āgama; Parāṅkuśam Kṛṣṇamācāryulu from Penuganchiprolu (Kṛṣṇā District, Andhra Pradesh), an expert in āgama and domestic ritual; Parāśaram Venkaṭācāryulu from Vijayawada (Andhra Pradesh); Vedāntam Jagannāthācāryulu, an āgama specialist; Parāśara Śrīnivāsācāryulu, an āgama specialist.

582 Photographs of the production are reproduced in the publication *Namassumālu* by Śrīmān Bṛṃdāvanam Raṅgācāryulu, Buttāyipeṭ (undated), pp. 5 and 23.

his knowledge and skills within his family but also headed a small training institution (*pāṭhasālā*), in which ten young men of the region studied. The lessons were held on the temple premises. In addition to the study of texts on domestic and temple ritual,⁵⁸³ the emphasis there was on the practical performance. The students learnt these by accompanying Anantapadmanābhācāryulu Gāru and watching or assisting him. Despite his advanced age and severe backpain, in 2001 he still often traveled to perform rituals in other places. Nevertheless he voiced considerable concern that there were not enough young men to undergo such training, mostly because of the low income of ritual specialists in domestic ritual, especially in rural areas. He even regarded it as doubtful whether the larger part of his own students would actually later use what they learnt with him.

4.6.3 From small town to big city

Varada Bhaṭṭācārya⁵⁸⁴ was born in 1959 in Pudevāyal (near Ponneri in northern Tamil Nadu) as the third oldest of six siblings (one sister and five brothers). His father's family has been resident for 800 years in Pudevāyal, the current home of the father and the older brothers. According to Varada Bhaṭṭācārya, the oldest written evidence for the presence of the family in Pudevāyal is from the year 1501: a palm leaf, that has long been preserved in the local temple. Varada Bhaṭṭācārya is very fluent in English. In this regard he continues a family tradition, since his grandfather came to prominence at the start of the 20th century as a mediator between the inhabitants of Pudevāyal and the British colonial authorities. Varada Bhaṭṭācārya's father, Kṛṣṇasvāmi Bhaṭṭācārya (born in 1922) is a ritual specialist very highly regarded in Tamil Nadu. By the year 2000, he had been involved in, or led, more than 400 (!) temple inaugurations and is also known for performing domestic rituals among Vaikhānasas.⁵⁸⁵ Varada Bhaṭṭācārya and his brothers were primarily trained by their father. The family has the hereditary charge of the Vijayarāghavasvāmi temple in Pudevāyal. In 2002, Varada Bhaṭṭācārya's father was still the acting arcaka responsible for the temple, but he planned to hand over this office to Varada Bhaṭṭācārya's older brother soon, who

583 The textual basis of the training primarily consists of the Vaikhānasas' own collection of mantras (*Mantrapraśna*) and a ritual handbook in Telugu script (*Sūtrānukramaṇikā*, see 4.3.1). For temple ritual the texts *Brahmotsavānukramaṇikā* and *Bhagavadarcāprakaraṇam* were used.

584 The data presented here are based on several conversations with Varada Bhaṭṭācārya in his relative's house in Tirunīrmalai near Chennai (December 2001) and in his home in Villivakkam (January 2002), a suburb of Chennai.

585 See *Sri Vaikhanasa Satabdhi Sancika* 2000, p. 21.

still lives in Pudevāyal with his parents and helps his father in the temple. Both the father and the brother have no source of income other than that.⁵⁸⁶ Varada Bhaṭṭācārya began to learn Tamil and also English at the age of six in the government school in Pudevāyal. At the age of twelve his sister, who is eight years older than him, taught him Sanskrit. At this time the sister was already practicing her profession as a teacher in the government school in Pudevāyal. She in turn had received her knowledge of Sanskrit from their father. The lessons in Sanskrit from his sister and later from his father were limited to reading, writing and some basic grammar. The language of instruction was Telugu. At the age of sixteen he completed the Pre-University Course at a college. In the same year his initiation (*upanayana*) was performed. In accordance with his mother's wishes this took place in Tirumalai. Only after this were he and his brothers introduced to the *gāyatrī* and other vedic mantras. Between his twelfth and sixteenth year training in the traditional profession of the family was limited to the lessons in Sanskrit. After the initiation his father was his teacher in religious matters. At this time he had three students: Varada Bhaṭṭācārya, his older brother and a cousin from a neighboring village who, however, did not regularly take part in the lessons. The daily routine during this training was very closely regulated. Each morning they got up at 4:30am,⁵⁸⁷ took a ritual bath (*snāna*), performed the dawn rituals (*sandhyāvandana*), and recited the *gāyatrī* mantra. From 5.30am the father taught them temple ritual and the vedic mantras (in particular from the black Yajurveda) and also instructed them in the performance of some domestic (*grhya*) rituals and some special temple rituals (e.g. *pratiṣṭhā*). The lesson lasted until 8am. After that they went to school, and later to college. Around 4 or 4.30pm they returned home. Then ritual bath, mantra recitation and sandhyāvandana were performed again. After this followed visits, together with their father, to different temples in the surrounding villages in order to perform the regular rituals there. Following their return around 7.30pm they received a further hour's lesson in which what they had learned in the morning was repeated. Occasionally, when his other obligations allowed, Varada Bhaṭṭācārya accompanied his father also to the performance of different domestic rituals at which, however, he only recited the mantras together with his father and did not perform the practical acts in the ritual. To do so was reserved for his father. After six years—at

586 Earlier, Varada Bhaṭṭācārya's brother—like Varada Bhaṭṭācārya himself—had worked as a businessman. However, as the income was insufficient, he gave up this work and turned completely to performing rituals.

587 This applies for the days on which one traditionally studied the Veda (for the exceptions see Kane 1974a: 394ff.).

the age of 21—his training was completed. His study, however, did not result in any certificate or other official recognition. In the same year he was married and from now on accompanied his father regularly to different rituals. Only now did he himself perform rituals like the *saṃskāras*, either together with his father or in his stead. He lived together with his father for almost two years longer. Varada Bhaṭṭācārya regards the years from 22 to 26 as his main period of practice in the performance of the rituals. He occasionally also took up short-term worldly jobs in parallel to his ritual activities. At the age of 26 he accepted a permanent position as “medical representative” of a pharmaceutical company. From this time on he helped his father in rituals only occasionally, but at the same time depended on this additional income. He even cut off the traditional *śikhā*, the tuft of hair characteristic of orthodox Brahmans, and had a modern haircut (“crop haircut”) during this time.⁵⁸⁸ After two years, at the age of 28, he gave up this work, mainly because he found the work very stressful and unsatisfying. In addition the low income placed him in financial difficulties, as in the meantime he had to support a family of five. Following the decision to earn his living entirely as a ritual specialist, in 1997 Varada Bhaṭṭācārya and his wife and three daughters moved to Villivakkam, a suburb of Chennai. It is easier to make an adequate income as a ritual specialist in an urban context than in rural areas. In the meantime he also continued his education beyond what his father had taught him by observing and listening to other *br̥haspatīs*. He is now in a position to perform the rituals most often requested like, for example, “fire offering to pacify the nine heavenly bodies” (*navagrahaśāntihoma*) and the rituals required for building and inaugurating a house (*vāstu*). Since 1997 Varada Bhaṭṭācārya has lived only from performing rituals. According to him, as there are not very many *br̥haspatīs* who perform domestic rituals for others, and because demand has risen in recent years, he has a sufficient to good income. Moreover he finds the activity itself satisfying. That he, unlike many other ritual specialists, is able to explain the rituals in English is also beneficial from the point of view of satisfying *yajamānas* in an urban context. He performs rituals for *Vaikhānasas* and conducts rituals in the different *Vaikhānasa* temples, but also performs vedic sacrifices (*yajña*) for non-*Vaikhānasas*, and for non-Brahmans.⁵⁸⁹ He also performs life-cycle rituals for non-*Vaikhānasas* according to their own tradition, but only for Brahmans. He mentions explicitly *gr̥hapraveśa*, *upanayana*, *vivāha*, *pūṃsa-*

588 See Fuller (2003: 95f.) on the indexical value of “wearing a *śikhā*” as opposed to a “crop haircut.”

589 Varada Bhaṭṭācārya estimates that 25–30% of the rituals he performs are for non-*Vaikhānasas*.

vana, sīmanta, nāmakaraṇa and annaprāśana. He does not find it difficult to carry out, for example, the saṃskāras of the Āpastamba or Baudhāyana school, since these are considerably simpler to perform than those for Vaikhānasas, and the mantras are moreover identical. Nevertheless, temple rituals constitute by far the greatest proportion of the income he earns. Unlike his father and brother, however, Varada Bhaṭṭācārya does not at present perform worship regularly in a specific temple.

He also has students, but none of his own children are among them as he has no sons. His five students come from Vaikhānasa arcaka families. Varada Bhaṭṭācārya instructs them in the Vaikhānasasūtra and vedic mantras. However he does not hold lessons daily: the students only come ten to twelve times a month. Occasionally they also accompany him to his ritual performances and then support him in the recitation of mantras. This happens seldom, as the students also have to carry out the daily rituals (*nityārādhana*) in their own hereditary temples and are therefore often occupied.

4.6.4 A modern scholar priest

Pārthasārathi Bhaṭṭācārya⁵⁹⁰ was born in 1968 as the elder of two sons of an arcaka in the famous Pārthasārathi temple in Triplicane (Chennai). For generations, the male members of his family have shared responsibility for temple service in this temple with another Vaikhānasa family in Triplicane. At present, Pārthasārathi Bhaṭṭācārya's family is entitled to perform ritual in the *sanctum sanctorum* (*garbhagrha*) of the temple for monthly four days, then follow four days at the movable image of the god used for processions during temple festivals (*ut-savamūrti*). The other family which shares the responsibility for rituals performs the rituals on the other days. In the "free" time Pārthasārathi Bhaṭṭācārya's family members have to earn their income elsewhere. He mentions that his grandfather survived mainly from agriculture.

Pārthasārathi Bhaṭṭācārya himself first qualified as an engineer and worked in that profession for some years. During this time he performed temple rituals only occasionally. However, two years ago, after his marriage, he gave up this profession. He states that he concealed his vocation from his future wife before the marriage, as he feared that she would not agree to marry him as a fulltime ritual specialist. Since then, he has performed not only temple rituals but also domestic rituals (including saṃskāras) for Vaikhānasas and non-Vaikhānasas. He

590 My conversation with Pārthasārathi Bhaṭṭācārya took place in his father's house in Triplicane (Chennai) on 10.1.2002.

learnt the performance of temple rituals primarily in the temple itself and above all from his father. As his teacher for domestic rituals he mentions Vijayarāghava Bhaṭṭācārya from Uttiramerūr (Kanchi District, Tamil Nadu). He visited this teacher twice and learnt the relevant mantras from him. Pārthasārathi Bhaṭṭācārya concedes that a longer training is usually required. He, however, was able to acquire the necessary knowledge in a very short time. Moreover, he was able to observe the relevant actions many times when they were performed by others, and occasionally he also consulted the relevant ritual handbooks when unsure about the correct procedure. Moreover, it must be mentioned that Pārthasārathi Bhaṭṭācārya is a very active member in several registered local and transregional Vaikhānasa associations (such as the Vaikhasa Arcaka Benifit Society and the South India Vaikhanasa Arcaka Association), which aim at promoting and furthering living and working conditions of Vaikhānasa priests as well as publishing texts of the Vaikhānasa tradition (see Hüsken 2001b). He is co-editor of a Vaikhānasa magazine in Tamil, edits Vaikhānasa texts in Grantha script, and publishes on other matters relevant to the Vaikhānasa communities. In August 2004 I met him again, when he spoke at the “National Conference on Āgama,” held by the Rashtriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha, Tirupati (Andhra Pradesh), as an invited representative of practicing vaiṣṇava arcakas. He is a modern priest throughout.

To sum up, in spite of all differences regarding age, region, and personality of the three ritual specialists introduced here, the rough sketch that can be drawn of the career of a Vaikhānasa ritual specialist is rather uniform. All three stated unambiguously that no official recognition, no certificate or the like, is required for one to be permitted to perform domestic ritual for Vaikhānasas. The only prerequisites are the upanayana initiation, and a thorough knowledge of the mantras and ritual actions. They achieved this thorough knowledge in the rituals’ practical performance in the first instance from learning with their fathers, or with other male relatives. In every case the father also practices or practiced as ritual specialist. It seems that those who perform life-cycle rituals for other Vaikhānasas are mostly sons of Vaikhānasas who themselves perform these rituals. All of those concerned were also instructed in the performance of temple rituals. Most domestic priests also have a hereditary tie to a temple, so that in addition to domestic ritual they also perform temple rituals and occasionally participate in larger rituals in other temples. The close relation between the father/teacher or to the family continues to be kept up in all three cases: Anantapadmanābhācāryulu Gāru lives with one of his sons, Pārthasārathi Bhaṭṭācārya lives with this wife and children in his father’s house, and even Varada Bhaṭṭācārya maintains very

close relations with his father just as before. Although he had left his home village and now lives in Chennai with his family, he still often carries out rituals together with his father, as I was able to observe. All three were unanimous that the income of an arcaka in the villages—by contrast with the urban milieu—is mostly not enough to support a family, even when several temples in different villages are cared for. This income divide leads many ritual specialists—among them Varada Bhaṭṭācārya—to move to the city. There they not only perform temple and occasionally domestic rituals, but also specialize in a series of rituals for non-Vaikhānasas and can thereby be sure of a steady and sufficient income.

These findings are confirmed by the brief accounts of well-known contemporary Vaikhānasas in a publication from the year 2000, which introduces a range of scholars and practitioners of the Vaikhānasa tradition.⁵⁹¹ Following their names, addresses and the names of their parents and wives, their qualifications and achievements are listed. Texts which those concerned had mastered are often cited here.⁵⁹² Knowledge of the specific Vaikhānasa texts is apparently assumed to be either self-evident, or—given the demonstrated capacity in practical performance—irrelevant, as they do not receive special mention. The degree of each person’s experience is demonstrated by the number of “inaugurations” (*pratiṣṭhā*, *saṃprokṣaṇa*, *mahāsaṃprokṣaṇa*) of temples or shrines that he has carried out or directed. In addition, special emphasis is placed on Vaikhānasas who regularly perform agnihotra.⁵⁹³ Where those presented had been awarded honorary titles, these are stated.⁵⁹⁴ It is striking that only in one case the place of training is mentioned: Śrī U. Vē. Śrīnivāsa Paṭṭāccāriyār [Śrīnivāsa Bhaṭṭācārya] from Sangendi studied at the pāṭhaśālā in Śrīraṅgam. Conversely, it is reported that Śrī U. Vē. S. B. Nārāyaṇa Paṭṭāccār [Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭācārya] from Ālvārtiru-

591 On the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the foundation of the Śrī Vaikhānasa Divya Siddhānta Vivardhini Sabha (SVDSVS) a jubilee text was published which addressed different aspects of the present situation and the future of the Vaikhānasas in Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu (*Sri Vaikhanasa Satabdhi Sancika* 2000). On the SVDSVS see Hüsken 2001b: 175f.

592 Thus, for example, the *Rāmāyana*, *Mahābhārata* and *Śrīmat Bhāgavata* are given for Śrī U. Vē. Kovintarāja Paṭṭāccāriyār [Govindarāja Bhaṭṭācārya] (p. 16).

593 This applies only to Śrī U. Vē. p.Rākava Paṭṭāccār [Rāghava Bhaṭṭācārya] (p. 10).

594 Thus the titles Sudarśana Upāsakar and Śrīvaikhānasabhagavacchāstrabhāskara were conferred upon Śrī U. Vē. Śrīnivāsa Paṭṭāccāriyār [Śrīnivāsa Bhaṭṭācārya] from Sangendi (near Trichy) (p. 25), the title Śrīvaikhānasāgamacakraṅgavartin was conferred upon Śrī U. Vē. p.B. Nārāyaṇa Paṭṭāccār [Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭācārya] from Ālvārtirunagar (Chennai) by the Kāncī Kāmakōṭī Pīṭādhīpati, and Śrī Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita of Vallutūr received the title Śrī Vaikhānasamānasasarōruhaḥsam, Kaṇakāyamāna Kaṇṭiravam and Alamkāra Kalātilakam (p. 29).

nagar (Chennai) teaches 30 students in a pāṭhaśālā established by the Tamil Nadu government in Triplicane (Chennai). This account therefore leads us to conclude that the training of ritual specialists of the Vaikhānasa tradition seldom takes place in private or government training centres.

4.6.5 Vaikhānasa training institutions

Nevertheless, more and more such training institutions (named *pāṭhaśālā* or *vidyāpīṭha*) were established in the second half of the last century, some of which also offer instruction in the Vaikhānasa ritual system. These rather recent foundations of pāṭhaśālās are an outcome of attempts to offer a standardised training for temple priests and other ritual specialists. The process initiating these attempts, namely modern temple reform in Tamil Nadu, began in the late nineteenth century.⁵⁹⁵ At that time mismanagement of the temples was at first the focus of attention of the reformist movement, mainly among the politically active Madras elite. The outcome was, in 1926, the Hindu Religious Endowment (HRE) Act, giving the government more power over temple administration than it has ever had before. This control was even intensified when the HRE Board was replaced by the Hindu Religious & Charitable Endowments (HR&CE) Department in 1952. By that time, if not before, the priests had become another main focus of attention. More and more complains were to be heard about the lack of learning among the temple priests, allegedly causing low standards of ritual performance. They were accused of incompetence and misperformance, and the reason for their “lack of competence” was seen in a lack of “proper education.” After several decades these accusations have been internalised by the priests themselves (see Fuller 2001: 4). Thus, after independence, even the temple priests’ own association, the South Indian Archakar Association, publicly complained about low performance standards among temple priests. The critics demanded that no priest should be allowed to work in a temple without a certificate from an āgama school. This demand was answered in 1964 by new service rules issued by the HR&CE Department, stating that every newly appointed priest needs a certificate issued by an āgamic school or its equivalent. Although these rules have so far not been put into practice, the priests are well aware of the fact that this might happen. Therefore many temple priests’ families who en-

595 What follows here is mainly a summary of Fuller’s 2003 account of the events and their effects (chapter IVs “The agamas and priestly education”). See also Presler 1987, and Good 2004.

joy hereditary rights to perform worship in certain temples encourage their youngsters to subscribe to such courses in an āgama school.

Today, there exists a large number of such training centres, maintained in different ways.⁵⁹⁶ These institutions are often linked to a temple, and in many cases these pāṭhaśālās are run or maintained by an ascetic institution (*maṭha*, “monastery”; see Kane 1974b: 906f.). However, only a few of these pāṭhaśālās offer courses in Vaikhānasa rituals.⁵⁹⁷ The two institutionalized pāṭhaśālās in Andhra Pradesh which offer training in the Vaikhānasa tradition are attached to Viṣṇu temples of the Vaikhānasa tradition.⁵⁹⁸ The two pāṭhaśālās I visited in Karnataka (in Bangalore and in Mysore) are neither linked to a specific temple nor to a maṭha,⁵⁹⁹ and the only pāṭhaśālā I saw which is entirely reserved for Vaikhānasas is in Dvāraka Tirumalai (near Ellūru, West Godāvārī district).⁶⁰⁰

Two of the institutions which offer courses in Vaikhānasa ritual shall be introduced here in more detail.

596 See the detailed account in Mishra (1997) and *Government Report* (referred to in Michaels 2001, bibliography). Note, however, that today a whole variety of comprehensive schools also have pāṭhaśālā as a component of their name.

597 One of the reasons for this situation might be that the Vaikhānasa tradition is first of all a tradition of ritual practice, without maṭhas. Maṭhas are institutions for celibate men, mainly aiming at preserving, teaching and learning certain doctrines and philosophies. Although the Vaikhānasa tradition also developed its own brand of Viśiṣṭādvaita philosophy, it still is mainly a ritual and not a philosophical tradition. One of the prerequisites for practising the profession of a temple priest in the Vaikhānasa tradition is that the concerned person has to be either a married householder (*gṛhastha*) or a Brahman student (*brahmacārin*). This fact might have prevented the development of specific Vaikhānasa maṭhas. There is, however, a suggestion in the *Jayākhyasamhitā* that the Vaikhānasas too may have had maṭhas (see Colas 1996: 56).

598 According to Rāghunāthācārya (in Mishra 1997) there are in total at least sixteen non-government Veda pāṭhaśālās in Andhra Pradesh.

599 In Bangalore Pāñcarātra, Vaikhānasa and Śaiva āgama classes are offered, whereas in Mysore additionally Vīraśaiva āgama and Jaināgama courses are offered. I visited the pāṭhaśālā in Bangalore on 30.8.2005 and had one interview there with the Pāñcarātra teacher Mr. Vāsudeva Bhaṭṭācārya. I visited the other pāṭhaśālā, the Mahārāja Sanskrit College in Mysore, on 31.8.2005 and had an interview there with the teacher Mr. Gaṅgādhara Bhaṭṭa. I thank both of them for sharing their time and knowledge with me.

600 Many heartfelt thanks are due to Mr. Jagannātha Charyulu and his family whose hospitality I enjoyed during my visit. On average 30 students live at the pāṭhaśālā, who all come from Andhra Pradesh, from families who have hereditary charge of a temple. The performance of domestic rituals is not part of the curriculum in this pāṭhaśālā. The school is divided into three classes: 1) daily temple ritual, 2) the Brahmotsava temple festival, and 3) temple construction and temple rituals performed only occasionally (*naimittika*).

The pāṭhaśālā in Nanguneri

Nanguneri is a small hamlet in the Tirunelveli district in southern Tamil Nadu, home to a Viṣṇu temple called Tiruccirivaramangai (or Vānamamalai), one of the 108 holy vaiṣṇava places (*vaiṣṇava divyadeśam*). Within a stone's throw of the temple is the pāṭhaśālā. It is housed in a two-storeyed building with a hall and kirchen downstairs, and two dormitories for the students upstairs. This institution was set up in 2002. From the outset has been financed by the TVS group,⁶⁰¹ and managed by the current head (*jīyār*) of the famous Vānamamalai maṭha. Here Vaikhānasa and Pāñcarātra āgamas are taught, each by a different teacher. The teacher on the Vaikhānasa subject, Mr. Govinda Bhaṭṭācārya, is a full time teacher who came to Nanguneri from Tirukkurungudi, where he himself went to school. During my visit, in August 2005, fifteen students resided in the pāṭhaśālā, their age ranging from twelve to nineteen years. Nine of them were learning Vaikhānasa āgamas, five studied Pāñcarātra āgamas. The Vaikhānasa classes in this pāṭhaśālā are open to Vaikhānasas only. All students present at the time of my visit came from Tamil Nadu: four were from nearby Tirunelveli, six from Madras, and one student each from Trichy, Madurai, Tirutanka near Sivakasi, and from Bodhi. Both course are designed for four years and include only temple rituals (*daivikam*). No training in the performance of domestic rituals is offered. The training of the Vaikhānasa students, however, also includes the sūtra with its mantras. One textbook used for teaching the students, for example, is the *Nityārcana*, a text on the daily rituals to be performed in a temple. The lessons take place daily for two hours in the morning and for two hours in the evening. The students are practically trained through their frequent presence in the temple during the daily ritual course, but also when they accompany their teacher to bigger rituals performed in other temples, such as temple inaugurations (*saṃprokṣaṇa*).

The administration by the jīyār of the Vānamamalai maṭha is mainly confined to his right (and duty) to conduct the exams of the students which take place every six months. However, the Vaikhānasa teacher adds that since the jīyār does not know the āgamas (he himself does neither belongs to the Vaikhānasa tradition nor does he follow the Pāñcarātra tradition), the exams are prepared and corrected by the āgama teachers, and the jīyār then signs the certificates and personally hands them over to students. The TVS company provides the students with a stipend of 300 Indian rupees per month. The wife of one of the temple priests, Mrs Sundarā Bhaṭṭācārya, takes care of the cooking in the pāṭhaśālā. The

601 The TVS group is today one of India's largest industrial entities and was founded 1911 by the Vaiṣṇava Śrī T. V. Sundaram Iyengar.

rules of conduct for the students are comparatively relaxed: only during lessons inside the pāṭhaśālā or inside the temple the students have to follow the traditional vaiṣṇava bachelor's dresscode, wearing only a dhoti and an upper cloth. When "going out" they are also allowed to wear shirts and pants. It must be mentioned, however, that the "worldly" distractions in the village are limited to a few shops, offering only the opportunity of some fairly basic shopping.

The Veda pāṭhaśālā in Tirumalai⁶⁰²

A so-called Veda pāṭhaśālā is connected with the Veṅkateśvara temple in Tirumalai (Andhra Pradesh), the largest pilgrimage centre in India. As the temple ritual in the Veṅkateśvara temple is performed according to the Vaikhānasa tradition, training in this ritual system is also offered in the Veda pāṭhaśālā. The pāṭhaśālā is situated three miles up the hill, in an idyllic spot in the forest. It consists of several small but solid huts where the teaching is done, a rather large library building, and a bigger complex which houses the dormitories of the students. This institution was founded in February 1884 by the Tirupati Tirumalai Devasthānam (TTD) organisation, which continues to finance the pāṭhaśālā. The institution is thus maintained without governmental support, primarily out of the income from the temple and its associated institutions.⁶⁰³

In January 2002, when I visited the pāṭhaśālā for the first time, there were 372 resident students. Each year around 50 new entrants (only Brahmans) are admitted. Before admission pupils must have undergone the upanayana initiation and therefore be in the brahmacārin stage of life. Furthermore, those who belong to a family with a traditional connection to the priestly profession are preferred when it comes to admission. On entering the pāṭhaśālā, attendance at comprehensive schools comes to an end for the children.⁶⁰⁴ Board and lodging are provided for the students for free. The boys receive three meals a day, and are accommodated in dormitories for 60, in which each of them has a secure locker. A sleeping mat, a plate, a cup and a blanket are the only personal belongings the students are allowed to keep. In addition the students receive two sets of clothes (dhoti and upper cloth) each year. Moreover, they are evidently allowed to keep an additional set of "worldly" clothing. Here—as in Nanguneri—the rules for

602 I visited this pāṭhaśālā thrice in 2002. At that time I had the chance to speak with one teacher of the Vaikhānasa classes, several students, and the director of the pāṭhaśālā.

603 For details, see Bhaskara Rao 1992.

604 According to Michaels (2001b: 5), this demonstrates the general isolation of the pāṭhaśālās from the modern Indian educational system—one of the factors responsible for the decline in Sanskrit learning, he argues.

clothing appear to apply only to the lessons. At other times the boys are also to be seen in T-shirts and pants. Each month the students also receive two pieces of soap and a small amount of hair oil. Medical attention is free, and in winter warm water is available. One of the 25 teachers spends the night with the students in the pāṭhaśālā on a rotating basis. The teachers are paid at a rate equivalent to that in government training institutions.⁶⁰⁵ The students' progress is assessed in three examinations each year, and passing the end of year exam is a precondition for further study. In addition, in March each year competitions take place between the different pāṭhaśālās. The boys come from the federal states of Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka but the majority are from Andhra Pradesh. The main reason for this is that instruction takes place primarily in Telugu, the state language of Andhra Pradesh, and also that the Sanskrit texts are read in Telugu script. Only in the Divyaprabandha class is the language of instruction Tamil, as this text is written in Maṇipravāla, a mixture of Sanskrit and Tamil, and is recited in vaiṣṇava temples in Tamil Nadu. All students begin with Sanskrit. The students initially had very different degrees of knowledge of this language. Sanskrit is studied for example through memorizing the list of Viṣṇu's thousand names, *Viṣṇusahasranāma*, and the *Bhagavadgītā*. Moreover, at the beginning the students are together instructed in the rituals common to almost all Brahmanic traditions, for example the dawn-rituals (*sandhyāvandana*) and the recitation of praise verses.

Three types of courses are offered in the pāṭhaśālā: "Veda classes" for vedic recitation, "āgama classes" for temple ritual, and "paurohita classes" for domestic ritual. The students register for only one subject, depending on the age at which they enter and their interests. The Veda classes involve a twelve-year training; the entrance age of the children is eight years, after they have successfully completed the third standard in a comprehensive school. In total there are seven Veda classes in the pāṭhaśālā: one Ṛgveda class, two Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda classes, two Śukla Yajurveda classes, one Sāmaveda class, and one Atharvaveda class. Successful attendance at one of these Veda classes makes the person concerned a "Vaidika." He recites the text of his respective branch (*śākhā*) of the Veda in temples. In many cases the TTD finances not only the training, but also the regular payment of those who have studied the Veda in the three federal states Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, and Karnataka. At the beginning of 2002, the director of the Veda pāṭhaśālā estimated that there were about 400 Vaidikas financed by the TTD. Depending to their specialization the Vaidikas receive either

605 At the age of 58 the teachers retire. Michaels (2001b: 5f.) refers to the payment of the teacher as an important departure from "the traditional system."

1800 (*kramapati*), 2200 (*ganapati*) or 1200 (*vṛddhapaṇḍita*) rupees per month. The āgama classes involve an eight-year training period. The āgama classes deal with the temple ritual according to the Vaikhānasa, the Pāñcarātra and the Śaiva ritual system. When entering, the students must have successfully completed the fifth standard in a comprehensive school. Graduating from the āgama classes makes the students arcakas (temple priests). The paurohita traditions passed on in this pāṭhaśālā belong to the Black Yajurveda (*kṛṣṇayajurvedapaurohityam*), the White Yajurveda (*śuklayajurvedapaurohityam*), the Ṛgveda (*ṛgvedapaurohityam*), and the ritual tradition of the Vaikhānasas (*vaikhānasa-paurohityam*). When graduating from one of these paurohita courses the students receive the title ācārya. The teaching covers the recitation of mantras, but also the practical performance of the rituals. For all courses, a student is usually ready to graduate by the age of twenty. At the conclusion of their study most students return to their home towns or villages. On successful completion of the training the ācāryas and arcakas receive a certificate together with a one-off payment of 10000 Indian Rupees. Those who complete the Veda class receive 15000 Indian Rupees.

The lessons take place daily (except for those days traditionally perceived as unsuitable for the study of the Veda), from 8am to 11.30am and from 1pm to 4pm. The method of teaching is the same for all courses. First the texts are learnt by heart, and then the meaning is explained.⁶⁰⁶

There are in total three Vaikhānasa classes in the Veda pāṭhaśālā in Tirumalai: one paurohita and two āgama classes. They were attended in 2002 by a total of 90 Vaikhānasa students (of which about 30 were in the paurohita class), all of whom came from Vaikhānasa families. These students occasionally also help with performing rituals in the Veṅkaṭeśvara temple in Tirumalai. Lakṣmīnara-siṃha, a student from Chittoor (80 km southwest of Tirumalai), was in his eighth year of training in 2002. He reported that both his father and his uncle regularly carry out rituals in the temple. He himself participates—like his older brother—in the daily suprabhātam recitation at 4am (see Venkatacharya 1999) during the wake-up ceremony for the god.

According to the teacher of one of the Vaikhānasa āgama classes in Tirumalai, as in Nanguneri the texts used for the lessons are not the Vaikhānasa saṃhitā and sūtra texts, but rather compilations of extracts from these texts. The teacher of the āgama class explained that although the āgamas and sūtras are the theoretical textual basis for the lessons, the actual working materials are later, more

606 On this method of teaching which seems to be the same in āgama schools throughout South India, see Fuller 2001: 13ff. and 2003: 103ff.

systematic texts.⁶⁰⁷ Thus, for example, for instructions on the daily temple rituals the text *Nityārcanāvidhāna* is used. The text systematically describes the temple rituals, and also goes into detail on issues like the utensils to be used and the sacrificial materials.⁶⁰⁸ The same is true of the *Bhagavadarcāprakaraṇa*, a text by Nṛsiṃha Vājapeyin. This text describes the daily worship of Viṣṇu, the use of different vessels in worship as well as diverse purificatory rituals and similar topics. For the annual Brahmotsava temple festival (Ramesh 2000: 59ff.), Nṛsiṃha Vājapeyin's *Brāhmotsavānukramaṇikā* is used (see Muttu 1996: 23f.). This text offers a detailed description of this temple festival in several sections, with accounts of the preparations, the diverse vehicles of the god (*vāhana*), and the relevant expiations. Another text used in lessons is the *Pratiṣṭhānukramaṇikā*, a selection of sections from diverse Vaikhānasa āgamas on the installation of divine images in the temple. The teacher of the Vaikhānasa āgama class stated that the actual difference between the āgama and the Vaikhānasa paurohita class is not so great since, for example, both classes are taught the *Rāmadeśikāhnikā*, a text on the division of the day into five ritual phases.⁶⁰⁹ In addition to such works on the general conduct of Vaikhānasas, the paurohita class studies the commentary to the *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra*, and also the *Sūtrabhāṣya* of Nṛsiṃha Vājapeyin and Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita's *Tātparyacintāmaṇi* for advanced students.

4.6.6 Ritual knowledge

According to the *Vaikhānasasamhitās*, in principle all rituals performed by a Vaikhānasa are "valid," however far the ritual practice diverges from, for example, the textual instructions, so long as the performer is actually from a Vaikhānasa family, and has received the Vaikhānasa saṃskāras. This is clearly expressed as a theoretical idea in the *Ānandasamhitā*: independently of the degree of his learning, an arcaka who belongs to a Vaikhānasa family and has received the viṣṇubali saṃskāra may worship Viṣṇu, but others may not (ĀS 3.24 and ĀS 8.12).⁶¹⁰ However, in practice there is evidently more to the evaluation of ritual performance than this text suggests.

607 This accords fully with Welbon's observations in Tirukkurungudi (1984: 75).

608 This text does not count as one of the so-called *Vaikhānasasamhitās*, but is nevertheless ascribed to the Ṛṣi Marīci.

609 On the Pāñcarātrins' division of the day in five sequences (*pañcakāla*) see Rastelli 2000; on the Vaikhānasas' corresponding concept see Hüsken 2004.

610 On this method of legitimizing and validating ritual practice, see also Stavrianopoulou 2007.

Thus, in the course of modern temple reform in Tamil Nadu, many complaints were voiced about the allegedly “low performance standards,” “ignorance,” “laxity” and lack of education of the priests. In response to this critique, *pāṭhaśālās* were set up, providing a standardised training for future ritual specialists. Hand in hand with the demand for a “better education” of temple priests went efforts to print and publish texts on temple rituals. “Agamic education as it operates in the modern era is predicated upon the existence of texts that are accessible, standardized source of authoritative knowledge. In producing such texts, printing and publication have played a crucial role” (Fuller 2003: 86). Many *āgamas* and *saṃhitās* were printed for the first time, and then distributed among the temple priests.⁶¹¹ One of the aims of printing the books in great number was their potential use for educating the young priests in *āgama* schools or *pāṭhaśālās*.

However, a uniform standard had never actually existed before. It can be assumed that especially for the *Vaikhānasa* tradition, learning was formerly primarily individual, and moreover that regulatory authorities outside the tradition were not referred to, since the *Vaikhānasa* ritual tradition claims no universal applicability. Thus the mode of transmitting ritual knowledge was determined by the personal relationship between the pupil and the learning environment created by the teacher, and the concrete performance of the ritual was determined by the relationship of the officiating *ācārya* and the *yajamāna*, the commissioner and sponsor of the ritual in question. The establishing of institutionalised training centres such as the *pāṭhaśālās* thus resulted in the de-individualizing as well as the de-localizing of the training: neither the specific relationship between teacher and student, nor local traditions and customs were supposed to shape ritual practice. This represented a radical departure from the then prevalent practice. What was presented as a “return to tradition” did thus in fact result in a “re-invention of tradition” (see Hobsbawm 1983). This process illustrates one of the characteristics of ritualized actions in general, identified by Humphrey & Laidlaw (1994: 12, 105): in religions with scriptural traditions reform of rituals is always understood as a return to a postulated “original meaning” of a text, or to a “true prototype” of a ritual, above and beyond current ritual practice.

However, the effect of the availability of “canonical texts” and their inclusion in the curriculum of the *pāṭhaśālās* on the quality of education was evidently

611 On the role of the French Institute in Pondicherry (“the myth of Pondicherry”) in this process, especially for the *śaivāgama* literature, see Fuller 2003: 91ff. This fundamental change is also reflected change of arguments used in the dispute in Singhapurumal (see 3.1.3).

misjudged. According to the Government Commission set up in 1956/57, the introduction of uniform reading of certain texts as well as timetables, and also uniformity in the examinations in the pāṭhaśālās, contributed instead to a decline in learning.⁶¹² The view that the pāṭhaśālās are not conducive to a “better education” of the ritual specialists is shared by many Vaikhānasas, although the reasons given for this vary. The teachers in the pāṭhaśālās complain that a large part of the students leave before the end of the course, and start practising on the basis of partial knowledge, while at the same time boasting about their respected place of training. And in fact the majority of the boys and young men present at the Veda pāṭhaśālā in Tirumalai are under the age of fifteen. Moreover, the profession of a ritual specialist is unattractive. Lack of respect in society, coupled with a low religious status (see above, 2.1.2) and small income in rural areas, adds to the social disdain which Brahmans with a traditional lifestyle experience. Since social mobility—including across caste barriers—has substantially increased in the last century, there is a tendency that only those who cannot prove themselves in school or on the job market take up traditional callings. The head of the trans-regional Vaikhānasa association SVDSVS in Tirumalai, D.V. Chari, shared this assessment.⁶¹³ It is therefore the longterm goal of the association to hive off the training of Vaikhānasas from the general Veda pāṭhaśālā and to establish a pāṭhaśālā of their own. Only in this way, D.V. Chari thought, could a comprehensive training of the next generation be achieved. At the same time this would have the advantage that the Vaikhānasas themselves had more influence on the selection of teachers and teaching methods—the inadequate practical exercises of the students is especially regretted. Apart from the erection of a sacrificial hall (*yā-gaśāla*), other media of instruction could also contribute to this purpose. Along these lines there is also the idea to make use in the training of audio cassettes and videos of recitations and rituals.⁶¹⁴ The ultimate goal is the “maintenance of standards” in the performance of rituals. In a further step this would also ensure the same in other regions, as arcakas could be sent for a fixed rate to a centre to be established in Tirumalai, in order to give practical training to the students. The arcakas would also benefit, according to D.V. Chari, as they would have secure positions. The “quality of the rituals” could then be guaranteed.

612 This evaluation refers to Sanskrit learning irrespective of the tradition; see *Government commission*, p. 135 (quoted in Michaels 2001b: 10).

613 The conversation with D.V. Chari, the late secretary of the Sri Vaikhānasa Divya Sidhanta Vivardhini Sabha, took place on 14.1.2002 in the Vaikhānasaśrama in Tirumalai.

614 At the time of our conversation, financial means required to put this plan into practice (for the technical equipment and for payment of the arcakas who would perform the rituals) were not available.

The lack of emphasis on practical training is in fact one of the major disadvantages in many pāṭhaśālās. This, however, is already built into the very concept underlying these institutions, namely that knowing the āgama texts inevitably implies that one is capable of performing the rituals, and that standardised texts alone are the source of authoritative knowledge (see Fuller 2003: 86). When books came to be seen as the primary source of knowledge, the āgamas were transformed into “holy books.” In fact, however, these texts do not contain detailed instructions about how to perform the rituals (see Fuller 2003: 82),⁶¹⁵ and evidently they never were meant to be used as “how to do” handbooks: “they are written for functioning priests and serve them as compendious references, sanctions, and models more than exhaustive procedural guides” (Welbon 1984: 72).⁶¹⁶

The large number of ritual texts of the Vaikhānasa tradition itself suggests that the main performers of both temple and domestic ritual have never been unanimous regarding the performance of rituals.⁶¹⁷ Evidently there always have been local traditions, personal styles, and even ritual “fashions,” handed down not only in written records, but also by different performative and oral traditions (see also Tambiah 1979: 115). In addition to an understanding of the relevant texts, performative knowledge which is gained mainly through experience is required to translate text into practice. Thus, knowledge of texts *and* knowledge of how to apply them is an essential part of priestly competence. The performer and the process of how he acquires his ritual competence are extremely important factors in a ritual’s concrete enactment. Bado-Fralick (2009) convincingly argues that in the process of acquiring ritual competence the body is increasingly involved not only as an acting agent, but also as “knower” of the skills necessary for ritual work. The physical body thus emerges as “equally important to belief or intellectual knowledge.” Even the memorisation of textual passages for recitation can be characterised as important kind of bodily technique, albeit combined

615 Welbon (1984: 75) comments that at present the arcakas’ access to the rituals takes place above all through prayogas, not through saṃhitās, and in addition through the scholars of the tradition, whose advice is sought.

616 However, although āgamic schools and the emphasis on āgamic learning in pāṭhaśālās can be viewed as a failure in terms of enhancing the students’ ritual knowledge, it meanwhile does in fact have potential economic advantages: a certificate issued by a pāṭhaśālā helps temple priests to be employed abroad, be it in Singapore, in the USA, or in another place with a large enough diaspora community to establish and maintain a Hindu temple.

617 See, for example, the diverse Vaikhānasa scholars’ explications on viṣṇubali presented in 2.2.2.2–2.2.4.7, or the fact that two differing versions of the Vaikhānasa *Mantraprasāna* are accepted as authoritative by the tradition (see Colas 1996: 222ff.).

with literate learning: the correct vocalisation of texts (including stress, pitch, rhythm) are important features of priestly education (Fuller 2003: 86, 102f.). Therefore, while the existence of texts in printed form helps in memorizing the texts and thus in fact improves the young priests' capacity to recite relevant mantras or other texts by heart, priestly education still is mainly based on practical training, achieved by mimetic means. The required contextual knowledge is acquired through practical performance (Fuller 2003: 104), as are specific bodily techniques such as the hand gestures (*mūdra*) and other details of ritual enactment. Performative learning, such as "being with elders," bodily presence during ritual performances, gradual involvement and mimesis are important means of internalisation of ritual competence. Ritual knowledge, is, above, all, practical knowledge: "how well a priest uses his body is interpreted as an index of how correctly he can perform ritual" (Fuller 2003: 108).⁶¹⁸ The careers of ritual specialists in the Vaikhānasa tradition can be very different with respect to the methods, duration and subject of the learning and transmission of knowledge. Moreover, it seems that ritual practice is as individual as the performer. Textual traditions (some of which may be unknown to us) as well as oral and, above all, performative traditions, exerted and exert an enormous influence on the concrete enactment of rituals.

618 Interpreting ritual as text prevents a thorough understanding of its actual performance, its bodily enactment and its potential to create reality (see Wulf & Zirfas 2004: 38).

5 Variation in life-cycle rituals and the stability of tradition

In the form in which it is available to us now, the text which is central to this investigation—the *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa*—is not only the work of its author Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita, but also a product of its transmission. The changes which are apparent from a comparison of the two editions of the text discussed in 1.3, separated by 30 years, are probably only the most recent in a whole series of reworkings in the course of its transmission. Here I am most concerned about the question: why was *this* text in particular chosen for transmission over several generations? The *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa* has been edited and published twice. This fact is clearly connected to the socio-religious situation of the Vaikhānasas in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Most importantly, the text provides the Vaikhānasas with arguments, underpinned with quotes from their sūtra and saṃhitās, explaining why they should not undergo an initiation which involved the branding of the upper arms (see 3.1).⁶¹⁹ It is evident that the publication of a text which explicitly opposes such an initiation for the Vaikhānasas and provides detailed legitimation for this opposition is directly connected to external pressure. In the *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa*, the religious and professional legitimation of the Vaikhānasas is dealt with on the basis of the dichotomy between “branding” and “viṣṇubali.” This dispute is by no means a passing spat between two competing groups, but expresses fundamental questions that did not lose their relevance over several centuries. However, as can be shown for the Singhaperumāḷ case in 3.1.3, the availability of printed texts of this tradition, beginning in the late 19th century, led to a shift in the Vaikhānasas’ strategies in argument. Instead of “local custom” now through printed texts the authority of the āgamas was successfully invoked. Here, the Vaikhānasas ironically profited from the increasing publication activity from the late 19th century onwards, which was induced by the general accusation of “low performance standards” directed at arcakas.

5.1 The historical context of the *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa*

In his *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa* Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita ignores his contemporaries and his specific historical setting, such as preceding or contemporary events,

619 The *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa* moreover might, with its emphasis on the vedic-ness of the Vaikhānasa tradition, also be aimed at providing the Vaikhānasas with arguments against the Tamilization of temple worship (see Fuller 2003: chapter 4).

personalities, terms or texts. His arguments thereby achieve a timeless relevance. In order to maintain the illusion of this timelessness in this continuous debate explicit mention of Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita and his works is avoided, although his arguments continue to exercise significant influence on the self-understanding and external representation of the Vaikhānasas.

The burning questions of Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita's time are reflected through the *Daśavidhaheturirūpaṇa*'s refutation of anonymous or hypothetical objections which are aimed at devaluating the validity of the Vaikhānasa tradition. The Vaikhānasas' eligibility to perform rituals in Viṣṇu temples was challenged, as is shown by Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita's treatment of the questions concerning entitlement to temple worship, the obligation to undergo an initiation, the method of taking refuge in Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa, and the meaning and function of the Vaikhānasas' life-cycle rituals.

Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita lived sometime between 1370 and 1740 (see 1.2). His texts are to be seen in close connection to the development and establishment of the Śrīvaiṣṇava school in South India. One of the most important figures here was certainly Rāmānuja, whose dates are traditionally given as 1017–1137 CE. Born in a Brahmanic subcaste which pursued vedic scholarship, Rāmānuja became a follower of Viṣṇu, and was himself initiated into Vaiṣṇavism through an initiation now known as *pañcasamskāra*.⁶²⁰ Rāmānuja is regarded as having systematised the vaiṣṇava philosophical movement of Viśiṣṭādvaita, based on the opinions of his predecessor Yāmunācārya, author of the *Āgamapramāṇya*.⁶²¹ In this school the presence of the god in the image (*arcāvatāra*) is emphasized and temple ritual therefore plays a major role (see Appadurai 1981: 74f.). It is above all Rāmānuja's impact on temple ritual which concerned the Vaikhānasas. Rāmānuja altered the structure of temple organization in many South Indian temples (see Carman 1974: 37), often instituting offices which were also available to non-Brahman castes.⁶²² Rāmānuja clearly wanted to open religion and ritual to other social groups to a greater extent than had long been usual and instituted *pañcasamskāra* (including the branding element) as initiation or conversion into the Śrīvaiṣṇava fold.⁶²³ His comparatively inclusive attitude also shaped his policy with respect to temple ritual: a bias in favour of the Pāñcarātrins is apparent. Rāmānuja's relative openness certainly conflicted with the exclusive nature of

620 Rāmānuja underwent this initiation in a small vaiṣṇava community among Yāmuna's pupils in Śrīraṅgam, which he later also led (see Carman 1974: 29).

621 The orthodoxy of the Pāñcarātra school was laid out in this work (on this see Oberhammer 1971).

622 See Orr 1995: 109; Lester 1994, 39f. and 48; Mumme 1993: 131; Stein 1980: 233.

623 See Jagadeesan 1989a: 194; see Carman 1974: 38f.

the Vaikhānasa system. The rather conservative Vaikhānasa tradition, insisting that only Brahmans are eligible to hold and perform ritual functions, and that Sanskrit is the only language to be used in ritual, left certainly less room for bhakti and participation by non-Brahmins, both of which were very characteristic of the medieval period. It might well be that the Vaikhānasas' rejection of integrating broader social groups into temple activities prompted Rāmānuja to prefer Pāñcarātra ritual over that of the Vaikhānasas. He is even said to have attempted to replace the Vaikhānasa ritual system with that of the Pāñcarātra in some South Indian temples. According to the Kōyil Oluku (the Śrīraṅgam temple chronicle) he succeeded in doing so in Śrīraṅgam,⁶²⁴ in Tirupati he did not.⁶²⁵ In any case, toward the end of the twelfth century the influence of the Vaikhānasas was restricted by Rāmānuja, as he gave stronger support to the Pāñcarātrins. Here it is certainly of some significance that Rāmānuja himself was a convert, who was initiated into Vaiṣṇavism through pañcasamṣkāra. It was this pañcasamṣkāra initiation that he established as the general ritual of initiation into Śrīvaiṣṇavism. Moreover he appointed 74 men from prominent Śrīvaiṣṇava families as so-called ācāryapuruṣas. They were to take over the leadership of the Śrīvaiṣṇava community and were charged with conferring initiation (pañcasamṣkāra) on suitable converts. At the same time these ācāryapuruṣas were responsible for the management of the temples (see Appadurai 1981: 76f.). Thus Rāmānuja established a decisive link between the leadership of the school and the control of temples. The pañcasamṣkāra initiation most probably was developed on the basis of initiations described in the Pāñcarātrasaṃhitās, and was then later (in its final form) included in the later Pāñcarātrasaṃhitās as additional initiation to the Pāñcarātra dīkṣās.⁶²⁶ Śrīvaiṣṇava scholars then combined the soteriological concept of "taking refuge in Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa" (prapatti or śaraṇāgati) with the ritual execution of pañcasamṣkāra. Importantly, pañcasamṣkāra, the initiation into Śrīvaiṣṇavism, then came to be the ritual expression of this "taking refuge." After Rāmānuja Śrīvaiṣṇavism took two different directions, which are represented by the so-called Vaṭakalai saṃpradāya centred in Kāñcīpuram and the so-called Tenkalai saṃpradāya centred in Śrīraṅgam.⁶²⁷ The two branches

624 See Jagannathan 1994: 90; Colas 1984a: 76.

625 See Bhattacharyya 1956: 175; Jadadeesan 1989: 177–178; Jagannathan 1994: 124, 126–127.

626 Even today pañcasamṣkāra is absolutely necessary for becoming a Śrīvaiṣṇava.

627 The Vaṭakalai tradition is generally viewed as emphasizing the "northern" language of Sanskrit as the language of transmission of their sacred texts, whereas the Tenkalais are mainly linked with the "southern" language Tamil. Although both sects recognize Rāmānuja as their religious teacher (Carman 1974: 25), the lists of his successors as spiri-

developed differently in respect of their soteriological ideas, but also with regard to some ritual aspects. The different form of the sectarian mark (*ūrdhva puṇḍra*) is the most visible difference between the adherents of the two schools. Today every Śrīvaiṣṇava temple or religious centre is assigned to one or the other of the two schools, which can be seen already through the painting of the relevant sectarian mark on the temple walls (see Jagadeesan 1989: 196f.). The Vaikhānasas as temple priests also wear the relevant *ūrdhva puṇḍra*. Nevertheless, in terms of doctrine the disputes between the Northern and the Southern school have had hardly any influence on the Vaikhānasas over the centuries.⁶²⁸ Even today, there is intermarriage between Vaikhānasas who belong to the Tenkalai and Vaṭakalai temples, while this is not the case between Tenkalai and Vaṭakalai Śrīvaiṣṇavas. The ritualization of the “taking refuge” in form of *pañcasamṣkāra* was far more important for the Vaikhānasas, because this implied that the branding of the upper arms was part and parcel of the “taking refuge.” For the Śrīvaiṣṇavas, branding of the upper arms developed into a criterion for inclusion and exclusion: only those who underwent the branding had taken refuge in Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa and could be regarded as Śrīvaiṣṇavas. This inevitably excluded the Vaikhānasas, challenged their eligibility (as supposedly non-Śrīvaiṣṇavas) to perform the temple rituals, and induced Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita to identify some elements of the “taking refuge” with ritual elements of *viṣṇubali*, and thus to equate *pañcasamṣkāra* with *viṣṇubali*.

5.2 Ritual and power struggles

Although the Śrīvaiṣṇavas influenced the concrete form and organization of temple ritual in many ways since the time of Rāmānuja, they have not developed their own ritual tradition. They relied instead on the existing traditions of the Pāñcarātrins and the Vaikhānasas. There is a structural interdependence here: the temple as an institution and its temple priests economically depend on the funds provided by the temple founders, and on other donors who regularly or occasionally provide money and other resources in the maintenance of the temple and who sponsor the rituals performed therein. Many of the regular donors were and are Śrīvaiṣṇava devotees who, in turn, depend on the temple priest who per-

tual and religious leaders of the sects differ. While the “Southern sect” considers Maṇavālamūni (1370–1443 CE) as the spiritual successor to Rāmānuja, and also its founder, this position is attributed to Venkatanātha (trad. dates 1269–1369 CE) by the “Northern sect.”

628 On a dispute between Tenkalai and Vaṭakalai Vaikhānasas at the end of the 18th century in the Pārthasārathi temple in Triplicane see Colas 1995a: 123.

forms rituals for them, through which the donors gain their religious merit.⁶²⁹ This interdependence forces the groups to interact. However, this interaction has many ambivalent facets. On the level of temple rituals the Vaikhānasas and the Śrīvaiṣṇavas belong to two separate but interdependent groups, the Vaikhānasas being the ritual specialists, and the Śrīvaiṣṇavas the sponsors of the temple rituals. Within the vaiṣṇava fold the Vaikhānasas and Śrīvaiṣṇavas are sub-groups of the same category (Vaiṣṇavas). Here, however, the Vaikhānasas have a lower status as the Śrīvaiṣṇavas, since the Vaikhānasas are Vaiṣṇavas without an own theological or soteriological profile (see 2.2.5.4), since they do not have pañcasamṣkāra, and since the temple priests in general have a rather low status (see 2.1.2). Gellner characterizes these two levels as a hierarchy of “inner-worldly pragmatic religion” (represented by ritual) and “transcendent religion” (represented by soteriology) respectively. On the basis of his work in Nepal, Gellner shows that these two “types” of religion are often represented by different religious specialists (see Gellner 1992: 354f.). This model also applies to the relation of Vaikhānasas and Śrīvaiṣṇavas. The Vaikhānasas’ and Śrīvaiṣṇavas’ mutual recognition of their identity as Vaiṣṇavas is therefore of great significance; especially since, as was shown in 4.5.3, at the beginning of a ritual an identification of the sponsor (yajamāna) with the performing priest (br̥haspati), who also represents divine power, takes place and endures throughout the ritual.

Historically, the establishment of a branding as the mark identifying a Vaiṣṇava went hand in hand with the opening of the Śrīvaiṣṇavas toward groups that had formerly not been included. Simultaneously the ritual competence of the Vaikhānasas was brought into question—no doubt also because for the Śrīvaiṣṇavas there were alternative ritual specialists at hand, the Pāñcarātrins, who underwent the branding during their pañcasamṣkāra initiation. The popularization of Śrīvaiṣṇavism and the establishment of a conversion ritual was therefore almost inevitably accompanied by criticism of the Vaikhānasas’ birth-right as ritual specialists. In the long run, the Vaikhānasas faced the threat of the loss of their right to temple service.

629 In temple ritual the Vaikhānasas for the time of worship even identify the priest with the god: “No non-Viṣṇu is born as Viṣṇu, no non-Viṣṇu worships Viṣṇu. What is said by the friendly priest in the presence of the god, that is told by the god himself and thus it will be. Who wants to please Viṣṇu should please the arcaka” (DHN^D 39.17–20: *nāviṣṇur jāyate viṣṇur nāviṣṇur viṣṇum arcayet / supṛītenārcakenaiva yad uktaṃ devasannidhau // taddevenaiva samproktaṃ tathaiva ca bhaviṣyati / arcakaṃ toṣayed viṣṇum yas toṣayitum icchati //*). This identification of the arcaka with the deity emphasizes the authority of the priest and his qualification as ideal mediator.

The fundamental relationship between power and religious hierarchy, formulated by Louis Dumont (1970) for the varṇa system, is also structurally apparent here, although in the case at hand *within* the Brahmin varṇa. Here too there is an absolute separation of religious hierarchy and power: in the temple the Śrīvaiṣṇavas, representing economical and political power, do not have the privilege of worshipping god themselves, but are obliged to have this worship performed by the temple priests. Here, power is theoretically subordinated to the priesthood, and religious status and worldly power are separate. This relation based on religious hierarchy is expressed only in ritual, not in other contexts. Outside the ritual context the priesthood is subordinate to power. However, while Dumont assumes that through the subordination of power to religious status in the ritual context there emerges a kind of solidarity between the representatives of the two groups, this is not the case here: the Śrīvaiṣṇavas put the Vaikhānasas under pressure and attempted to gain influence on the ritual level as well. This special situation is based on the relationship between the Vaikhānasas and the Śrīvaiṣṇavas in which two different levels of identity overlap. On the one hand the Śrīvaiṣṇavas in many respects represent worldly, including economic power, in their role as temple founders, as donors and as those who finance the rituals.⁶³⁰ On this level there is a clear distinction between the Śrīvaiṣṇavas as sponsors and the Vaikhānasas as ritual specialists. On another level, the Śrīvaiṣṇavas represent a religious group which supplies the dogmatic, soteriological and theological ideas of the adherents of Viṣṇu. On this level the Vaikhānasas belong to the same religious group: they are a Vaiṣṇavas, albeit with particular ritual responsibilities. The division of roles and the interdependence within the religious group as Vaiṣṇavas does not correspond to the relationship of the sponsor (officiator) and priest in the context of temple ritual.

As became clear from the Singhaperumāḷ case (see 3.1.3), the conflict is primarily based on Śrīvaiṣṇava attempts to extend their competence to the context of temple ritual and thus—like the Pāñcarātrins but on a different level—to challenge the Vaikhānasas' authority and eligibility.⁶³¹ It appears that this overlap of separate layers of identity led time and again to the disturbance of the delicately balanced relationship between the Śrīvaiṣṇavas and the Vaikhānasas. In all three

630 In addition, since the time of Rāmānuja the management of the Viṣṇu temples has largely lain in their hands.

631 Even when Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita occasionally attacks the Pāñcarātrins in the *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa* it is nevertheless likely that the dispute is really being carried on with the Śrīvaiṣṇavas. The position of the Pāñcarātrins was similar to that of the Vaikhānasas: although indispensable during temple worship, as temple priests they nevertheless were and still are of low status among Brahmins.

cases described in 3.1 the Vaikhānasa were compelled to undergo branding. In the course of the conflicts the first request of the Vaikhānasas always was that the branding not be performed by a Śrīvaiṣṇava, but rather given within the Vaikhānasa tradition. In a hereditary system it clearly is easier to integrate an initiation performed by a member of one's own family than to accept an initiation from a different group. Pañcasamskāra is conferred by a religious teacher and the initiate acknowledges the religious authority of this teacher. The Śrīvaiṣṇavas' demand that they be the ones to confer this initiation on the Vaikhānasas ignores the different levels of identity that shape their relationship to the Vaikhānasas; it is aimed at transferring their hierarchical superiority within the vaiṣṇava groups to their position in the context of temple rituals, in which they were hierarchically subordinate to the Vaikhānasas. This is explicitly formulated in the District Judge's verdict in the Singhaperumāḷ case:

Samasrayanam [= branding] at the hands of the plaintiffs [= Śrīvaiṣṇavas] could not be insisted on, as nobody could be compelled to choose a particular person as his Guru [...] There is again the difficulty of the plaintiffs, who happen to be the Acharyas of their cult throughout India [...] The said Samasrayanam moreover, is not part of a ritual which takes place in the suit temple but one which is performed in the plaintiffs' mutt or places of his pilgrimage and, as such cannot be said to be a duty connected with the temple in the strict sense (see 3.1.3).

The dispute is thus not on the branding itself, but about the Vaikhānasas' recognition of the Śrīvaiṣṇavas' superior religious authority the branding stands for. If the Vaikhānasas accepted the branding, the religious and ritual hierarchy would be reversed and the mutual interdependence would become one-sided. The Śrīvaiṣṇavas would be recognized as simultaneously the representatives of worldly power *and* the ones who decide about ritual competence. If the Vaikhānasas were to receive their legitimation to carry out temple ritual through members of another tradition, this would mean subordinating themselves and acknowledging their power to confer, or also to withhold, this legitimation. The Vaikhānasas resist therefore primarily the religious hierarchy which would be established through such an initiation, and the conflict is the result of the overlapping of different aspects of group identity among vaiṣṇava groups.

Here it is clear that rituals—in this case the branding which the Vaikhānasas refused—are not only the expression and staging of existing social and socio-religious structures, but that they also can be means to reshape existing structures and, to that extent, instruments of power.⁶³²

632 See Burkert 1997: 17f.; see Tambiah 1979: 115: “[...] however prescribed they are, [rituals] are always linked to status claims and interests of the participants, and therefore

5.3 Strategies of integration and demarcation

The Vaikhānasas sought to advance their position in this conflict on two levels. Both argumentative strategies constantly refer to one another. The Vaikhānasas distinguished themselves over against the Pāñcarātrins by seeking to prove that as temple priests they were not only equally competent but in fact superior to the rival Pāñcarātra group. Their own “superior vedic” tradition was contrasted to the “inferior tantric” tradition of the Pāñcarātrins.⁶³³ Simultaneously the Vaikhānasas sought to integrate themselves into the vaiṣṇava groups primarily by identifying the viṣṇubali saṃskāra with the initiation of other vaiṣṇava traditions. The Vaikhānasas thus sought to maintain a fine balance between demarcation and integration with regard to different levels of their identity, as Vaiṣṇavas and as temple priests.

For the Vaikhānasas, proof of superior ritual competence was primarily a matter of acceptance of the religious authority of the Veda. Being of divine origin, the Veda has the highest authority and its truth cannot be called into question. Consequently, Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita took the Veda alone as his point of reference, and did not refer to contemporary authors or events. Rather, he based his argument on authoritative texts which he summarized as “smṛti, śruti, itihāsa, purāṇa” (see 1.4). He thereby freed the discussion from his own historical context and thus showed his tradition’s eternal validity, in accordance with the Veda. As the Veda is preserved in Sanskrit, Sanskrit as the language of divine tradition is also a central element for Vaikhānasa identity. The authority of the tradition became connected to its linguistic form, the purity of the language became equated to the purity of the tradition. By contrast, according to Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita, the Pāñcarātrins have an inferior tantric tradition. From this assumption he went on to prove that the term *devalaka*, a pejorative term for a temple priest, cannot be used for the Vaikhānasas (see 2.1.2). Here Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita combined familial

are always open to contextual meanings.” Bell (1997) goes one step further and sees all rituals as strategic action.

633 In the process of distinguishing themselves from the Pāñcarātrins within the Vaiṣṇavas, the Vaikhānasas nevertheless adopted several ideas which had hitherto been characteristic of the Pāñcarātrins. Thus the *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa* reveals an understanding of the concepts “veda,” “vaidika” and “śruti” which is directly connected with the portrayal of the Vaikhānasa branch of the Veda (*vaikhānasaśākhā*) as “Ur-Veda.” This relies on the Pāñcarātra concept of the (lost) *ekāyanaśākhā*, which is here claimed for the Vaikhānasas. The idea of the ritual division of the day into five sections (*pañcakāla*) is claimed for the Vaikhānasas in the same way. The adoption and integration of elements from other traditions in this way is a clear example for the phenomenon described by Platvoet (1995: 38) as a “window” between coexisting groups.

descent with an ethicization of profession: only a temple priest who follows the rules should not be called a *devalaka*. Since only the Vaikhānasa tradition provides for (vedic) rules for temple worship, it necessarily follows that only the Vaikhānasa temple priests are not *devalakas*. It is significant therefore that even a non-Vaikhānasa who knows the Veda is to be regarded as a *devalaka*. The virtue of “being in accordance with the Veda” (*vaidikatva*) became identified with membership of the Vaikhānasa tradition, as the Veda only prescribes temple service for the Vaikhānasas.

This provides a starting point for answering the question posed in the outset, namely how two unconnected models, namely temple service and the Veda came to be causally combined. Time and again to the vedic tradition and the vedic-ness of the Vaikhānasas is mentioned as entitling the Vaikhānasas to practise temple ritual as a profession. However, temple ritual is not prescribed, or even described, in texts which may be called vedic in a strict sense. This combination of opposites is also achieved by identifying the one with the other. Temple ritual is identified with vedic śrauta ritual; the five images of the god in a temple are identified with the five sacrificial fires of a śrauta sacrifice; iconic (*samūrta*) worship is equated with aniconic (*amūrta*) worship through fire, and so on. Thus the Vaikhānasas seek to integrate (and thus justify) non-vedic elements into their “Vedicism,” by identifying them with the Veda. B.K. Smith (1989: 169–71) notes that *grhya* ritual may in principle substitute for śrauta ritual as both types of ritual follow a common paradigm. In the case of the Vaikhānasas, temple ritual is substituted for śrauta ritual, and temple ritual is explained by reference to the paradigm of śrauta ritual. According to contemporary Vaikhānasa scholars this is moreover the reason why the Vaikhānasas do not carry out śrauta rituals: for the Vaikhānasas the temple rituals are their śrauta rituals. Just as the *grhya* rituals (*saṃskāra*) in general are the precondition for being able to perform śrauta rituals, for the Vaikhānasas it is their *saṃskāras* which are the precondition for being able to perform temple rituals.

However, in addition to their demarcation over against other ritual schools, through which the Vaikhānasas emphasize their distinctive identity and thus make themselves indispensable, they also have to fit in with the group of Śrīvaiṣṇavas in order to be able to perform rituals for them. Here the Vaikhānasas adopted the terminology that explicitly states that they are Vaiṣṇavas, followers of Viṣṇu. At the same time they are different from others because they are *garbhavaiṣṇavas*. But even more significantly, they also adapted their ritual practice: the prenatal viṣṇubali *saṃskāra* was compared with the branding of other Vaiṣṇavas (*pañcasamskāra* and “taking refuge”) and enriched with their own branding element, the milk porridge branding.

These issues can be interpreted as indices for the fundamental function of rituals as “adaptive” behaviour. Thus, for example, transitions from one phase of life to the next are marked by ritual and ritual thus makes the person concerned “fit” for the new life situation (see Michaels 1998a: 30). At the same time ritual is also adaptive in the sense that the ritual itself frequently adapts to changing circumstances: a change in the context is likely to bring about a change in the rituals. The changed context here is the demand that all Vaiṣṇavas should undergo branding (initiation); the change in the ritual consists in integrating the branding of the milk porridge into the viṣṇubali saṃskāra. The ritual is thus adapted to the environmental changes and reflects them. Nevertheless, in the Vaikhānasa literature and especially in the *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa*, viṣṇubali is always presented as superior to branding the upper arms. Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita’s understanding of initiation and saṃskāra is that they are not identical but equivalents for one another (see B.K.Smith 1989: 47f.). The process of adaptation and integration encompassed at the same time a hierarchical differentiation within the category “Vaiṣṇava”: the Vaikhānasas are presented as superior *garbhavaiṣṇavas*.

5.4 The role of the saṃskāras—from śākhā to jāti

The Vaikhānasas repeatedly seek to prove their ritual competence through their being in “accordance with the Veda” (*vaidikatva*). Yet what is meant by “Veda” here? The relationship of a member of the Hindu traditions to the Veda described by B.K. Smith (1989: 20) applies in this case: although the Veda is appealed to, the content of this textual corpus is rather independent of actual religious practice. “Veda” is defined in such a way as to extend vedic authority to parts of the tradition that are beyond that which is contained in the vedic saṃhitās themselves.⁶³⁴ The Vaikhānasas appeal time and again to the vedic authority of the Vaikhānasasūtra, which is described as a “vedic branch,” or simply as “Veda.” The central characteristics of this “Veda,” which according to the Vaikhānasas serves to distinguish them from other ritual traditions, are the 18 saṃskāras listed at the beginning of the Vaikhānasasūtra, together with the demand that they carry out ritual “for others” (*parārtha*).

There are significant variations in the practice and interpretation of the individual saṃskāras, as could be shown. Nevertheless the saṃskāras, referred to together as *niṣekādi*° (“niṣeka and so on”), always remain a marker for the unique-

634 B.K.Smith (1989:20–29) isolates several methods for declaring texts and practices to be “vedic.” In the present context, equation with the Veda, derivation from the Veda and the assertion of agreement in content with the Veda are relevant.

ness of the *Vaikhānasas* as ritual specialists both in relation to other *vaiṣṇava* groups and also in relation to other *sūtra* traditions. The 18 *saṃskāras* therefore not only serve to differentiate the *Vaikhānasas* from other groups, but also to mark them off as the only legitimate ritual specialists.

According to classical Hindu ideology, humans overcome their natural deficiencies only through ritual, each according to their inherent potential. This is based on the vedic principle that it is only through ritual that biological and natural imperfections can be formed and structured (see B.K. Smith 1989: 51). This overcoming takes place through *saṃskāras*: through ritual acts humans are made “perfect” and “fit,” step by step they are “developed” (see B.K. Smith 1989: 82, 92f.). This is explicitly expressed by Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita when he states that a *Vaikhānasa* who has undergone *niṣeka* etc., has “the body of *Brahmā*.” The *saṃskāras* of the *Vaikhānasa* constitute their “ritual body” and as such produce their entitlement to perform ritual.⁶³⁵ The *saṃskāras* therefore have the same function as an initiation: they “perfect” man and “realise” the qualities latent within him. The prenatal *saṃskāras* in addition involve the aspect of being chosen before or through birth, emphasizing the familial connection as socio-ritual differentiation. This is emphasized even more by Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita when he states that the mother too must have undergone the prenatal *Vaikhānasa saṃskāras*: she must come from a *Vaikhānasa* family.

Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita always emphasizes that only someone born in a *Vaikhānasa* family who has undergone the 18 *saṃskāras* may perform temple ritual, and that at the same time the *Vaikhānasa* tradition is “vedic” in so far as it represents a “vedic branch.” He thus makes use of two conceptually different categories. A vedic school is in principle a tradition of learning with its own authoritative texts, passed on from teacher to student once the student has been initiated by the teacher. This involves the potential of a free choice of vedic schools, and also a change of tradition. By contrast a descent group is a family in a broad sense. Membership is derived from the parents and therefore lies beyond the free choice of the individual.

In seeking to show that the *Vaikhānasa* tradition is simultaneously a vedic branch and a group based on descent, Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita formulates two points, for the most part implicitly. He equates the decision to be initiated for the *Vai-*

635 Here the *saṃskāras* “*niṣeka* to *śmaśāna*” represent just such a framework for the construction and dissolution of the ritual body of a *Vaikhānasa* as the “formal declaration” (*saṃkalpa*) and the “dismissal of the god” (*visarjana*) which mark the beginning and end of a ritual action on the concrete level of performance (see Michaels 1998a; see B.K. Smith 1989: 91).

khānasas with their status before birth.⁶³⁶ He thereby creates a transition from a vedic branch of learning (*śākhā*) with authoritative texts (*sūtra*), which is not necessarily inherited within the family, to a Brahmanic caste (*jāti*), membership of which is determined by birth. To do so he makes use of the points where the two intersect. An important unifying factor is the *sūtra*, which is a text of a vedic branch, but simultaneously contains, in its *gṛhyasūtra*, the description of the *saṃskāras*, and thus provides the foundation of hereditary membership.

The tension between the two conceptions of caste (*jāti*) and vedic school (*śākhā*) still exists today for the Vaikhānasa tradition and was discussed in the mid-twentieth century in relation to the question of whether Vaikhānasa men could take marriage partners from Brahmanic families of other *sūtra* traditions. Of primary importance was the question whether the children of such a partnership would have the right to carry out temple ritual in a Vaikhānasa temple. At a conference of the tradition it was decided that such children would only be recognized as “half pure,” because the mother had not undergone “the *saṃskāras* according to the Vaikhānasasūtra, which begin with *niṣeka*,” but that children of the next generation could be considered “pure” Vaikhānasas.

The Vaikhānasas thus use two concepts: as a vedic branch the tradition claims vedic authority, as a Brahmanic caste the borders are outwardly secured by familial descent on both parents’ side and are therefore insurmountable. Thus through the connection of these conceptions the vedic tradition of the Vaikhānasas is limited to the Brahmanic caste of the Vaikhānasas. It was the strategy of Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita to connect the aspects of prenatal consecration through *viṣṇubali* (divine grace, being chosen by Nārāyaṇa himself) with those of initiation (choice, a personal sense of calling, qualification). This connection comes about in the discussion of the “taking refuge in Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa.” On the basis of diverse *upaniṣads* he shows that the child in the womb can make the decision to take refuge in Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa, and therefore can decide to undergo an initiation which, according to Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita, takes place through the prenatal *viṣṇubali saṃskāra*. This assumption of the unborn child’s capacity for decision-making in the eighth month of pregnancy is also very clear from the observation of the performance of *viṣṇubali* in the performance in the temple setting in Vijayawada, when the father of the child speaks on its behalf the formula by which the

636 In addition Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita explains that one should follow the *sūtra* according to which one received the *saṃskāras*, and should not change the *sūtra*. He compares this with the initiation in one of the four Pāñcarātra ritual systems (*siddhānta*), which also entitles one only to perform in one tradition, and not in all. Here Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita projects the ban on conversion in the Vaikhānasa tradition to the Pāñcarātra tradition.

child takes refuge. The ritual for the unborn child thus expresses on the one hand the idea that it is able to make a “conscious” choice for a becoming a Vaiṣṇava, while on the other hand its choice of vocation and marriage partner is nevertheless already prescribed by its birth in the Brahmanic caste of the Vaikhānasas (see Michaels 1998b: 87f.).

On the basis of sectarian and ethicizing arguments,⁶³⁷ Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita introduces the idea that the religious identity of the Vaikhānasas is based on descent. In this way Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita finally establishes boundaries over against other groups, based on the natal status of the Vaikhānasas, which are perceived as inalterable and objective (see Giesen 1999: 19f.).

5.5 On the rigidity of rituals

The entitlement to perform temple rituals is at issue in the religious dispute analysed here. This entitlement is contested by contrasting an initiation based on choice that includes a branding, with a life-cycle ritual based on birth right and family descent. The discussion goes hand in hand with a change in the interpretation and performance of the rituals, as can be clearly shown in the case of the viṣṇubali saṃskāra. However, these changes are not perceived as changes by the Vaikhānasas themselves. Why are these actually flexible rituals perceived to be fixed?⁶³⁸

I conjecture that this is directly connected with the role of rituals in the identity of those concerned. In the present context ritual is the defining element in the drawing of boundaries between groups. The ritual here has an integrative dimension, in that it expresses the collective identity of the group.⁶³⁹ However, it also has a strong excluding function in that it clearly defines who is *not* a member of the group. Rituals thus serve to assure religious identity through both the including and excluding sides.⁶⁴⁰ Constituted by ritual, this group identity is per-

637 These are, in Giesen’s terminology, “traditional” arguments. Giesen (1999) categorizes basic methods of drawing boundaries between strangers and insiders in the construction of collective identity. He distinguishes in principle between patterns of demarcation (“codes of collective identity”) which are based on descent (“primordial”), on tradition (“traditional”) and on a particular idea of salvation (“universal”).

638 The idea that rituals are fixed structures has also long been dominant in research on ritual. Only in recent times has attention also been paid to the dynamic aspects of ritual (see e.g. Tambiah 1979: 115 and 136; see Kapferer 1979: 6; see also Kapferer 2006).

639 See Platvoet 1995: 36, see Kapferer 1979: 5.

640 See Platvoet 1995: 36 and 41. Mol (1978: 5f.) describes rituals in this connection as actions which reinforce order; Gephart (1999: 236) emphasizes the stabilizing function of rituals for the community.

ceived as “prefabricated,” not as authored or created by the performers themselves. A redefinition of religious identity of this sort at the same time expresses a reinterpretation of the tradition.⁶⁴¹ This can be clearly seen from the texts and ritual practices. In fact this reinterpretation of the tradition also gives the Vaikhānasas a new history, although it is not perceived by them as such. The new history also adds legitimation to their contemporary claims as the only legitimate ritual specialists, and gives a foundation for their aspirations looking towards the future. We should note that this reinterpretation takes place not only on the conceptual level, but also on the practical level: the rituals themselves change.

With reference to the vedic sacrifice, B.K. Smith (1989: 202) understands rituals as “a category that acts to provide explanatory power, traditional legitimacy, and canonical authority.” Through rituals the new is conceptualized and articulated in terms of the old, and the transformed is traditionalized. As such the innovation is short-lived, as it quickly becomes normative and is declared to be “traditional.”⁶⁴² There are, however, always limitations to this innovative ritual creativity. These limitations are set by such factors as the concrete local and historical context or a sense of appropriateness.

In the present example the element of the branding of the milk porridge is introduced as a reaction to a new situation in which there is massive pressure on the Vaikhānasas to accept a branding of their upper arms as part of the pañca-saṃskāra initiation.⁶⁴³ This new ritual element is interpreted as the “marking of the unborn by Viṣṇu himself.” The god Viṣṇu’s personal intervention before birth makes the Vaikhānasas Viṣṇu’s sons. In contrast, those who undergo an initiation after birth are seen by the Vaikhānasas as Viṣṇu’s adopted sons, or worse, even as his slaves. This drawing of boundaries through ritual rather than through theology or mythology is the major focus of the *Daśavidhahetunirūpana*. In this text performance of rituals in accordance with the rules is clearly placed above theoretical knowledge.

Innovation and reform of ritual is not recognized as change by the participants.⁶⁴⁴ One function of rituals is to express and to confirm the belief in

641 See J.Z. Smith 1987: 223–224: “[...] for a given group at a given time to choose this or that way of interpreting their tradition is to opt at a given time to choose this or that way of relating themselves to their historical past and their social present.”

642 See Platvoet 1995: 30; see also Hobsbawm 1983.

643 On the introduction of new symbols in ritual due to a dispute between two groups see Platvoet 1995: 30.

644 See Humphrey and Laidlaw 1994: 12 and 105.

unchangeability and continuity and thus to cope with change.⁶⁴⁵ This belief also extends to the performance of the rituals itself.⁶⁴⁶ At the same time, rituals are also designed by their performers and interpreters; they are powerful dynamic means to initiate change.⁶⁴⁷ Rituals represent and preserve traditions, yet constantly create traditions anew.

645 See Mol 1978a: 5: “[...] optimal functioning is the result of unresolvable tension or constant dialectic between change and stability, or differentiation and integration. [...] Integration without differentiation, or stability without change is as doomed as differentiation without integration, or change without stability!”

646 See Michaels 1998a: 44f.; see Giesen 1999: 28.

647 See Mol 1978a: 6, and 1978b: 180.

Sanskrit texts

Atharvasaṃhitā, ed. R. Roth and W.D. Whitney, Berlin, 1856.

Ahīrbudhnyā-Saṃhitā of the *Pāñcarātrāgama*. 2 vols., ed. M.D. Ramanujacharya, under the supervision of F. Otto Schrader. Revised by V. Krishnamacharya (The Adyar Library Series, 4). Adyar, 1916 (reprint 1986).

Ānandasāṃhitā by Marīci, ed. R. Pārthasārathi Bhaṭṭācārya; with the Sanskrit commentary *Ānandasāṃhitāvyaḅhyā* and Telugu commentary of the editor, Īgāvāripālem, 1924–1925, 4 vols. (Vaikhānasagranthamālā, Kusuma 12); repr. in one volume, Tirupati, 1998 (TTD Religious Publications Series, 509).

Āśvalāyanagr̥hyasūtra, ed. in *Gr̥hyasūtrāṇi. Indische Hausregeln*. Sanskrit und Deutsch von A. F. Stenzler; 1: Āśvalāyana, Erstes Heft: Text. Leipzig, 1864 (Abhandlungen der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft 3.4).

Īśvarasaṃhitā, prativādidibhayamkarānantācāryais saṃśodhitā, (Śāstramuktāvalī 45) Kāñcī, 1923.

[R̥gvedasaṃhitā] *The Hymns of the Rig-Veda in the Saṃhitā and Pada Texts*. Reprinted from the Edition Princeps, ed. F. Max Müller, 2 vols. (Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office), reprint Varanasi, 1965.

Kapīñjalasaṃhitā, printed at K.C.V. Press, Cuddapah, 1896.

Śrī-Kūrmamahāpurāṇam, ed. Nāga-Śaraṇa Siṃha and Khemarāja Śrīkr̥ṣṇadāsa, Delhi, 1983.

Kaivalyopaniṣad, pp. 142–144 in *Upaniṣatsaṃgrahaḥ*, ed. Jagadīśa Śāstrī, Delhi, 1970 (reprint 1998).

Kriyādhikāra by Bhṛḡu, ed. Es. Bi. Raghunāthācārya, Tirupati, 1982; reprint Tirupati, 1998 (TTD. Religious Publication Series, 491).

Khilādhikāra (Khilatantra) by Bhṛḡu, ed. Roṃ. Bh. Pārthasārathi Bhaṭṭācārya, Tirupati, 1961; reprint Tirupati, 1997.

Garbhopaniṣad, pp. 149–151 in *Upaniṣatsaṃgrahaḥ*, ed. Jagadīśa Śāstrī, Delhi, 1970 (reprint 1998).

Gautamasharmasūtra. The Institutes of Gautama, ed. A. F. Stenzler, London, 1876.

Jayākhyasaṃhitā, ed. Embar Krishnamacharya (Gaekwad's Oriental Series 54), Baroda, 1931.

Jñānakāṇḍa (Kāśyapaśaṃhitā) by Kāśyapa, ed. Roṃ. Pārthasārathi Bhaṭṭācārya (Śrī Venkateśvara Oriental Research Institute, 12), Tirupati, 1948; second edition Tirupati, 1960; reprint Tirupati, 1998 (TTD Religious Publication Series, 492).

Taptacakraṅkanakhaṇḍana by Kṛṣṇabhāṭṭācārya [niyāya pāṇinīya mīmāṃsātvaya pākavaccāstirapāraṅkata, vitvāṅ nācciyārkōvil kuruṣṇapattācāriyar viṇayapūrva-

- kaṃkā yeḷutikkoṇṭa viṇṇappam], Madras Religious Endowment Board [Matarās rilijiyas yeṇṭōmeṇṭu pōrttār avarkaḷ camukattirkku], 1930, Court order No. 6 [kōrṭṭu 1930-m varuṣattil O.A. No. 6–], advocate [vāti]: T.M. Tātpañkār Vakaiyar; respondent [prativāti]: M. K. Raṅkācāriyar Vakaiyar.
- The Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* of the Black Yajur Veda. With the commentary of Sāyaṅchārya, ed. Rājendralāla Mitra, Calcutta (Bibliotheca Indica 31).
- The Taittirīya Saṃhitā of the black Yajurveda*. With the commentary of Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara Miśra, ed. A. Mahadeva Sastri and K. Rangacharya. Foreword by R. N. Dandekar, reprint Delhi, 1986.
- Taittirīyāranyakam*. With a commentary of Sāyaṅchārya, ed. Rājendralāla Mitra, Calcutta, [1864–]1872 (Bibliotheca Indica, 52).
- Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa* by Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita, pp. 1–122 in *Tātparyacintāmaṇi* [in Devanāgarī-script] by Śrīnivāsa Deśika; ed. as *Śrīvaikhānasagrhyasūtra* with the commentary *Sūtratātparyacintāmaṇi* by R. Pārthasārathi Bhaṭṭācārya, 2 vols., Akulamannāḍu, 1967 (reprint Tirupati, 1997/98).
- Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa* by Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita [in Telugu-script], ed. as *Śrīvaikhānasasūtratātparyacintāmaṇidhṛto Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇākhyo bhāgaḥ*, with Sanskrit-commentary and explanations in Telugu by Rompicarla Bhattar Srinivasa Aiyangar, Igavaripalem, 1931 (Śrīvaikhānasagranthamālā, Anubandha 5).
- Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇavyākhyāna* by Pārthasārathi Bhaṭṭācārya: part of the Devanāgarī edition of the *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa*.
- Nāradapurāna*, ed. Bombay (Venkaṭeśvara press), 1905, reprint 1923.
- Nibandhana* by Saṅjīvayājñin, quoted in Pārthasārathi Bhaṭṭācārya's commentary on the *Ānandasamhitā*.
- Śrī Padmamahāpurāṇam*, ed. Khemarāja Śrīkrṣṇadāsa, Delhi, 1984–1985.
- Parāśara Saṃhitā* (With Sanskrit Text & Tamil Translation), transliteration from the Telugu to Devanagari done by Sri. U. Ve. Thirukannapuram Satakopachar Swami and Translation from Sanskrit to Tamil done by Sri U. Ve. Dr. E. S. V. Nrasimhachariar Swami; publ. by Sri Pancharatra Agama Samrakshana Trust (Sri Pancharatra Agama Samrakshana Trust Publication Series No. 1), Srirangam, 2000.
- Śrī *Pāñcarātrarakṣā* of Śrī Vedānta Deśika, ed. M.M. Duraiswami Aiyangar (Adyar Library series 36), Madras, 1996 (reprint).
- Pāñcarātrāntargatā Pārameśvarasaṃhitā*, ed. Govindācārya, Śrīraṅgam, 1953.
- The Pāda-index of the Vālmiki-Rāmāyaṇa*: a comprehensive index of verse-quarters of the critical edition of the Vālmiki-Rāmāyaṇa (2 vols.), ed. Ramkrishna T. Vyas (Gaekwad's Oriental Series), Oriental Institute, Baroda, Bombay, 1989 and 1997.
- Pādma Samhitā*, ed. Seetha Padmanabhan, R.N. Sampath and Venkatadriagaram Varadachari (Pancaratra Parisodhana Parisad Series 3–4), 2 vols., Madras, 1974 and 1982.
- Purātantra* by Bhṛgu; not printed.

- Pūrvaprayoga* (Śrīvaikhānasa pūrvaprayokam [Śrīvaikhānasapūrvaprayoga]) by Śrīnivāsa Paṭṭācāryarāḥ [Śrīnivāsa Bhaṭṭācārya], Kumpakoṇam [Kumbhakonam], 1979. [Pauṣkarasaṃhitā] *Pāñcarātrāgame ratnatrayāntargatā Pauṣkarasaṃhitā*, ed. Yati-rāja Sampatkumāra Rāmānujamuni, publ. by A. Śrīnivāsa Aiyengar and M. C. Thirmalachariar, Bangalore, 1934.
- Prakīrṇādhikāra* by Bhṛgu, ed. M. Ramakrishna Kavi, Madras, 1929; reprint Tirupati, 1997 (TTD Religious Publications Series, 483).
- Prayogavṛtti* by Sundararāja, quoted in Pārthasārathi Bhaṭṭācārya's commentary on the *Ānandasamhitā*.
- The Bodhāyana Gṛhyasūtra*, ed. by R. Shama Sastri (Panini Vaidika Granthamala 3), New Delhi, 1920 (reprint 1982).
- Bṛhadbrahmasamhitā*, ed. Śaṃkaraśāstri (Ānandāśramasaṃskṛtagranthāvaliḥ, 68), Poona, 1912.
- Baudhāyanagṛhyaparīśiṣṭasūtra*: pp. 177–376 in *The Bodhāyana Gṛhyasūtra*.
- Bhagavadgītā*; s. *Mahābhārata* (6.23.1–40.78).
- The Manu Smṛti* with commentary of Kullūkabhaṭṭa (Nirnaya-Sagara press), Bombay, 1909.
- Mahābhārata*, ed. V.S. Sukthankar, S.K. Belvalkar, P.L. Vaidya et al., Poona, 1927–1966.
- Muṇḍakopaniṣad*, pp. 25–20 in *Upaniṣatsaṃgrahaḥ I*, ed. Jagadīśa Śāstrī, Delhi, 1970 (reprint 1998).
- Mudgalopaniṣad*, pp. 407–409 in *Upaniṣatsaṃgrahaḥ I*, ed. Jagadīśa Śāstrī, Delhi, 1970 (reprint 1998).
- Mokṣopāyapradīpikā* by Raghupatibhaṭṭācārya, ed. Dīvi Veṅkaṭanarasimhācārya, Nallūru, 1948 (Śrīvaikhānasabhagavacchāstragranthamālā, Prasūna 7).
- Yajñādhikāra* by Bhṛgu, ed. Śrīvaikhānasavidyānilaya, Akulamannadu, 1931 (Vai-khānasagranthamālā, Kusuma 19). Reprint Tirupati, 1997 (TTD Religious Publications Series, 484).
- Yājñavalkya-smṛti* of Yogīśvara Yājñavalkya. With the commentary Mitākṣarā of Vijñāneśvara, Notes, Variant readings, etc., ed. Narayan Ram Acharya, Bombay, 1949.
- Liṅgamahāpurāṇam*, ed. Nāga-Śaraṇa Siṃha, Delhi, 1989.
- Śrī Varāhapurāṇam*, ed. Anand Swarup Gupta, Varanasi, 1980–1981.
- Vāsādhikāra* (Vāsanādhikāra) by Bhṛgu, ed. Dīvi Veṅkaṭa Rāmānāryulu and Nallūru Vikhanasa Bhaṭṭācāryulu, Tirupati, 1999 (TTD Religious Publications Series, 512).
- Vimānārcanakalpa* (Vaikhānasāgama, Maricisaṃhitā) by Marici, ed. S. V. R. G. Narasimhārāvu, Dvāraka Tirumala, 1979.
- Vivāhaprayoga* by Na. Ko. Śrīnivāsa Bhaṭṭācārya, Accitappattatu, 1987.
- Viśvāmītrasamhitā*, ed. Undemane Shankara Bhatta, 2nd ed. Rashtriya Sanskrit Vid-yapeetha, Tirupati, 1991.

- Viṣṇudharmah: precepts for the worship of Viṣṇu*, ed. Reinhold Grünendahl, Wiesbaden, 1983–1989.
- [*Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa*] *Śrīviṣṇudharmottarapurāṇam*, ed. Kṣemarāja Śrīkrṣṇadāsa, Nāga-Śaraṇa Siṃha, Cārudeva Śāstrī, Delhi, 1985.
- [*Viṣṇumahāpurāṇa*] *Śrīviṣṇumahāpurāṇam*. The *Viṣṇumahāpurāṇam*. Introduction, Text, Textual Corrections and Verse-Index, ed. Kṣemarāja Śrīkrṣṇadāsa and R. N. Sharma, with commentaries by Śrīdharasvāmi and Viṣṇucitta, Bombay, 1910 (śloka-Index by Nāgasaraṇasiṃha), Delhi, 1985.
- Viṣṇusmṛtiḥ*. The Institutes of Viṣṇu. Together with extracts from the Sanskrit commentary of Nanda Paṇḍita called *Vaijayanti*. Ed. with critical notes, an *anukramāṇika*, and Indexes of words and mantras, by Julius Jolly, Calcutta, 1881.
- Viṣṇvakṣena Saṃhitā*, ed. Lakshmi Narasimha Bhatta (Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha Series, 17), Tirupati, 1972.
- Vṛtti* by Vasantayājñin, quoted in Pārthasārathi Bhaṭṭācārya's commentary on the *Anandasamhitā*.
- Vṛddhahārītasṃṛti*, ed. in *Smṛtinām samuccayaḥ* (Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series 48), Poona, 1905.
- Vaikhānasakalpasūtrabhāṣya* (Vaikhānasasūtrabhāṣya; Vaikhānasagrhyasūtrabhāṣya) by Nṛsiṃha Vājapeyin, ed. Pārthasārathi Bhaṭṭācārya, 2 vols., Vijayavāḍikā, 1984 and 1987 (Śrīvaikhānasamahāmaṇḍali).
- Vaikhānasagrhyaparīśiṣṭasūtra*, quoted in *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa* and *Tātparyacin-tāmaṇi*.
- Vaikhānasamahimamañjarī* by Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita, ed. E. V. Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭācārya, together with the *Candrikā* by Sundararāja Bhaṭṭācārya, Madras, 1918 (Vaikhānasagranthamālā, Kusuma 6); reprint Tirupati, 1998 (TTD Religious Publications Series, 505).
- Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra*, ed. Willem Caland, Calcutta, 1927 (Bibliotheca Indica, 242).
- Vaikhānasamantrapraśna* (Vaikhānasasamhitā), ed. in two volumes, Īgāvāripāḷem, 1926 (Vaikhānasagranthamālā, Kusuma 7 und 14). Reprint Madras, 1946.
- Śāṅkhāyanagrhyasūtra*, in *The Grhyasūtras: Rules of Vedic Domestic Ceremonies*, Teil 1, ed. by Hermann Oldenberg, Oxford, 1996 (The Sacred Books of the East, 29).
- Śeṣasamhitā* - śrīpāṃcarātrābhīdhā bhagavacchāstre sakalasaṃhitāsārabhūtā śeṣasamhitā, ed. Gomatham Sundararāja Bhaṭṭācārya, Tenali, 1912.
- Śrīpraśna Samhitā*, ed. Seetha Padmanabhan (Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha Series 12), Tirupati, 1969.
- Śvetāśvataropaniṣad*, pp. 134–141 in *Upaniṣatsaṃgrahaḥ* I, ed. Jagadīśa Śāstrī, Delhi, 1970 (reprint 1998).
- Sanatkumāra-Samhitā* of the Pāñcarātrāgama, ed. V. Krishnamacharya (The Adyar Library Series, 95), Madras, 1969.

- Samūrtārcanādhikaraṇa* (Atrisamhitā, Atreyasamhitā) by Atri, ed. V. Raghunātha Cakravarti Bhaṭṭācārya and M. Ramakṛṣṇa Kavi, Tirupati, 1943 (Śrī Veṅkaṭeśvara Oriental Series, 6).
- Sātvata-Samhitā* with comm. by Alaśiṅga Bhaṭṭa, ed. Vraja Vallabha Dwivedi (Library Rare Texts Publication Series, 6), Varanasi, 1982.
- Sāmbapurāṇam*: Upapurāṇam, ed. Śrīkrṣṇamaṇi Tripāṭhi, Vārānasī, 1983 (Kṛṣṇadāsa Saṃskṛta sīrīja, 48).
- [*Suprabhedāgama*] *Suprapetākamam*, ed. Mayilai-Aḷakappa Mutaliyar, Cennai, 1907 (Civananapotayantra [Śivajñānabodhayantra]).
- Sūtradarpaṇa* (Śrīvaikhānasasūtradarpaṇa) by Nṛsiṃha Vājapeyin, ed. Śrīnivāsa-bhaṭṭācārya and Śrīnārāyaṇa Śeṣācārya, Helāpurī (Sanivarapupeta), 1915.
- Sūtrānukramaṇikā* (Vaikhānasasūtrānukramaṇikā) by U. Ch. Śrīnivāsa Bhaṭṭācārya, 2 vols., Īgāvāripāḷem, 1924 and 1928 (Vaikhānasagranthamālā, Kusuma 10 and 17); reprint in 3 vols., Nallūru, 1945, 1971, 1982, 1991, 1997 (Vaikhānasabhagavacchāstragranthamālā, Prasūna 9, 10, 4).
- The Skandapurāṇa*, ed. R. Adriaensen, H. T. Bakker, H. Isaacson, Groningen 1998–(Groningen Oriental Studies).
- The Harivaṃśa* (suppl. to MBh); part 1: (critical text), ed. Parashuram Lakshman Vaidya and Vishnu S. Sukthankar (Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute), Poona, 1969; Teil 2 (appendices), ed. Parashuram Lakshman Vaidya and Vishnu S. Sukthankar (Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute), Poona, 1971; (contains The Pratikā index of the Harivaṃśa, ed. Parashuram Lakshman Vaidya, Poona, 1972).
- Hiraṇyakeśigṛhyasūtram. The Gṛihyasūtra of Hiraṇyakeśin with extracts from the commentary of Māṭṛidatta*, ed. J. Kirste, Vienna, 1889.

Secondary literature

- Laura M. Ahearn 2001. "Language and Agency." *Annual Reviews in Anthropology* 30: 109–131.
- Ashok Aklujkar 2001a. "Paṇḍita and Pandits in History." In: *The Pandit. Traditional Scholarship in India*. Axel Michaels (ed.). (South Asia Institute, New Delhi Branch, Heidelberg University, South Asian Studies No. XXXVIII: Festschrift Parameswara Aithal). New Delhi: Manohar, 17–38.
- Ashok Aklujkar 2001b. "The Pandits from a piṇḍa-brahmāṇḍa Point of View." In: *The Pandit. Traditional Scholarship in India*. Axel Michaels (ed.). (South Asia Institute, New Delhi Branch, Heidelberg University, South Asian Studies No. XXXVIII: Festschrift Parameswara Aithal). New Delhi: Manohar, 41–59.
- Arjun Appadurai 1978. "Kings, Sects, and Temples in South India." *The Indian Economic and Social History Review* XIV (1): 47–73.
- Arjun Appadurai 1981. *Worship and Conflict under Colonial Rule: a South Indian Case* (Cambridge South Asian Studies 27). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Niki Bado-Fralick 2009. "The Body-in-Practice as the Ground of Ritualized Negotiation." In: *Negotiating Rites*. Ute Hüsken & Frank Neubert (ed.). Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press (forthc.).
- Athelstane Baines 1912. *Ethnography (castes and tribes)* (Grundriss der indo-arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde 2.5). Strassburg: Trübner.
- Hans Bakker 1989. "Some Methodological Considerations concerning Puranic Literature." In: *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft Supplement VII: 23. Deutscher Orientalistentag, vom 16. bis 20. September 1985 in Würzburg. Ausgewählte Vorträge*. Einar Schuler (ed.). Stuttgart: Steiner, 329–341.
- Jitendra Nath Banerjea 1956. *Development of Hindu Iconography*. Calcutta: Calcutte University Press.
- Gregory Bateson 1955 (1972). "A Theory of Play and Fantasy." In: *Steps to an Ecology of Mind: Essays in Anthropology, Psychiatry, Evolution, and Epistemology*. New York: Ballantine, 177–193.
- Catherine Bell 1997. *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Peter Bennett 1993. *The Path of Grace: social organization and temple worship in a Vaishnava sect*. Delhi: Hindustan Publ. Corp.
- D. Berti 2001. "Gestes, paroles, et combats. Pluralité rituelle et modalités d'action en Himalaya indien." *Annales de la Fondation Fyssen* 16 : 11–31.
- V.K. Bhaskara Rao 1992. *Organisational and Financial Management of Religious Institutions. With special reference to Tirumala Tirupati Devasthanams* (TTD). Delhi: Deep & Deep Publ.

- M.S. Bhatt 1987. *Vedic Tantrism. A study of Ṛgvidhāna of Śaunaka with Text and Translation*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- S.R. Bhatt 1963a. "Did Ramanuja advocate Pancharatra and Sri-Vaisnavism?" *The Philosophical Quarterly* 36/1: 43–48.
- S.R. Bhatt 1963b. "Why Pañcarātra Was Condemned as Non-Brahmanic." *Indian Historical Quarterly* 39/1–2: 21–26.
- Lakṣmī Narasiṃha Bhaṭṭa 1972a. "Arcanāvivekaḥ (Vaikhānasāgamānusāreṇa)." *Vimarśaḥ* I,1 (Kendriya Saṃskṛta Vidyāpīṭha): 42–45.
- Lakṣmī Narasiṃha Bhaṭṭa 1972b. "Vaikhānasāgamaḥ." *Vimarśaḥ* I,1 (Kendriya Saṃskṛta Vidyāpīṭha): 70–73.
- Jogendra Nath Bhattacharya 1896. *Hindu castes and sects*. Calcutta: Ed. Indian (reprint 1968).
- H. Bhattacharyya (ed.) 1956. *The cultural heritage of India IV: The religions*. Calcutta: Ramakrishna Mission (2nd edition).
- Theodor Bloch 1896. *Über das Gṛhya- und Dharmasūtra der Vaikhānasa*. Leipzig: Kreyzing.
- Andreas Bock-Raming 2002. *Untersuchungen zur Gottesvorstellung in der älteren Anonymliteratur des Pāñcarātra* (Beiträge zur Indologie, 34). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Hendrik Wilhelm Bodewitz 1976. *The daily evening and morning offering (agnihotra) according to the brāhmaṇas*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass (repr. 2003).
- Christiane Brosius 2007. "The Unwanted Offering. Ubiquity and Success of Failure in a Ritual of the Hindu Right." In: *When Rituals Go Wrong. Mistakes, Failure, and the Dynamics of Ritual*. Ute Hüsken (ed.) (Numen Book Series 115). Leiden: Brill, 291–324.
- Hélène Brunner 1967. "Analyse du Suprabhedāgama." *Journal Asiatique* 1967: 31–60.
- Hélène Brunner 1969. [review on Goudriaan 1965]. *Indo Iranian Journal* 11: 293–302.
- J.A.B. van Buitenen 1956. *Rāmānuja on the Bhagavadgūtā. A condensed rendering of the Gītābhāṣya with copious notes and an introduction*. Gravenhage: Smits.
- Walter Burkert 1997. "Fitness oder Opium? Die Fragestellung der Soziobiologie im Bereich alter Religionen." In: *Homo naturaliter religiosus - Gehört Religion notwendig zum Mensch-Sein?* Fritz Stolz (ed.). (Studio Religiosa Helvetica, Jahrbuch, 3). Bern: Lang, 13–38.
- Johanna Buß 2006. *Preta, Piṭṛ und Piśāca. Rituelle und mythische Totenbilder im Pretakalpa des Garuḍapurāṇa, dem Garuḍapurāṇasāroddhāra und der Pretamañjarī*. Unpublished dissertation, Heidelberg.
- Johanna Buß 2007. "The sixteenth piṇḍa as hidden insurance against ritual failure." In: *When Rituals Go Wrong. Mistakes, Failure, and the Dynamics of Ritual*. Ute Hüsken (ed.) (Numen Book Series 115). Leiden: Brill, 167–182.
- Willem Caland 1897. [Review on Hillebrandt 1897], *Gött. gel. Anz.* 4: 279–291.

- Willem Caland 1926. *Over het Vaikhānasasūtra* (Mededeelingen der koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeeling Letterkunde, 61, Serie A, No. 8). Amsterdam: Kon. Akad. van Wetenschappen.
- Willem Caland (ed.) 1927. *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra* (Bibliotheca Indica 242). Calcutta: Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.
- Willem Caland 1928. *On the sacred books of the Vaikhānasas*. Amsterdam: Kon. Akad. van Wetenschappen.
- Willem Caland (trsl.) 1929. *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtram* (Bibliotheca Indica 251). Calcutta: Calcutta: Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.
- Willem Caland 1930. "On the relative chronology of some ritualistic sūtras." *Acta Orientalia* 9: 69–76.
- Willem Caland & Raghu Vīra (ed.) 1941. *Vaikhānasaśrautasūtram* (Bibliotheca Indica, 265). Calcutta: Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.
- John Braisted Carman 1974. *The Theology of Rāmānuja. An Essay in Interreligious Understanding*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Catalogue of Pañcarātra Samhitā* 2002. Sadhu Parampurushdas & Sadhu Shrutiprakashdas (ed.). Amdavad: Swaminarayan Aksharpath.
- Rāghavaprasāda Caudharī 1967. "Vaikhānasa Sampradāyasya Prācīnatvam." In: *His Holiness Jagadguru Sankarachariar of Kanchi Kamakoti Peetam; Peetarohana Diamond Jubilee Celebrations Ahobilam 13–2–1967*. Triplicane, Madras: Sri Kanchi Kamakoti Seva-Samithi.
- Rāghavaprasāda Caudharī 1972. "Vaikhānasāgamasāhityasya sūcikramah." *Vimarśah* I,1 (Kendriya Saṃskṛta Vidyāpīṭha): 7–16.
- Rāghavaprasāda Caudharī 1986. "Vaiṣṇavānām āntarikabhedah." In: *Dr. B. R. Sharma felicitation Volume*. R.K. Sharma et al. (ed.). Tirupati: Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha, 5–14.
- Rāghavaprasāda Caudharī 1995. "Vaikhānasa Āgama." In: *Bhārātīya Tantraśāstra*. V. Dwivedi & J. Pandey (Hindi) & S.S. Bahulkar (English) (ed.) (Samyag-Vāk Series VII), Sarnath/Varanasi B.E. 2539; Durlabha Bauddha Grantha Śodha Yojanā, Kendriya Ucca Tibbatī Śikṣā Saṃsthāna, 405–422.
- Jatindra Bimal Chaudhuri 1938. "The Significance of the Vedic Rite Pūṣavana." *Indian Historical Quarterly* 14: 831–835.
- Francis Xavier Clooney 1996. *Seeing through texts: doing theology among the Śrīvaiṣṇavas of South India*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Gérard Colas 1984a. "Etat de recherches sul les Vishnouites Vaikhānasa." *Bulletin d'Études Indiennes* 2: 73–86.
- Gérard Colas 1984b. "Presentation et analyse de la Maricisamhita." *Journal Asiatique* 272: 343ff.
- Gérard Colas 1985. "The concept of upāya in the Mokṣopāyapradīpikā." *Aligarh Journal of Oriental Studies* II, 1–2: 117–122.
- Gérard Colas 1986a. "La Vision de la Divinité dans les Diagrammes selon le Vishnouisme Vaikhānasa." In: *Mantras et Diagrammes Rituels dans l'Hindouisme*. A. Padoux (ed.). Paris: Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 83–97.

- Gérard Colas 1986b. *Le temple selon Marici* (Publications de l'Institut de Civilisation Indienne, 71). Pondichéry: Institut Français d'Indologie.
- Gérard Colas 1988. "Le yoga de l'officiant vaikhānasa." *Journal Asiatique* 276: 245–283.
- Gérard Colas 1989. "L'instauration de la puissance divine dans l'image du temple en Inde du Sud." *Revue de l'Histoire de Religions* CCVI-2 (avril-juin): 129–150.
- Gérard Colas 1990. "Sectarian divisions according to Vaikhānāsāgama." In: *The Sanskrit Tradition and Tantrism* [Panels of the seventh World Sanskrit Conference]. T. Goudriaan (ed.). Leiden: Brill, 24–31.
- Gérard Colas 1992. "Le renoncement dans la tradition vishnouite vaikhānasa." In: *Ascèse et renoncement en inde. Ou la solitude bien ordonnée*. Serge Bouez (ed.). Paris: L'Harmattan, 41–56.
- Gérard Colas 1994. "On the Baudhāyanagrhyapariśiṣṭasūtra and the Vaiṣṇavāgamas." In: *Pandit N. R. Bhatt Felicitation Volume*. P.-S. Filliozat et al. (ed.). Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 511–525.
- Gérard Colas 1995a. "Cultes et courants du vishnouisme en Inde du Sud, Quelques observations à partir des textes." In: *Les ruses du salut: Religion et politiques dans le monde indien*. M.-L. Reiniche (ed.) (Puruṣārtha 17). Paris: École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 111–138.
- Gérard Colas 1995b. *Les sources scripturaires des Vishnouïtes Vaikhānasa. Etude du canon médiéval, Thèse pour le doctorat d'Etat ès-lettres*. Paris 1994, Université de la Sorbonne Nouvelle-Paris III (Edition microfiches: Atelier National de Reproduction des Thèses, Université de Lille III, 1995).
- Gérard Colas 1996. *Viṣṇu, ses images et ses feux. Les métamorphoses du dieu chez les vaikhānasa* (École Française d'Extrême-Orient, Monographies 182). Paris: Presses de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient.
- Gérard Colas 1999. "The Reworking of 'Vedic' Paradigms in Medieval Liturgies." In: *Les ressources de l'histoire. Tradition, narration et nation en Asie du Sud, textes réunis par Jackie Assayag* (École Française d'Extrême-Orient; Institut Français de Pondichéry: Études thématiques, 8). Paris/Pondichéry: Institut Français de Pondichéry, 41–50.
- Gérard Colas 2005a. [review on Bock-Raming 2002]. *The Journal of the American Oriental Society* 125.1: 133ff.
- Gérard Colas 2005b. "Rites Among Vaikhānasas and Related Matters: Some Methodological Issues." In: *Words and Deeds. Hindu and Buddhist Rituals in South Asia*. Jörg Gengnagel & Ute Hüsken & Srilata Raman (ed.) (Ethno-Indology. Heidelberg Studies in South Asian Rituals 1). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 23–44.
- Madhav M. Deshpande 1996. "Contextualizing the eternal language. Features of priestly Sanskrit." In: *Ideology and Status of Sanskrit. Contributions to the History of the Sanskrit Language*. Jan Houben (ed.). New York: Brill, 401–436.
- Madhav M. Deshpande 2001. "Pandit and Professor: Transformations in the 19th Century Maharashtra." In: *The Pandit. Traditional Scholarship in India*. Axel Michaels (ed.) (South Asia Institute, New Delhi Branch, Heidelberg University,

- South Asian Studies No. XXXVIII: Festschrift Parameswara Aithal). New Delhi: Manohar, 119–153.
- Louis Dumont 1970. *Homo Hierarchicus. The Caste System and Its Implications*. Complete revised English edition, trsl. by Mark Sainsbury, Louis Dumont and Basia Gulati. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson (reprint Delhi 1999).
- Diana L. Eck 1998. *Darśan: Seeing the divine image in India*. New York: Columbia University Press (3rd ed.).
- Wilhelm Eggert 1929. *Das Dharmasūtra der Vaikhānasas. Übersetzt und mit textkritischen und erklärenden Anmerkungen versehen. Nebst einer Einleitung über den brahmanischen Waldeinsiedler-Orden und die Vaikhānasa-Sekte*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Christopher J. Fuller 1984. *Servants of the goddess: The priests of a South Indian temple*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Christopher J. Fuller 1997. “Religious texts, priestly education and ritual action in South Indian temple Hinduism.” *Contributions to Indian Sociology* 31,1: 3–25.
- Christopher J. Fuller 2001. “Orality, Literacy and Memorization: Priestly Education in Contemporary South India.” *Modern Asian Studies* 35.1: 1–31.
- Christopher J. Fuller 2003. *The Renewal of the Priesthood: Modernity and Traditionalism in a South Indian Temple*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- David N. Gellner 1992. *Monk, Householder, and Tantric Priest. Newar Buddhism and its Hierarchy of Ritual* (Cambridge Studies in Social and Cultural Anthropology 84). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Jörg Gengnagel 2001. “The Śaiva Siddhānta Ācārya as Mediator of Religious Identity.” In: *Charisma and Canon: Essays on the Religious History of the Indian Subcontinent*. V. Dalmia & M. Christoph-Füchsle & A. Malinar (ed.). New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 77–92.
- Werner Gephart 1999. “Zur Bedeutung der Religionen für die Identitätsbildung”. In: *Religion und Identität. Im Horizont des Pluralismus*. Werner Gephart & Hans Wadenfels (ed.). Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 233–266.
- Bernhard Giesen 1999. “Codes kollektiver Identität.” In: *Religion und Identität. Im Horizont des Pluralismus*. Werner Gephart & Hans Wadenfels (ed.). Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 13–43.
- K. Gnanambal 1971. “Śrīvaiṣṇavas and their religious institutions.” *Bulletin, Anthropological Survey of India* VV (3–4): 97–187.
- Parashuram Krishna Gode 1961. “Some Cultural Gleanings from the jñānakāṇḍa of the Kāśyapasamhitā of the Vaikhānasas.” *Studies in Indian Cultural History* I: 252–256.
- Jan Gonda 1954. *Aspects of Early Viṣṇuism*. Utrecht: Oosthoek.
- Jan Gonda 1956. “The Śimantonnayana as described in the Ḡṛhyasūtras.” *East and West* VII.1 (April): 12–31.
- Jan Gonda 1972. “Some Notes on the Use of Vedic Mantras in the Ritual Texts of the Vaikhānasa.” *Indo Iranian Journal* 14–1–2: 1–31.

- Jan Gonda 1977a. *Mediaeval religious literature in Sanskrit* (A History of Indian Literature I.2). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Jan Gonda 1977b. "Religious thought and practice in Vaikhānasa Viṣṇuism." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* XL: 550–571.
- Jan Gonda 1977c. *The Ritual Sūtras* (A History of Indian Literature I.2). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Jan Gonda 1979. "The use of the Viṣṇusūkta in some ritual texts of the Vaikhānasa." In: *Our Heritage, Sanskrit College 150th Anniversary Volume*, Calcutta 1979, 23–38. Reprint 1991 in Jan Gonda, *Selected Studies* (6 vols.) 4.1 (comp. by Dory Heilijgers). Leiden: Brill, 494–509.
- Jan Gonda 1980. *Vedic Ritual - The non-solemn rites* (Handbuch der Orientalistik, 2.4). Leiden: Brill.
- Jan Gonda 1981a. *The āghāra ritual of the Vaikhānasas* (Pubblicazioni di "Indologica Taurinensia" 12). Torino: Ed. Jollygraphica.
- Jan Gonda 1981b. "The treatment of hair cuttings in the Gṛhyasūtras." *Ātam* 10.1–2 (1978–79): 37–40.
- Jan Gonda 1985. *The ritual functions and significance of grasses in the religion of the Veda* (Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeling Letterkunde, 132). Amsterdam: Kon. Akad. van Wetenschappen.
- Anthony Good 2004. *Worship and the ceremonial economy of a royal South Indian temple*. Lewiston, N.Y. : Mellen Press.
- P. Gopalakrishnamurty 1966. "Viṣṇudaivatyaṃ of Vaikhānasa Kalpa Sūtra." In: *Proceedings of the All India Oriental Conference* (21st Session) 2 (1), 36–39.
- T.A. Gopinatha Rao 1923a. *History of Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas*. Madras: Superint. Gov. Pr.
- T.A. Gopinatha Rao 1923b. *Sir Subrahmanya Ayyar Lectures on the History of Śrī Vaiṣṇavism (1917)*. Madras: University of Madras.
- Teunis Goudriaan (trsl. and annot.) 1965. *Kāśyapa's Book of Wisdom. A Ritual Handbook of the Vaikhānasas* (Kāśyapa-Jñānakāṇḍaḥ) (Disputationes Rheno-Trajectinae X). The Hague: Mouton.
- Teunis Goudriaan 1970. "Vaikhānasa daily worship. According to the handbooks of Atri, Bhṛgu, Kāśyapa, and Marīci." *Indo Iranian Journal* 12: 161–215.
- Teunis Goudriaan 1973. "Deities of the tree-cutting ceremony in Vaikhānasa Āgama." *Adyar Library Bulletin* 37: 75–86.
- Svamin A. Govindacarya 1912. "Tengalai and Vadagalai." *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 1912: 714–717.
- Ronald L. Grimes 2006. *Rite out of place: ritual, media, and the arts*. Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Ronald L. Grimes 2006b. *Marrying & Burying: Rites of Passage in a Man's Life*. Boulder: Westview Press, ¹1995 (rev. edition 2006: http://www.wlu.ca/docsn_pubs_detail.php?grp_id=410&doc_id=18753; date of last access: 25.8.2007).
- Reinhold Grünendahl 1984. *Viṣṇudharmāḥ: precepts for the worship of Viṣṇu*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

- Sanjukta Gupta 1976. "Viṣvaksena the Divine Protector." *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens* 20: 75–89.
- Sanjukta Gupta 1979. "The changing pattern of Pāñcarātra initiation: a case study in the reinterpretation of ritual." In: *Essays to D. J. Hoens. Selected Studies on Ritual in the Indian Religions*. R. Kloppenborg (ed.). Leiden: Brill, 69–91.
- Don Handelman 2006. "Conceptual Alternatives to 'Ritual'." In: *Theorizing Rituals: Classical Topics, Theoretical Approaches, Analytical Concepts, Annotated Bibliography*. Jens Kreinath & Jan Snoek & Michael Stausberg (ed.). Leiden: Brill, 37–50.
- Friedhelm Hardy 1978. "Ideology and Cultural Contexts of the Śrīvaiṣṇava Temple." In: *South Indian Temples. An Analytical Reconsideration*. Burton Stein (ed.). New Delhi: Vikas Publ., 119–152.
- Pieter Nicolaas Ubbo Harting 1922. *Selections from the Baudhāyana-Gṛhyapariśiṣ-ṭasūtra*. Thesis Utrecht.
- Alfred Hillebrandt 1897. *Ritual-Litteratur. Vedische Opfer und Zauber* (Grundriss der indo-arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde III.2). Strassburg: Trübner.
- Eric Hobsbawm 1983. "Introduction: Inventing Traditions." In: *The Invention of Tradition*. Eric Hobsbawm & Terence Ranger (ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1–14.
- Steven Paul Hopkins 2002. *Singing the Body of God: The Hymns of Vedantadesika in Their South Indian Tradition*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Ute Hüsken 2001a. "Pure or Clean?" *Traditional South Asian Medicine* (former *Journal of the European Āyurvedic Society*) 6: 85–96.
- Ute Hüsken 2001b. "Die Vaikhānasas: Tempelpriester im südindischen Viuismus." In: *Akten des 27. Deutschen Orientalistentages. Norm und Abweichung*. S. Wild & H. Schild (ed.) (Kultur, Recht und Politik in muslimischen Gesellschaften, 1). Würzburg: Ergon, 169–179.
- Ute Hüsken 2004. "The Moonlight of Female Duties: On the Brahmanic Text Vadhūdharmacandrikā." In: *Aspekte des Weiblichen in der indischen Kultur*, U. Roesler (ed.) (Indica et Tibetica), Swistal-Odendorf.
- Ute Hüsken 2005. "Samskāras in Theory and Practice: A South Indian Case." *Words and Deeds. Hindu and Buddhist Rituals in South Asia*. J. Gengnagel & U. Hüsken & S. Raman (ed.) (Ethno-Indology. Heidelberg Studies in South Asian Rituals 1). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 153–198.
- Ute Hüsken (ed.) 2007. *When Rituals Go Wrong. Mistakes, Failure, and the Dynamics of Ritual* (Numen Book Series 115). Leiden: Brill.
- Ute Hüsken 2007a. "Contested Ritual Property. Conflicts over Correct Ritual Procedures in a South Indian Viṣṇu Temple." In: *When Rituals Go Wrong. Mistakes, Failure, and the Dynamics of Ritual*. Ute Hüsken (ed.) (Numen Book Series 115). Leiden: Brill, 273–290.
- Ute Hüsken 2007b. "Ritual Dynamics and Ritual Failure." In: *When Rituals Go Wrong. Mistakes, Failure, and the Dynamics of Ritual*. Ute Hüsken (ed.) (Numen Book Series 115). Leiden: Brill, 337–366.

- Ute Hüsken 2009. "Challenges to a vaiṣṇava initiation?" In: *Initiation in India and Nepal*. Christoph & Astrid Zotter (ed.) (Ethno-Indology. Heidelberg Studies in South Asian Rituals). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, forthc.
- Caroline Humphrey & James Laidlaw 1994. *The Archetypal Actions of Ritual. A Theory of Ritual illustrated by the Jain Rite of Worship*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Imperial Gazetteer IV: *The Imperial Gazetteer of India: The Indian Empire*. Vol. IV: Administrative. New ed., Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1909.
- M.A. Doraiswamy Iyengar 1983. "Tenkalai Vatakalai Divisions in Sri-vaiṣṇavism." Appendix II in V. Varadachari. *Two Great Acharyas: Vedānta Desika and Maṇavala Mamuni*. Madras: Professor M. Rangacharya Memorial Trust.
- N. Jagadeesan 1977. *History of Sri Vaishnavism in the Tamil Country (post Ramanuja)*. Madurai: Koodai Publ.
- N. Jagadeesan 1989. *Collected papers on Tamil Vaiṣṇavism*. Madurai: Ennes Publications.
- N. Jagadeesan 1989a. "Sri Vaisnava Sacred Centres." In: *Collected papers on Tamil Vaiṣṇavism*. Madurai: Ennes Publications, 141–176.
- Sarojini Jagannathan 1994. *Impact of Śrī Rāmānujācārya on temple worship*. Delhi: Nag Publ.
- Pandurang Viman Kane 1968ff. *History of Dharmasāstra* (Ancient Mediaeval Religious and Civil Law in India). 6 vols (Government Oriental Series). Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. Vol. 2.1: 1974a. Vol. 2.2: 1974b. Vol. 4: 1973.
- Laksmi Kapani 1992/1993. *La Notion de Saṃskāra dans l'Inde brahmanique et bouddhique* (Publications de l'Institut de Civilisation Indienne 59; 2 vols.). Paris: DeBoccard.
- Bruce Kapferer 1979. "Ritual Process and the Transformation of Context." *Social Analysis* 1 (1979); *Special Issue: The Power of Ritual*: 3–20.
- Bruce Kapferer 2006. "Dynamics." In: *Theorizing Rituals: Classical Topics, Theoretical Approaches, Analytical Concepts, Annotated Bibliography*. Jens Kreinath & Jan Snoek & Michael Stausberg (ed.) (Numen Book Series 114–1). Leiden: Brill, 507–522.
- A.B. Keith 1930. [Review on Eggers 1929]. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* V (1928–30): 923–927.
- David M. Knipe 1997. "Becoming a Veda in the Godavari Delta." In: *India and Beyond: Aspekts of Literature, Meaning, Ritual and Thought* (Essays in Honour of Frits Staal). Dick van der Meij (ed.). London: Kegan Paul International, 306–332
- Klaus-Peter Koepping 2002. "Seduced Seducer." In: *Shattering Frames. Transgression and Transformations in Anthropological Discourse and Practice*. Klaus-Peter Koepping (ed.). Berlin: Reimer.
- Hertha Krick 1977. "Narayanabali und Opfertod." *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens* 21: 77–142.

- K. Kunjunni Raja 1958. *Contribution of Kerala to Sanskrit Literature*. Madras: University of Madras.
- Robert C. Lester 1994. "The Sāttāda Śrīvaiṣṇavas." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 114.1: 39–53.
- Marcel Mauss 1990. *Die Gabe. Form und Funktion des Austauschs in archaischen Gesellschaften*. Trsl. of the French original of 1950 by Eva Moldenhauer. Frankfurt: Suhrkamp.
- Axel Michaels 1994. *Die Reisen der Götter. Der nepalische Paśupatinātha-Tempel und sein rituelles Umfeld* (Nepalica 6). Bonn: VGH-Wiss. Verlag.
- Axel Michaels 1998a. "Le rituel pour le rituel?" In: *Rituale heute*. C. Caduff & J. Pfaff-Czarnecka (ed.). Berlin: Reimer, 23–47.
- Axel Michaels 1998b. *Der Hinduismus. Geschichte und Gegenwart*. München: Beck.
- Axel Michaels (ed.) 2001. *The Pandit. Traditional Scholarship in India* (South Asia Institute, New Delhi Branch, Heidelberg University, South Asian Studies No. XXXVIII: Festschrift Parameswara Aithal). New Delhi: Manohar.
- Axel Michaels 2001a. "The Pandit as Legal Adviser: rājaguru, rājapurohita and dharmādhikārin." In: *The Pandit. Traditional Scholarship in India*. Axel Michaels (ed.) (South Asia Institute, New Delhi Branch, Heidelberg University, South Asian Studies No. XXXVIII: Festschrift Parameswara Aithal). New Delhi: Manohar, 61–77.
- Axel Michaels 2001b. "Traditional Sanskrit Learning in Contemporary India." In: *The Pandit. Traditional Scholarship in India*. Axel Michaels (ed.) (South Asia Institute, New Delhi Branch, Heidelberg University, South Asian Studies No. XXXVIII: Festschrift Parameswara Aithal). New Delhi: Manohar, 3–16.
- Axel Michaels 2005. "Samkalpa: The Beginnings of a Ritual." In: *Words and Deeds. Hindu and Buddhist Rituals in South Asia*. Jörg Gengnagel & Ute Hüsken & Srilata Raman (ed.) (Ethno-Indology. Heidelberg Studies in South Asian Rituals 1). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 45–63.
- Axel Michaels 2005a. "General Preface to the 'Heidelberg Studies in South Asian Rituals'." In: *Words and Deeds. Hindu and Buddhist Rituals in South Asia*. Jörg Gengnagel & Ute Hüsken & Srilata Raman (ed.) (Ethno-Indology. Heidelberg Studies in South Asian Rituals 1). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 7–13.
- Axel Michaels 2006. "Sanskrit' in Michael Stausberg (ed.) "'Ritual': a survey of some related terms." In: *Theorizing Rituals: Classical Topics, Theoretical Approaches, Analytical Concepts, Annotated Bibliography*. Jens Kreinath & Jan Snoek & Michael Stausberg (ed.) (Numen Book Series 114–1). Leiden: Brill, 86–90.
- Axel Michaels 2007. "Perfection and Mishaps in Vedic Rituals." In: *When Rituals Go Wrong. Mistakes, Failure, and the Dynamics of Ritual*. Ute Hüsken (ed.) (Numen Book Series 115). Leiden: Brill, 121–132.
- Ram Pyare Mishra 1994. *Vaiṣṇava Pāñcarātra Āgama: katipaya Pakṣa* (in Hindi). Delhi: Pratibhā Prakāśana.

- Kamla Kanta Mishra (ed.) 1997. *Sanskrit Studies in India*. New Delhi: Rashtriya Sanskrit Sansthan.
- Hans Mol 1978a. "Introduction." In: *Identity and Religion. International, Cross-Cultural Approaches*. Hans Mol (ed.) (SAGE Studies in International Sociology 16). London: Sage Publ., 1–18.
- Hans Mol 1978b. "Maori Identity and Religion." In: *Identity and Religion. International, Cross-Cultural Approaches*. Hans Mol (ed.) (SAGE Studies in International Sociology 16). London: Sage Publ., 179–202.
- Radha Kumud Mookerji 1947. *Ancient Indian Education. Brahmanic and Buddhist*. London: MacMillan (reprint Delhi 1989).
- Klaus-Werner Müller 1992. *Das Brahmanische Totenritual nach der Antyeṣṭipad-dhati des Nārāyaṇabhāṭṭa* (Beiträge zur Südasiensforschung 151). Stuttgart: Steiner.
- Patricia Y. Mumme 1987a. "Bhakti and Dharma in Service to the Lord - a Śrīvaiṣṇava Theological Problem." *Adyar Library Bulletin* 51: 123–144.
- Patricia Y. Mumme (trsl.) 1987b. *The Mumukṣuppaṭi of Pillai Lokācārya with Maṇavālamāmunī's Commentary* (Ananthacharya Indological Research Institute Series XIX). Bombay.
- Patricia Y. Mumme 1988. *The Śrīvaiṣṇava theological dispute: Maṇavālamāmunī and Vedānta Deśika*. Madras: New Era Publications.
- Patricia Y. Mumme 1993. "Rules and Rhetoric: Caste Observance in Śrīvaiṣṇava Doctrine and Practice." *Journal of Vaiṣṇava Studies* 2/1 (winter 1993): 113–138.
- Patricia Y. Mumme 1999. "The evolution of the Tenkalai Understanding of an Ācārya: Teacher, Mediator and Saviour." *Journal of Ananthacharya Indological Research Institute* I: 75–98.
- Patricia Y. Mumme 2007. "Pāñcarātra-texts in the Tenkalai-Vaṭakalia Dispute." In: *Studies in Hinduism IV. On the Mutual Influences and Relationship of Viśiṣṭādvaita Vedānta and Pāñcarātra*. Gerhard Oberhammer & Marion Rastelli (ed.). Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 107–124.
- Sri S. Muttubhattar 1996. *Vaikhānasagrhyasūtrabhāṣya - A critical edition and study*. Thesis submitted to the University of Madras by Sri. S. Muthu (Department of Sanskrit; Ramakrishna Mission Vivekananda College). Madras (unpublished).
- M. Narasimhachary 1994. *Basic Concepts of Śrī Vaiṣṇavism*. Madras: Hayagreeva Vidya Peetham.
- D. Narasimha Reddy 1983. *A Study of Some Minor Temple Festivals According to Pāñcarātra and Vaikhānasa Āgamas*. Tirupati: TTD.
- W. G. Neevel 1977. *Yāmuna's Vedānta and Pāñcarātra: Integrating the Classical and the Popular*. Missoula: Scholars Press.
- Gerhard Oberhammer 1971. *Yāmuna's Interpretation von Brahmasūtram 2,2, 42–45: eine Untersuchung zur Pāñcarātra-Tradition der Rāmānuja-Schule* (Sitzungsberichte österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften: Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 274,

- Abh. 4; Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Sprachen und Kulturen Südasiens, 10). Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Gerhard Oberhammer 2004. *Zur Spirituellen Praxis des Zufluchtnemens bei Gott (Śaraṅgatiḥ) vor Venkaṭanātha* (Materialien zur Geschichte der Rāmānuja-Schule 7). Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Gerhard Oberhammer & Marion Rastelli (ed.) 2007. *Studies in Hinduism IV. On the Mutual Influences and Relationship of Viśiṣṭādvaita Vedānta and Pāñcarātra*. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Patrick Olivelle 1993. *The Āśrama system, the history and hermeneutics of a religious institution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Patrick Olivelle (ed. and trsl.) 2000. *Dharmasūtras. The Law Codes of Āpastamba, Gautama, Baudhāyana, and Vasiṣṭa*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Leslie C. Orr 1995. "The Vaiṣṇava Community at Śrīraṅgam: The Testimony of the Early Medieval Inscriptions." *Journal of Vaiṣṇava Studies* 3/3 (Summer 1995): 109–136.
- Friedrich Benjamin Osiander 1802. *Grundriß der Endbindungskunst zum Leitfadem bey seinen Vorlesungen. Erster Theil: Schwangerschaft und Geburts-Lehre*. Göttingen [Dr. Friedrich Benjamin Osiander's ordentl. Professors der Arzneyenlehretheit und der Entbindungskunst zu Göttingen, Vorstehers, Arztes und Geburtshelfers des Königl. Kurfürstl. Entbindungshospitals und clinischen Instituts Grundriß der Entbindungskunst].
- Andre Padoux 2004. [review on Bock-Raming 2002]. *Asiatische Studien* 58: 231–233.
- Raj Bali Pandey 1949. *Hindu Saṃskāras. A Socio-religious study of the Hindu sacraments*. Banaras: Vikrama Publications (reprint 1969).
- Jonathan P. Parry 1994. *Death in Banares*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Pārthasārathi Bhaṭṭācārya 1941. "A short note on the Vaikhānasaśūtra." Printed in the preface to Caland/Vīra 1941.
- Pārthasārathi Bhaṭṭācārya 1944. "Śrīvakhānasamu nēti graṃthasāmagri." *Journal of the Sri Venkatesvara Oriental Institute, Tirupati*, vol. V (2) July–Dec 1944.
- Pārthasārathi Bhaṭṭācārya 1945. "Vaikhānasaśabdāmudīni prasiddhiprācuryamulu." *Journal of the Sri Venkatesvara Oriental Institute, Tirupati*, vol. VI.1 (1945), Telugu section: 25–50.
- Pārthasārathi Bhaṭṭācārya 1947. "Samūrtayajanam - Vaikhānasa śāstram." *Journal of the Śrī Venkatesvara Oriental Institute*, XI (Tirupati 1947): 57.
- Pārthasārathi Bhaṭṭācārya 1950. "Vaikhānasaśāstramu, dāniviśiṣṭata." *Journal of the Sri Venkatesvara Oriental Institute, Tirupati*, vol. XI.2 (1950), Telugu section: 49–68.
- Pārthasārathi Bhaṭṭācārya 1955. "Āgamamulu." *Journal of the Śrī Venkatesvara Oriental Institute*, XIV (1955), Telugu section: 25–36.
- Pārthasārathi Bhaṭṭācārya 1958. "Vaikhānasaśabdavimarśaḥ." *Sri Venkaṭeśvara University Oriental Journal*, vol. I.1 (1958), Sanskrit section: 14–16.

- Pārthasārathi Bhaṭṭācārya 1959. “Śrīvaikhānasārādhamam vaidikam.” *Śrī Venkateśvara University Oriental Institute*, vol. II (Jan.–Dec. 1959) parts 1–2, Sanskrit Section: 9–16.
- Vishwambhar Sharan Pathak 1959. “The Vaikhānasa School in Inscriptions of Northern India.” *Śrī Venkateśvara University Oriental Journal* 2.1–2 (Tirupati): 1–4.
- Jan Platvoet 1995. “Ritual in Plural and Pluralist Societies. Instruments for Analysis.” In: *Pluralism and Identity*. Jan Platvoet & Karel van der Toorn (ed.) (Studies in the History of Religions LXVII). Leiden: Brill, 25–51.
- Jan Platvoet 2004. “Ritual as War. On the Need to De-Westernize the Concept.” In: *The Dynamics of Changing Rituals. The Transformation of Religious Rituals within Their Social and Cultural Context*. Jens Kreinath & Constance Hartung & Annette Deschner (ed.) (Toronto Studies in Religion 29). New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 243–266.
- Karl H. Potter 1983. *Encyclopedia of Indian Philosophies*, vol 1: Bibliography, Delhi 1974. Second revised edition. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Kumar Pratap 1995. “Vedic Claims of the Pāñcarātra and the Vaikhānasa Āgamas.” *Nidān* 7 (1995): 42–56.
- Franklin A. Presler 1978. “The legitimation of religious policy in Tamil Nadu.” In: *Religion and the legitimation of power in South Asia*. B. L. Smith (ed.). Leiden: Brill, 106–133.
- Franklin A. Presler 1987. “The legitimation of religious policy in Tamil Nadu. A Study of the 1970 Archaka Legislation”. In: *Temples, Kings and Peasants: Perceptions of South Indian’s Past*. George W. Spencer (ed.). Madras: New Era Publications, 223–260.
- Ramachandra Rao 1990. *Vaikhānasāgama (Āgama-kosha)*. Agama-Encyclopaedia, vol. III (Vaikhānasāgama). S. K. Ramachandra Rao (ed.). Bangalore: Kalpatharu Research Academy.
- Ramachandra Rao 1991. *Pāñcarātrāgama (Āgama-kosha)*. Agama-Encyclopaedia, vol. IV. Bangalore: Kalpatharu Research Academy.
- Srilata Raman 2002. “Soteriology in the writings of Rāmānuja: Bhakti and/or Prapatti?” *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 38.
- Srilata Raman 2005. “Samāśrayaṇa as Ritual and Non-Ritual in Śrīvaiṣṇavism.” In: *Words and Deeds. Hindu and Buddhist Rituals in South Asia*. Jörg Gengnagel & Ute Hüsken & Srilata Raman (ed.) (Ethno-Indology. Heidelberg Studies in South Asian Rituals 1). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 91–114.
- Srilata Raman 2007. *Self-surrender (prapatti) to God in Śrīvaiṣṇavism: Tamil cats and Sanskrit monkeys*. London: Routledge.
- Srilata Raman 2007a. “Initiation and conversion in mediaeval South India: Pañca-saṃskāra as historical practice in the Śrīvaiṣṇava post-Rāmānuja hagiographical literature.” In: *Studies in Hinduism IV. On the Mutual Influences and Relationship of Viśiṣṭādvaita Vedānta and Pāñcarātra*. Gerhard Oberhammer & Marion Rastelli (ed.). Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 263–286.

- N.S. Rāmānuja Tātācārya 1990. “Mūrtipūjā Vaikhānasāgamās ca.” In: *Sanskrita Academy Diamond Jubilee Commemoration Volume*. Madras: The Samskrta Academy.
- Hari G. Ranade 2006. *Illustrated Dictionary of Vedic Rituals*. Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts.
- H.N. Randle 1930. *Indian logic in the early schools: a study of the Nyayadarsana in its relation to the early logic of other schools*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- K. Rangachari 1931. *The Śrī Vaiṣṇava Brahmans*. Madras: Superintendent Government Press.
- V. Rangachari 1956. “Śrīvaiṣṇavism and Pāñcarātra.” In: *The cultural heritage of India*, IV (2nd ed.). H. Bhattacharyya (ed.). Calcutta: Ramakrishna Mission, 163–185.
- Ursula Rao 2003. *Negotiating the Divine. Temple Religion and Temple Politics in Contemporary Urban India* (South Asia Institute, New Delhi Branch, Heidelberg University, South Asian Studies No. XLI). Delhi: Manohar.
- Marion Rastelli 1999a. “Zum Verständnis des Pāñcarātra von der Herkunft seiner Saṃhitās.” *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens*: 51–93.
- Marion Rastelli 1999b. *Philosophisch-theologische Grundanschauungen der Jayā-khyasaṃhitā. Mit einer Darstellung des täglichen Rituals*. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Marion Rastelli 2000. “Die fünf Zeiten (pañca kālas) in den ältesten Pāñcarātra-Saṃhitās.” *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens* 44: 101–134.
- Marion Rastelli 2004. [review on Bock-Raming 2002]. *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens* 48: 229–232.
- Marion Rastelli 2006. *Die Tradition des Pāñcarātra im Spiegel der Pārameśvara-saṃhitā* (Beiträge zur Kultur- und Geistesgeschichte Asiens ; 51 Sitzungsberichte/Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse 748). Wien : Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Marie-Louise Reiniche 1989. *Tiruvannamalai: un lieu saint śivaite du Sud de l’Inde*. Vol. IV: *La configuration sociologique du temple hindou* (École Française d’Extrême Orient). Pondichéry: Institut français de Pondichéry.
- Louis Renou 1947. *Les écoles védiques et la formation du Veda* (Cahiers de la Société Asiatique, IX) Paris: Imprim. Nationale.
- Howard Ray Resnick 1997. *The Daivika-catuṣṭayam of the Vaikhānasamantraprasāna: A Translation, A thesis presented by Howard Ray Resnick to the Department of Sanskrit and Indian Studies*. Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts (October, 1996) (authorized facsimile, published by UMI Dissertation services [UMI Number: 9710472]).
- M. Seshagiri Sastri 1899. *Report on a search for Sanskrit and Tamil manuscripts for the year 1893–94; No. 2*. Madras.
- Sri Vaikhanasa Satabdhi Sancika 2000. *Sri Vaikhanasa Sathabdi Sanchika - 2000* [Telugu]. Ed. by Śrīmān Dī. Vi. Vikhanasācāryulu, Ḍāktar Vi. Rāmākṣṇamācār-yulu, Śrīmān Va. Śrīnivāsācāryulu, Śrīmān Vi. Jānaki Rāmānujācāryulu, Śrīmān

- Di. Vemkaṭarāmācāryulu, Śrīmān Vi. Vemkaṭaramaṇācāryulu. Published by the Śrī Vaikhānasa Divya Siddhānta Vivardhinī Sabha, Tirumala [Sri Vaikhanasa] Satabdhi Sancika - 2000 [Tamil], ed. by Shri D. Vikhanasachary (SVDSV Sabha - Tirumala), Shri D. Mohan Bhattachar (West Mambalam, Chennai), Shri N. S. Parthasarathy Bhattachar (Triplicane, Chennai), Shri Dr. S. Muthu Bhattachar (Sangendi, Trichy Dt.); published by the Sri Vaikhanasa Divya Siddhanta Vivardhini Sabha, Ring Road, Tirumala - 517504, AP).
- William Sax 2006. "Agency." In: *Theorizing Rituals: Classical Topics, Theoretical Approaches, Analytical Concepts, Annotated Bibliography*. Jens Kreinath & Jan Snoek & Michael Stausberg (ed.) (Numen Book Series 114–1). Leiden: Brill, 473–482.
- Edward L. Schieffelin 1998. "Problematizing Performance." In: *Ritual. Performance, Media*. Felicia Hughes-Freeland (ed.). London & New York: Routledge, 194–207.
- Jürgen Schlumbohm 2000. "Grenzen des Wissens. Verhandlungen zwischen Arzt und Schwangeren im Entbindungshospital der Universität Göttingen um 1800." In: *Geschichte des Ungeborenen. Zur Erfahrungs- und Wissenschaftsgeschichte der Schwangerschaft, 17.–20. Jahrhundert*. B. Duden & J. Schlumbohm & P. Veit (ed.). Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 129–165.
- F. Otto Schrader 1916. *Introduction to the Pāñcarātra and the Ahirbudhnyā Saṃhitā*. Madras: Adyar Library.
- Suzanne Siauve 1957. *La vois vers la connaissance de Dieu*. Pondichery: Institut Français d'Indologie.
- Suzanne Siauve 1958. *Vedānta Deśika: His Life, Works and Philosophy. A Study*. Benares: The Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office.
- Suzanne Siauve (ed., trsl.) 1978. *Aṣṭadaśabhedanirṇaya. Explication des dix-huit différences (entre les deux branches de l'École de Rāmānuja) de Śrī Vātsya Raṅganātha* (Publications de l'Institut de Civilisation Indienne, 58) Pondichéry: Institut Français d'Indologie.
- Silber Jubilee Souvenir 1984: *Sri Vaikhanasa Divya Sidhanta Vivardhini Sabha (regd.) Silver Jubilee Souvenir / rajitotsava saṃcika, 1959–1984; Śrī Vaikhānasa divya siddhānta vivardhanī sabha, Tirupati*.
- Walter Slaje 1995. "Rtū, Rtv(i)ya-, Ārtavá-. Weibliche 'Fertilität' im Denken vedischer Inder." *Journal of the European Āyurvedic Society* 4 : 109–148.
- Walter Slaje 1997. "Zur Erklärung der sog. 'Tobiasnächte' im vedischen Indien." *Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik* 21: 207–234.
- Brian K. Smith 1989. *Reflections on Resemblance, Ritual, and Religion*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass (repr.).
- H.D. Smith/K.K.A. Venkatachari 1975. *A descriptive bibliography of the printed texts of the Pāñcarātrāgama*. Vol. I (Gaeckward's Oriental Series, 158). Baroda.
- H.D. Smith/K.K.A. Venkatachari 1980. *A descriptive bibliography of the printed texts of the Pāñcarātrāgama*. Vol. II: *An annotated Index to selected topics* (Gaeckward's Oriental Series, 168). Baroda.

- Jonathan Z. Smith 1987. "The Domestication of Sacrifice." In: *Violent Origins. Walter Burkert, René Girard and Jonathan Z. Smith on Ritual Killing and Cultural Formation*. Robert G. Hamerton-Kelly (ed.). Stanford: Stanford University Press, 191–235.
- Jan A.M. Snoek 2006. "Defining 'Rituals'." In: *Theorizing Rituals: Classical Topics, Theoretical Approaches, Analytical Concepts, Annotated Bibliography*. Jens Kreinath & Jan Snoek & Michael Stausberg (ed.) (Numen Book Series 114–1). Leiden: Brill, 3–14.
- Joachim Friedrich Sprockhoff 1981. "Āraṇyaka und Vānaprastha in der vedischen Literatur: Neue Erwägungen zu einer alten Legende und ihren Problemen I." *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens* 25: 19–90.
- Joachim Friedrich Sprockhoff 1984. "Āraṇyaka und Vānaprastha in der vedischen Literatur: Neue Erwägungen zu einer alten Legende und ihren Problemen II." *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens* 28: 5–43.
- Joachim Friedrich Sprockhoff 1991. "Āraṇyaka und Vānaprastha in der vedischen Literatur: Neue Erwägungen zu einer alten Legende und ihren Problemen III." *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens* 35: 5–46.
- D. Sridhara Babu 1977. "Thoughts of Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita's Śrīviśiṣṭādvaitabhāṣya on the Brahmasūtras." *Sri Venkateshwara University Oriental Journal* 20: 41–45.
- Frits Staal 1979. "The Meaninglessness of Ritual." *Numen* 26.1: 1–22.
- Stavrianopoulou 2007. "Ensuring Ritual Competence in Ancient Greece. A Negotiable Matter: Ritual Specialists." In: *When Rituals Go Wrong. Mistakes, Failure, and the Dynamics of Ritual*. Ute Hüsken (ed.) (Numen Book Series 115). Leiden: Brill, 183–196.
- Burton Stein 1980. *Peasant state and society in medieval South India*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- John S. Strong 1992. *The Legend and Cult of Upagupta: Sanskrit Buddhism in North India and Southeast Asia*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- John S. Strong 2004. *Relics of the Buddha*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press.
- K. Subramaniam 1974. *Brahmin priest of Tamil Nadu*. New Delhi: Wiley Eastern.
- Musashi Tachikawa et al. 2001. *Pūjā & Samskāra*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Stanley J. Tambiah 1979. *A Performative Approach to Ritual*. Radcliffe-Brown Lecture. London: British Academy.
- Vaikhānasāgamakośa 1975. Mandan Mishra (ed.). *Vaikhānasāgamakośa. A dictionary of the topics in the Vaikhānasa Āgamas, with references to texts where they are found and extracts from the texts giving definitions and explanations*. Fasc. 1. Tirupati: Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha.
- Vaikhānasa Āgama Kośa 1991. *Vaikhānasa Āgama Kośa* (Volume I), (Rashtriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha, Tirupati Series No. 56). N. S. Ramanuja Tatacharya & U. Shankara Bhatta & Lakshminarasimha Bhatta & K. A. Balasubramanian & T. G.,

- Anantasubrahmanyam & M. Anantapadmanabha Bhatta (ed.). Tirupati: Rashtriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha.
- V. Varadachari 1971. "The Sanatkumārasaṃhitā." *The Adyar Library Bulletin*: 227–257.
- V. Varadachari 1975. "Contribution of Tamilnadu to Sanskrit – Srivaisnavism." [*Proceedings*] *International Sanskrit Conference, March 26th–31st, 1972 I.1*, V. Raghavan (ed.). Delhi: Ministry of Education and social Welfare, 437–463.
- V. Varadachari 1982. *Agamas and South Indian Vaiṣṇavism*. Madras: Prof. M. Rangacharya Memorial Trust.
- V. Varadachari 2001. *Pāñcarātrāgama* (TTD Religious Publications Series, 616). Tirupati: TTD.
- Koil Kandadai Appan Venkatachari 1978. *The Maṇipravāḷa Literature of the Śrīvaiṣṇava Ācāryas* (Ananthacharya Research Institut Series III). Bombay: Anantacharya Research Institute.
- Koil Kandadai Appan Venkatachari 1994. "The Śrīvaiṣṇava Āgamas and the indigenous tradition of South India." *Śrī Venkaṭeśvara University Oriental Journal*, Vol. xxxvii, Jan.–Dec. 1994, parts 1 and 2: 91–110.
- Koil Kandadai Appan Venkatachari 2006. *Śrīvaiṣṇavism: An Insight* (Ananthacharya Indological Research Institute Series XXV). Chennai: PNR Printers & Publishers.
- H.R. Venkataraman 1956. "Vaikhānasa." In: *The cultural heritage of India*, IV, H. Bhattacharya (ed.). Calcutta: Ramakrishna Mission, 160ff.
- Guy R. Welbon 1984. "Mahāsaṃprokṣaṇa 1981: Āgama and actuality in a contemporary temple renovation." In: *Agama and Silpa*. K.K.A Venkatachari (ed.). Bombay: Anantacharya Indological Institute, 69–102.
- H.H. Wilson 1855. *A Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms, and of useful words occurring in official documents relating to the administration of the government of British India*. Oxford (reprint Delhi, 1968).
- Christoph Wulf & Jörg Zirfas 2004. "Performative Welten. Einführung in die historischen, systematischen und methodischen Dimensionen des Rituals." In: *Die Kultur des Rituals. Inszenierungen. Praktiken, Symbole*. Christoph Wulf & J. Zirfas (ed.). München: Zink-Verlag, 7–45.
- Christian Zinko 1998. "Das altindische puṃsavana-Ritual." In: *Wort - Text – Sprache und Kultur. Festschrift für Hans Schmeja zum 65. Geburtstag*. Peter Anreiter & Hermann M. Ölberg (ed.). Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft, 199–230.

Appendix 1: Tabular view of six Guruparamparās

In what follows the names given in six lineages of teacher-student succession are compared against each other. The source texts are:

[1] “Śrīvaikhānasa-Guruparamparā.” In: *Śrī Vaikhānasam*, ed. S. Sudarsanan (Thanjavur Sarasvati Mahal Series, 365), Thanjavur, 1995, pp. 1–6.

[2] *Śrī Vaikhānasācāryaparamparānusamdhānakrama*, ed. T. P. Nṛsimhācārya, Komaripalem, 1914, pp. 3–7 (reprinted in *Śrīvaikhānasaprabha*, 12/2000, pp. 20–23).

[3] *Vadhūdharmacandrikā*, ed. Śrī. U. Pra. Śrīmān (Upūru), Devayajanam Veṅkaṭarāmācāryulu, Śrī. U. Pra. Śrīmān (Illipālem) and Nārāyaṇaṃ Rāmānūjācāryulu (*Śrīvaikhānasabhaḡavacchāstragranthamālā*, Anubandha 6), Nallūru, 1948, pp. 3–4.

[4] *Āhnikāmṛta (śrīvaikhānasaśāstroka)* by Vāsudeva Bhaṭṭācārya of Konerirājapura, ed. Tirumala Tirupati Devasthānamulu, Tirupati, 1999 (TTD publications Series, 513), p. 25.

[5] *Lakṣmīhayagrīvasahasranāmāvaḷi* of Vedāntam Anantapadmanābhācārya, n.p. (Macilipatnam?) n.d., pp. 5–6.

[6] *Mokṣopāyapradīpikā* of Raghupatibhaṭṭācārya, ed. Dīvi Veṅkaṭanarasimhācārya (*Śrīvaikhānasabhaḡavacchāstragranthamālā*, Prasūna 7), Nallūru, 1948, pp. 5–6.

[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]
Nārāyaṇa	Nārāyaṇa	Nārāyaṇa	Nārāyaṇa	Nārāyaṇa	Nārāyaṇa
Vikhanas	Vikhanas	Vikhanas	Vikhanas	Vikhanas	Vikhanas
Vālakhilya Sanaka Bhṛgu Marīci Atri Kāśyapa Vasiṣṭha Jamadagni Dakṣa Aṅgīrasa	Vālakhilya Sanaka etc. Bhṛgu Marīci Atri Kāśyapa Vasiṣṭha Jamadagni Dakṣa Aṅgīrasa	Bhṛgu Marīci Kāśyapa Atri Vasiṣṭha Jamadagni, Bhāradvāja Śakti	Bhṛgu Atri Marīci Kāśyapa	Bhṛgu Kāśyapa Marīci Atri	Bhṛgu Marīci Atri Kāśyapa
Hārīta	Hārīta				
	Mārkaṇḍeya Āruni				

[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]
	Atharvaṇam Pippalāda Satyakāma Gārgya Vājaprasava Munipuṅgava Saciketa Vāmadeva Varuṇa Bṛgu Kāśyapa Kaṇva Śākala Dṛpabālāki Bāṣyala Māṇḍūkya Cyavana Agnivaiśva Kauṣītaki Gālava Mariciyogin Hiranyakeśin Gobhila Śātātpa Medhātithi Kaṭhayogin Jābāla Sutapa Nārāyaṇa Nāradaratadhṛ Śaunaka Dattātreyā Suktatu Kratu Śarabhaṅga Sūtīkṛṣṇaka Dharmīn Dharmabhṛt Śātānanda Brahmavar- cana Suprata Śaṃta Dhaumya Sumedhana Ātmavedin				
	Parāśara	Parāśara			

[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]
	Vedavyāsa	Vedavyāsa			
	Devaprata	Śukayogin			
	Nārāyana		Nārāyana		Nārāyana
	Keśava Nṛsiṃhārya Rāghavārya Yaśodāna Danācārya Kṛṣṇamārin Mādhava- paṇḍita Devanātha Vedavyāsa				
	Vipranārāyaṇa	Vipranārā- yana			
Lakṣmīnātha Bhaṭṭārya	Lakṣmīnātha Bhaṭṭārya				
Lakṣmīvalla- bhācārya	Lakṣmīvalla- bhācārya				
Rāmacandra	Rāmacandra				
Kṣīrābdiśayana	Kṣīrābdi- śayanācārya				
Kāntabhaṭ- tācārya	Kāntabhaṭ- tārya				
	Śeṣācalādhīśa				
Keśavārya	Keśavācārya		Keśava		Keśavācārya
Nṛsiṃhārya	Nṛsiṃhārya		Narasimha		Nṛsiṃhā- cārya
Rāghavārya	Bhāradvaja Rāghavārya		Rāghava		Rāghavā- cārya
Rāmācārya	Rāmayogin		Rāmācārya		Rāmācārya
Govindārya	Govindārya		Govinda		Govindā- cārya
Kṛṣṇārya	Kṛṣṇapaṇḍita		Kṛṣṇa		Kṛṣṇācārya
Raṅganāthārya	Raṅganāth- ārya		Raṅga		Raṅgācārya
	Rāmapaṇḍita				
			Venkaṭa		Venkaṭā- cārya
Varadārya	Varadācārya		Varada		Varadācārya
		Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara			
Vājapeyin Nṛsiṃhārya	Vājapeyin Nṛsiṃhārya	Sundara- yājin Nṛsiṃha Vājapeyin	Nṛsiṃha- bhaṭṭa Bhāsaka Vājapeyin	Nṛsiṃha- varya Vāja- peyin	Vājapeyā- cārya
		Keśavā- cārya			

[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]
		Śrīnivāsa Dīksita			
Bhāskara Bhaṭṭa	Bhāskara Bhaṭṭa			Bhāskara Bhaṭṭa	Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara
	Anūcāna				Bhaṭṭācārya
	Nṛsiṃhārya Somayājīn				Nṛsiṃhā- cārya
Sundarayājīn Paramaikāntin	Sundarayājīn Paramaikāntin		Sundara- rājaka Bhaṭṭārya	Sundara- rājīsen- dra	Sundara- rājācārya
Kṛṣṇasūri	Kṛṣṇasūri- yajvan		Ananta- kṛṣṇa		Kṛṣṇācārya Anantācārya
Vāsantayājīn	Vasantayājīn		Vasantaka		Vasanta- yajyācārya
Anantācārya	Anantārya	Ananta Gopana			
Anantārya Yājīn	Anantārya- yajvan				
Govindārya Yajvāna	Govindārya Yajvāna		Govindārya		Govindā- cārya
			Narahari		Narahari- bhaṭṭācārya
Śrīnivāsārya Deśika Tirumalācārya Śrīraṅgasthala Nāyaka	Śrīnivāsārya Sarvavedānta- deśika		Śrīnivāsa	Śrīnivā- samakhi Deśika Dīkṣi- tendra	Śrīnivāsā- dhvarin Ve- dāntadeśika
Vipranā- rāyanācārya	Vipranārā- yanācārya				Vipranārāya nācārya
Vāsantayājīn	Vasantayājīn				Vasanta- yajyācārya
Anantanā- yaṇā(cā)rya	Ananta			Anan- tārya	Anantanā- rāyanācārya
Śrīnivāsā- (cā)rya Śrīnivāsa	Tirumalācārya Śrīnivāsārcana Śrīnivāsārya				Tirumalā- cārya Śrīni- vāsācārya
Veṅkaṭācārya	Veṅkaṭācārya				Veṅkaṭā- cārya
Govindārya	Govindārya				Govind- ācārya Śrīnivās- ācārya Venkata-

Appendix 2: Text of the DVD booklet

About the DVD “Viṣṇu’s Children. Prenatal life-cycle rituals in South India” by Ute Hüsken and Manfred Krüger

Camera: Ute Hüsken

Editing: Ute Hüsken and Manfred Krüger

DVD authoring and design: Manfred Krüger

Published by Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden, 2009

ISBN: 978-3-447-05853-7

The DVD is available separately and as is part of the book publication.

Viṣṇu’s Children. Prenatal life-cycle rituals in South India by Ute Hüsken (Ethno-Indology. Heidelberg Studies in South Asian Rituals 9). Translated into English by Will Sweetman. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2009. ISBN: 978-3-447-05854-4.

The ritual occasions represented on this DVD are enactments of the prenatal life-cycle ritual viṣṇubali, “the offering to Viṣṇu,” which is specific to the Vaikhānasas, a group of South Indian Brahmin priests in Viṣṇu temples. This ritual is performed in the eighth month of pregnancy. It enacts and marks a transformation of the unborn child. Viṣṇubali, “the offering to the god Viṣṇu,” makes the unborn a Viṣṇu devotee, and confers on it its future right to act as a temple priest in South Indian Viṣṇu temples. The ritual is understood as a prenatal initiation, performed by the god Viṣṇu himself: Viṣṇu transforms the unborn into his own child.

The DVD contains audio-visual material recorded, edited, and commented upon by Ute Hüsken during her field research in South India (Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh) in 2000–2001. The DVD supplements the book, illustrates parts 3.2.2 and 3.2.3 of the book, and gives access to the material on which the analysis of the performances of the viṣṇubali ritual is based.

Technical requirements

WARNING, the DVD It cannot be run on a stand-alone NTSC DVD player.

Please note that in all likelihood your DVD player's last settings will be applied when playing this DVD. So please be sure to switch the subtitles on.

There are chapter marks every two minutes on the DVD, which are the next entry points if you use the button "one chapter forward" or "one chapter back."

Contents

Three viṣṇubali performances are represented on this DVD.

One occasion ("full ritual") is given from the beginning to the end (except the preparatory rites) in order to give an impression of how an entire performance may look, and to enable the viewer to place the sections given in "parts of the ritual" in their context within the ritual event.

In the section "parts of the ritual" the diverse sub-rites of two or three events (depending on the availability of the material) are presented one after the other, with introductory texts and subtitles, in order to facilitate comparison of the corresponding rites in the different performances.

The menu "parts of the ritual" is further subdivided into "preparatory rites," "main offerings," "atonement," and "concluding rites." These subdivisions with their further subdivisions are arranged according to the sequence of the rites within the viṣṇubali performances observed.

The "full ritual" and the sequences are provided with short introductory texts and subtitles, commenting on the events shown. The subtitles can be switched off. In the subtitles the performers and participants are not referred to by their names (the names of the participants are given in the "credits" of the DVD, in the book and in this booklet accompanying this DVD), but are referred to by their ritual roles ("officiator," "pregnant woman," "priest," "assistant" etc.), in order to make comparison of the different ritual events easier.

The three ritual enactments and their participants

Date: 13.11.2000

Place: Cidambaram, Tamil Nadu

Participants: The officiator (and father of the unborn child) is K. Balaji Bhattachar, one of the hereditary priests in the Viṣṇu shrine of the famous Cidambaram Natarāja temple. His wife, Shrividyā, is referred to as “pregnant woman.” Shrividyā had not been well for some time and had been strictly confined to bed during the latter half of her pregnancy. The only exception was this event. Because of her condition I was asked not to take video coverage. The use of a video camera was perceived as an unnecessary risk to the woman’s and child’s health. But I was allowed to take still pictures, along with a professional photographer who was hired by the family. Thus, the sequences of this ritual presented on the DVD are still photographs with the corresponding sounds taken from my audio coverage of the same event. The acting priest in this performance is Katukallur S. Manivanna Bhattacharya, a Vaikhānasa ritual specialist famous all over Tamil Nadu. He was assisted by his brother, KS Vasudeva Bhattacharya.



Date: 27.11.2000

Place: Vijayawada, Andhra Pradesh, in the paternal home of Kalyani, the pregnant woman.



Participants: The officiator, Jvala Narasimhacharyulu, and his wife Kalyani, the main priest Parankusha Rangacharyasvami (father of the officiator) and the closest relatives of the pregnant woman in whose paternal home the ritual was performed. The assistant to the priest is Kalyani's father. Furthermore, her father's brother and his wife were present, as well as her mother and her grandmother. Another guest was A. Rangacharyulu, who had established the contact to this family and acted as a translator during the interviews after the performance. The coverage was done with a DV (NTSC) camera, kindly provided by M. Hariharan. The NTSC file was later transformed into PAL format.

Date: 20.1.2001

Place: Vijayawada, Andhra Pradesh, in the small Kodaṅḍarāma temple



Participants: The couple, Shrinivasa Cakravartin and his wife Vasudhara enacted the ritual in the small Kodaṅḍarāma temple, in which the pregnant woman's father serves as main priest. The performing priest, Parankusham Vasudevacharyulu came from a nearby small town for this ritual, and brought some assistants (his students) along with him. The coverage was taken with a VHS camera.

Structure of the DVD

Main menu	Submenu 1	Submenu 2
introduction (08:10 min)		
full ritual (28:28 min)		
parts of the ritual	preparatory rites	formal declaration (03:51 min)
		vitalisation of the fire (06:45 min)
	main offerings	pūjā for viṣṇu (11:09 min)
		offering into the fire (09:01 min)
		viṣṇu marks the foetus (09:53 min)
	atonement (03:46 min)	
concluding rites (04:43 min)		
credits		

Detailed descriptions of the contents

Introduction (colour photographs with voice-over; length: 08:10 min)

Ute Hüsken tells the story of the DVD. She talks about how the DVD came into being, about the occasions at which the audio-visual material was recorded, she introduces the participants, and explains her own position during the field research. The text of this introduction is given as Appendix 3 in the book.

Full ritual (video with subtitles; length: 28:28 min)

This section presents the edited material of the full viṣṇubali ritual performed on the 27th of November 2000 in a domestic setting in Vijayawada (Andhra Pradesh).

Parts of the ritual

This submenu gives access to the diverse rites / sequences of rites Ute Hüsken identified (with the help of the *Vaikhānasasūtra* and the diverse commentaries and / or ritual handbooks on the topic) as seminal to the performance of *viṣṇubali*. These rites are:

Preparatory rites — further subdivided into

formal declaration (video with subtitles, colour photographs with sound; length: 03:51 min): the “formal declaration” (*saṃkalpa*) marks the beginning of the ritual, identifies the main performers and names the rites to be performed. First the enactment in the *Kodaṅḍarāma* temple in *Vijayawada* is presented, and then the corresponding acts of the *viṣṇubali* performance in *Cidambaram*.

vitalisation of the fire (colour photographs with sound, video with subtitles; length: 06:45 min). The sacrificial fire is lit by the priest together with the officiator. First the enactment in *Cidambaram* is presented, and then the corresponding acts in the *Kodaṅḍarāma* temple in *Vijayawada*.

Main offerings — further subdivided into three parts

pūjā for viṣṇu (colour photographs with sound, video with subtitles; length: 11:09 min): As part of the main (*pradhāna*) acts of the ritual a *pūjā* is performed for *Viṣṇu* in his twelve forms. First this ritual sequence in a domestic setting in *Vijayawada* is shown, followed by the corresponding sequence in the performance in the *Kodaṅḍarāma* temple in *Vijayawada*, and then the corresponding acts of the *viṣṇubali* performance in *Cidambaram*.

offering into the fire (colour photographs with sound, video with subtitles; length: 09:01 min): The couple offers milk porridge (*pāyasa*) and ghee into the fire as offerings to *Viṣṇu* in his twelve forms. First this ritual sequence is shown in a domestic setting in *Vijayawada*, followed by the corresponding sequence in the performance in the *Kodaṅḍarāma* temple in *Vijayawada*, and then the corresponding acts of the *viṣṇubali* performance in *Cidambaram*.

viṣṇu marks the foetus (colour photographs with sound, video with subtitles; length: 09:53 min): Two dabs of milk porridge are marked with the heated metal symbols of *Viṣṇu*’s weapons, the disk and the conch, and then the pregnant woman is made to eat them. This act signifies that *Viṣṇu* himself marks the unborn child with his weapons and thus makes him a gar-

bhavaishṇava, a Viṣṇu devotee by birth. First this ritual sequence is shown in a domestic setting in Vijayawada, followed by the corresponding sequence in the viṣṇubali performance in Cidambaram, and then the corresponding acts of the performance in the Kodaṅḍarāma temple in Vijayawada.

Atonement (video with subtitles; length: 03:46 min)

This act of atonement (prāyaścitta) purifies the ritual event from any possible flaws; it is mainly an atonement for not performing the prenatal life-cycle rituals at the prescribed time, since some of the prenatal rituals performed together with viṣṇubali are prescribed for the 3rd or 5th month of pregnancy. First this ritual sequence is shown in a domestic setting in Vijayawada, followed by the corresponding sequence in the performance in the Kodaṅḍarāma temple in Vijayawada.

Concluding rites (video with subtitles; length: 04:43 min)

After the performance of the main acts, the couple is blessed by the participants. First this ritual sequence is shown as performed in the Kodaṅḍarāma temple in Vijayawada. This is followed by the corresponding sequence in a domestic setting in Vijayawada.

Financial support

This DVD has been made possible through the generous funding by the DFG (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft), first with a travel grant in 1998, then with a Habilitandenstipendium from 2000 to 2002, and finally by funding the publication of the book along with the DVD. Moreover, the University of Oslo has contributed financially to the publication of the DVD.

Appendix 3: Text of the “Introduction” to the DVD

In the South Indian states of Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka one major group of temple priests in Viṣṇu temples are the Vaikhānasa Brahmins. Viṣṇubali, the prenatal life cycle ritual presented here, is specific to their tradition. This ritual is performed before birth, in the eighth month of pregnancy. It enacts and marks a transformation of the unborn child. Viṣṇubali, “the offering to the God Viṣṇu,” makes the Unborn a Viṣṇu-devotee, and confers on it its future right to act as a temple priest in South Indian Viṣṇu temples. It is understood as a prenatal initiation, performed by the God Viṣṇu himself: Viṣṇu transforms the Unborn into his own child.

I have to admit that in the process of my research I was as mainly guided by unexpected circumstances. When I started, I treated the Vaikhānasa tradition, like most other scholars in Europe and in the US, as textual tradition. But then, during my first trip to South India in 1998, which was designed to collect texts, I realized that a very vivid Vaikhānasa ritual practice exists. This fact, paired with the great hospitality and willingness of the Vaikhānasas to share their knowledge with me, encouraged me to conduct an eight month long field research trip in 2000/2001. Through my friends A, Rangacaryulu in Vijayawada and Muttu Bhattar in Chennai I received several invitations from Vaikhānasas to participate at life-cycle rituals performed in their families. So I set out, equipped first with a borrowed, then with my own video and still cameras and with an audio tape recorder. At that time I did not even think of publishing the audio-visual material, but I recorded whatever came in front of my camera’s lens, because I sensed that I could not possibly understand what was going on by simply participating and witnessing. I intended to use the footage as a kind of visual notebook. And in fact the repeated revisiting of the coverage helped me immensely in understanding what had happened. The subsequent decision to edit and publish parts of the coverage was guided by the insight that a visual representation is also a “way of knowing” and a way of keeping the ritual process alive.

On the thirteenth of November in 2000, I was invited to a family’s prenatal life cycle rituals for the first time. The event took place in Cidambaram, in Tamil Nadu. The head of the family and father of the unborn child was K. Balaji Bhattachar, one of the hereditary priests in the Viṣṇu shrine of the famous Cidambaram Naṭarāja temple. His wife, Śrīvidyā, had not been well for some time and had been strictly confined to bed during the latter half of her pregnancy, the only exception was this event.

Because of her condition I was asked not to take video coverage. At that time videoing domestic rituals was not yet common in this very conservative tradition. And the use of a video camera was perceived as an unnecessary risk to the woman's and child's health. But I was allowed to take still pictures, along with a professional photographer, who was hired by the family. The main priest, Katukallur S. Manivanna Bhaṭṭācārya, is a Vaikhānasa ritual specialist reknowned all over Tamil Nadu. He was assisted by his brother, KS Vāsudeva Bhaṭṭācārya, sitting to the other side of Balaji, the father of the unborn child.

The names of the actors and participants are not given in the subtitles of the DVD. Instead, I chose to refer to their ritual roles which are not necessarily obvious to the untrained eye.

My second chance to witness and record a Viṣṇubali ritual was in Vijayawada, in Andhra Pradesh, only two weeks later, on the twentyseventh of November 2000. There were only a few participants: the concerned couple, Jvala Narasimhacaryulu and his wife Kalyani, the main priest Parānukṣa Rangacaryasvami and the closest relatives of the pregnant woman in whose paternal home the ritual was performed. Because of this simplicity I chose this occasion to represent the full ritual on the DVD. The menu called "parts of the ritual" presents diverse sequences of the ritual as they were performed in either two or all three of the Viṣṇubali rituals I documented. These sections shall facilitate comparison of the diverse ritual events.

My third chance to document a Viṣṇubali ritual was on the 20th of January 2001, again in Vijayawada. The couple, Śrīnivāsa Cakravartin and his wife Vasudharā enacted the ritual in the small Kodandarāma temple, in which the pregnant woman's father served as main priest. The performing priest, Parāṅkuṣam Vāsudevācāryulu came from a nearby small town for this ritual. The scene thus is very different from that of a ritual performed in a domestic setting. Although not connected to the life-cycle ritual as such, the bustle of the temple gives the event an entirely different character.

I am very grateful to all performers and participants, who not only generously allowed me to take part in these important events, but who also patiently bore with my ignorance and answered my endless questions. Working with me - or performing in front of me - was certainly not always an easy task. I was, after all, a single white woman and scholar, at that time not in command of the local languages Telugu or Tamil, and I undoubtedly behaved improperly out of sheer ignorance.

Considering this situation, the hospitality of all those people who invited me to stay with them in their house, to share their water and food, is all the more amazing. As is evident from the video clips, in spite of the camera in front of my

face I was not perceived as disturbing the ritual as a whole. People were comfortable with me, partly due to the interaction before and after the performances. But, as a single researcher in the field, with no experience and no funds, I was confined to the place behind the camera. Therefore the interaction between the participants and me is not shown in the film clips. I hope the material presented here conveys that these rituals are part of an ancient tradition and actually lived religion at the same time.

Abbreviations

AhirbudhnyaS = *Ahirbudhnyasaṃhitā*

AV: *Atharvasaṃhitā*

ĀS: *Ānandasāṃhitā*

BaudhGrS: *The Bodhāyana Gṛhyasūtra*

BhG: *Bhagavadgītā*

BṛhadbrahmaS: *Bṛhadbrahmasāṃhitā*

DHN^D: *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa* in Devanāgarī script

DHN^T: *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa* in Telugu script

DHNV: *Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇavyākhyāna*

DJ 1946: judgement and the reasons for the judgement of the District Judge of Chingleput, C. Kunhirama Menon of 26.11.1946 (Reference: A.S. No. 35 of 1944).

DM 1942: indictment which was presented to the Principal District Munsiff P.T. Raman Nayar on 29.10.1942 (Reference: O.S. No. 508 of 1942).

ER: *The encyclopedia of religion*, ed. by Mircea Eliade, 17 Bände, New York 1987.

GarbhaU: *Garbhopaniṣad*

HirGrS: *Hiraṇyakeśigṛhyasūtram*.

HRCED 1964: decision of the Deputy Commissioner, Hindu Religious and Charitable Endowments (Administration) Department, Madras (Reference: O.A. No. 13/1959) of 6.10.1964.

HrG: *Handbuch religionswissenschaftlicher Grundbegriffe*, ed. by Hubert Cancik u.a., 5 vols., Stuttgart, 1988–2001.

ĪśvaraS: *Īśvarasaṃhitā*

Jayākhyas: *Jayākhyasaṃhitā*

KhA: *Khilādhikāra* (Khilatantra) by Bhṛgu

KrA: *Kriyādhikāra* by Bhṛgu

ManuDhŚ: *The Manu Smṛti*

MBh: *Mahābhārata*

MOP: *Mokṣopāyapradīpikā* by Raghupatihataṭṭācārya

NVB: *Vaikhānasakalpasūtrabhāṣya* (Vaikhānasasūtrabhāṣya; Vaikhānasagṛhyasūtrabhāṣya) by Nṛsimha Vājapejin

PadmaP: *Śrī Padmamahāpurāṇam*

PādmaS: *Pādma Saṃhitā*

ParāśaraS: *Parāśara Saṃhitā*

PauṣkaraS: *Pāñcarātrāgame ratnatrayāntargatā Pauṣkarasaṃhitā*

PR: Śrī *Pāñcarātrarakṣā* of Śrī Vedānta Deśika

PrA: *Prakīrṇādhikāra* by Bhṛgu PūrvaP: *Pūrvaprayoga*

RV: *The Hymns of the Rig-Veda in the Samhita and Pada Texts*

SA: *Samūrtārcanādhikaraṇa* (Atrisaṃhitā, Atreyasaṃhitā) by Atri

SanatkS: *Sanatkumāra-Saṃhitā* of the Pāñcarātrāgama

Sanukr.: *Sūtrānukramaṇikā* (Vaikhānasasūtrānukramaṇikā)

SātvataS: *Sātvata-Saṃhitā*

SD: *Sūtradarpaṇa* (Śrīvaikhānasasūtradarpaṇa) by Nṛsiṃha Vājapeyin

SDC: *Śrīnivāsadīkṣitendracaritra* by Sundararāja Bhaṭṭācārya

ŚeṣaS: *Śeṣasaṃhitā*

ŚrīpraśnaS: *Śrīpraśna Samhitā*

SR-Vṛtti: *Prayogavṛtti* by Sundararāja

SuprabhedĀ: [*Suprabhedāgama*] Suprapetākamam

SY-N: *Nibandhana* by Sañjīvayājñin

TĀ: *Taittirīyāraṇyakam*

TB: The *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* of the Black Yajur Veda

TPC: *Tātparyacintāmaṇi* by Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita, s. DHN^D.

TS: *The Taittirīya Saṃhitā of the black Yajurveda*

VaikhSmS: *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra*

ViśvamitraS: *Viśvāmitrasaṃhitā*

VivāhaP: *Vivāhaprayoga*

VK: *Vimānārcanakalpa* (Vaikhānasāgama, Marīcisaṃhitā) by Marīci

VMM: *Vaikhānasamahimamañjarī* by Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita

VY-Vṛtti: *Vṛtti* by Vasantayājñin

YA: *Yajñādhikāra* by Bhṛgu

Index

- ācamana, 163
ācamanīya, 163
ācārya, 57, 65, 70, 107, 108, 115,
117, 118, 137, 147, 150, 151, 159,
191, 228, 232, 236, 250, 252
adhikāra, 27, 29, 48, 67, 125, 132,
151, 234, 236
adopted sons, 112
āgamas, 27, 55, 159, 247, 250, 252,
254, 257
āgamic texts, 223
agency, 227, 228, 231, 233, 234
āghāra, 70, 85, 90, 96, 99, 100, 102,
103, 120, 163, 165, 168, 174, 185,
187, 205, 206, 207, 211, 217
Agni, 37, 82, 85, 90, 99, 111, 119,
166, 173
agnihotra, 169, 237, 244
agnipranayana, 165
akṣata, 166, 199, 200, 201, 206, 207,
208, 212, 218, 219
ambiguous status of temple priests,
108
Ānandasamhitā, 26, 27, 31, 32, 36,
43, 44, 53, 57, 58, 60, 74, 80, 81,
95, 96, 109, 111, 112–114, 116–
118, 120, 123, 124, 128, 131, 139,
140, 143, 145, 172, 186, 188, 251
Anantapadmanābhācāryulu Gāru, 17,
31, 114, 139, 233, 237, 238, 243
antahoma, 94, 95, 98, 168, 229, 230
ārādhana, 138, 222
arcaka(s), 55, 72, 74, 127, 137, 147–
149, 151, 152–159, 191, 197, 201,
207, 232, 235–237, 239, 242–244,
250, 251, 254, 254, 257, 261
arcana, 86, 88, 91, 93, 97, 98, 101,
103, 105, 171, 176, 205, 207–209,
212, 218, 219, 222
āsana, 167, 199, 218
aṣṭākṣara, 106, 108, 134, 150, 233
ātmārtha, 57, 61, 63, 107
aupāsana, 92, 94, 165, 168, 169, 203
authoritative knowledge, 252, 254
Baudhāyanagrhyapariśiṣṭasūtra, 39
Baudhāyanagrhyasūtra, 48, 84
Baudhāyanagrhyasūtra, 39, 54, 67,
80, 82–84, 88, 89, 102, 105, 140
Baudhāyanasūtra, 83
being in accordance with the Veda,
63, 265
Bodhāyana, 39, 40, 74, 75, 80, 88,
89, 99, 102, 103, 105, 111
bodily saṃskāras, 39, 64, 67, 70
body posture, 223
boundary transgression, 159
Brahmā and Soma, 165, 166
Brahmanic training, 235
branding, 13, 16, 19, 35, 36, 42, 43,
45, 50, 51, 79, 81, 95, 102, 105–
113, 115–118, 120, 122–124, 126–
128, 130, 131, 135, 136, 139, 140,
143–151, 153–159, 186, 187, 232,
257, 260–263, 265, 266, 270
Bṛhadbrahmasamhitā, 126, 127, 136
bṛhaspati(s), 65, 73, 74, 139, 163,
164, 188, 191–193, 195, 198, 199,
201, 206–222, 224–234, 261
cakraśaṅkha, 181, 186, 205,
210, 215, 221
cakraśaṅkhapratāpana, 104, 105, 182,
184, 186, 205, 210, 215, 221
cakraśaṅkhapūjā, 104, 105, 181, 186,
205, 210, 214, 219

- caramaśloka, 106, 107, 134, 138, 150, 233
 caturthīhoma, 74
 caturthīkarman, 72
 caturthīvāsa, 72, 73
 caturthīvrata, 72, 73
Chāndogyopaniṣad, 41
 changes in the ritual, 190
 charisma, 238
 Cidambaram, 8, 9, 167, 187, 190, 193, 195, 197–199, 201, 203, 205, 206, 222–225, 227, 230, 303, 307–309
 code of identity, 141, 159
 confirmation of pregnancy, 68, 75, 76
 contemporary performance, 71, 73, 82
 contextual knowledge, 255
- dakṣiṇā, 70, 82, 163, 170, 232
 darbha grass, 76, 77, 90, 93, 97, 100, 102, 104, 105, 163, 165, 202, 210, 211, 218, 233
 darbha seats, 89, 94
Daśavidhahetunirūpaṇa, 8, 9, 17, 18, 23–26, 29, 30, 32–34, 36–38, 41–45, 47–50, 53, 54, 58, 59, 62–64, 73, 78, 96, 98, 114, 120, 128, 130–133, 135, 136, 141, 144, 146, 159, 161, 187, 233, 236, 257, 258, 262, 264, 266, 270
 devalaka(s), 19, 37, 43, 47, 48, 54–64, 144, 264, 265
 deviate from the norm, 226
 deviations from ritual norms, 225
 dharmakarta, 152
 dīkṣā, 46, 47, 73, 78, 79, 108, 110–112, 118, 127, 141, 144, 151, 187
 disk and conch, 95, 104, 109, 114, 115, 117, 120, 124, 126, 128, 130, 131, 135, 136, 140, 159, 184, 186, 196, 199–201, 203, 210, 214, 219
 domestic priests, 73, 189, 191, 243
 domestic rituals, 8, 15, 25, 26, 30, 53, 65, 69, 71, 127, 167, 193, 195, 223, 231, 232, 236, 239, 240, 242, 244, 246, 247, 310
 domestic setting in Vijayawada, 190, 191, 193, 195, 197, 199, 201, 203, 211, 224, 225, 227, 228, 230, 306–308
 dvādaśanāmāvāhana, 85, 88, 90, 93, 94, 96, 98, 100, 102, 121, 133, 174, 185, 205, 207, 212, 218
 DVD, 1, 7–12, 14, 21, 165, 167, 169, 170, 189–191, 195, 203, 206, 211–221, 223, 279, 295, 301–303, 306, 308–310
- eligibility, 19, 29, 36, 74, 107, 108, 115, 260
 experience, 11, 185, 193, 224, 225, 244, 253, 254, 311
 expertise in ritual performance, 161
 expiation, 61, 143, 144, 148, 150, 170, 171
- feeding of the pregnant woman, 135, 187, 225
 first pregnancy, 71, 120, 123, 190
 formal declaration, 41, 71, 90, 94, 102, 104, 113, 119, 123, 164, 169–171, 206, 217, 222, 230, 267, 306, 307
 friction, 165
- garbhacakra, 113, 114, 116–118
 garbhacakradīkṣā, 117, 141
 garbhacakrasaṃskāra, 109, 113, 114, 140, 141
 garbhādhāna, 38, 67, 68, 71–77, 83, 90, 94, 99, 122, 123, 169–171, 190
 garbhagr̥ha, 238, 242
 garbhasaṃskāras, 71, 78, 123, 169, 190

- garbhavaiṣṇava, 57, 79, 112, 116,
122–124, 140, 141, 187, 308
garbhavaiṣṇavatva, 81, 89, 94, 102,
105, 111, 122, 140
garbhavaiṣṇaveṣṭi, 123, 186
Garbhopaniṣad, 41, 129
gāyatrī mantra, 163, 164, 182, 207,
211, 214, 217, 240
Gopānācārya, 80, 119, 120, 123, 299
guruparamparā, 30
- hand gestures, 223, 255
homa, 99, 100, 128, 148, 163, 165,
166, 179, 185
Humphrey & Laidlaw, 82, 164, 203,
223, 229, 252
- Īgāvāripālem, 25, 35
improvisational skills, 226
individuated rituals, 234
initiation, 13, 14, 16, 19, 29, 30, 35,
41, 42, 46, 47, 51, 59, 65, 67, 68,
73, 78, 79, 81, 105–108, 110–113,
116–118, 126–130, 141, 147, 148,
150, 151, 155, 158, 159, 161, 224,
232, 235, 236, 240, 243, 248, 257,
258, 261, 263, 264, 266–270, 301,
309
initiation into Śrīvaiṣṇavism, 107,
259
instructions for the domestic image,
175, 187, 199
interaction with the god, 232
interactive competence, 234
interpretation of the rituals, 234
Īśvarasaṃhitā, 46, 47, 55, 56, 108–
110, 117
- Jayākhyasaṃhitā*, 46, 246
jīyar, 147–149, 159
Kātyāyanasūtra, 46, 110
Kodaṅḍarāma temple, 193, 195, 197,
201, 203, 305, 307, 308
- Kodaṅḍarāmayajvan, 80, 123, 124,
140
Kriyādhikāra, 27, 32, 57, 58, 111,
112, 143, 145
kūrca, 96, 100, 119, 166, 174, 175,
199, 206, 212
- lack of competence, 245
Lakṣmītantra, 46, 47, 125
life-cycle ritual(s), 8, 9, 13–15, 18,
19, 24, 26, 29, 38, 41, 49, 53, 64–
66, 68–71, 76, 79, 80, 83, 92, 94,
110, 111, 115, 117, 122–124, 129,
161, 190, 193, 206, 236, 238, 241,
243, 257, 258, 269, 301, 308–310
- mahāśānti, 143
Mānavadharmasāstra, 72
māṇiyam, 149
mantras, 73, 74
mantrasaṃskāra, 106, 108, 115, 126
maṭha, 147, 149, 246, 247
milk porridge, 79, 81, 87–89, 91–95,
97, 98, 101, 102, 104, 105, 109,
113, 114, 116–124, 128, 131, 133,
135, 139, 140, 166, 172, 179, 182,
184–188, 209, 210, 213–216, 219–
221, 225, 232, 233, 266, 270, 307
mistakes, 34, 39, 225, 226
Mokṣopāyapradīpikā, 17, 28, 31, 81,
138, 139, 295
Mudgalopaniṣad, 41, 129
mūlamantra, 106, 109
Muṅḍakopaniṣad, 41
- nāmasaṃskāra, 106, 108, 115
nāṇḍīmukha, 99, 103, 120, 168, 169
Nanguneri, 120, 148–150, 247, 248,
250
nirvāpa, 90, 92, 96, 99, 100, 102
nirvāpana, 85, 166
niṣeka, 72, 73
niṣekādikriyānvit°, 72, 78

- nivedana, 179, 207, 209
 Nṛṣiṃha Vāḷapeyin, 17, 25, 26, 32,
 48, 49, 66, 67, 71, 73, 89, 90, 94,
 95, 98, 102, 118, 134, 140, 164,
 168, 251, 297
 nyāsacakra, 113, 114
- outcome of the performance, 88–90,
 102–105
- Pādmasaṃhitā*, 45, 46, 47, 108
 pāñcajanya mantra, 115, 119
 pañcakāla, 45, 46, 61, 62, 64, 126,
 251, 264
 Pāñcarātra, 19, 24, 27, 30, 32, 40, 42,
 44–47, 54, 59, 62, 63, 80, 81, 98,
 107, 108, 110, 111, 125–127, 130–
 132, 137, 144, 146, 147, 151, 232,
 236, 246, 247, 250, 258, 259, 264,
 268
 Pāñcarātrasaṃhitās, 42, 44, 46, 56,
 107–110, 117, 126, 136, 259
 Pāñcarātrins, 23, 42, 44–47, 59, 61–
 64, 73, 78, 81, 106, 108–111, 116,
 117, 125, 126, 130, 132, 133, 137,
 141, 144, 150, 251, 259–262, 264
 pañcasamskāra, 79, 81, 98, 105–112,
 115–117, 121–128, 136, 139–141,
 144, 147–151, 159, 161, 232, 233,
 258, 259, 261, 265, 270
Pārameśvarasaṃhitā, 44, 46, 62
 parārtha, 46, 57, 61, 63, 107, 110,
 125, 266
Parāśarasaṃhitā, 46, 56, 109, 110,
 127
 pariṣecana, 119, 166, 168, 171, 185,
 206, 207, 209–213, 215, 217, 220,
 222
 Pārthasārathi Bhaṭṭācārya, 7, 16–18,
 23, 25, 26, 29, 31, 34–36, 39, 49,
 73, 74, 80, 95, 96, 98, 120, 123,
 145, 146, 154, 155, 160, 237, 242,
 243
- Pārthasārathi temple, 137, 148, 154,
 242, 260
 pāthaśālā, 234, 239, 244–250, 252–
 254
Paṅṣkarasaṃhitā, 44
 pāyasahoma, 81, 87, 89, 91, 93, 97,
 101, 102, 113, 134, 179, 187, 205,
 209, 213, 220
 pāyasanivedana, 87, 91, 93, 97, 101,
 121, 179, 205, 207, 213, 214, 219
 pāyasaprasāna, 81, 88, 89, 92, 95, 98,
 101, 102, 104, 121, 172, 184, 187,
 205, 210, 215–217, 221
 performance of rituals, 21, 66, 150,
 186, 193, 223, 226, 253, 254, 270
 performative learning, 255
 person an sich, 231
 personal background, 189, 224
 persuasiveness of the performances,
 224
 pradhāna, 307
Prakṛṇādhikāra, 27, 32, 57, 58, 111
 praṇāma, 88, 89, 92, 94, 97, 101, 104,
 121, 134, 172, 184, 188, 205, 210,
 216, 219, 221
 prāṇāyāma, 163
 praṇidhi, 85, 90, 96, 99, 100, 104,
 121, 172–175, 201, 206
 prapanna, 126
 prapatti, 49, 63, 81, 110, 125, 126,
 128–139, 141, 144, 236, 259
 prāyaścitta(s), 45, 68, 71, 78, 131,
 138, 143, 144, 148, 150, 170, 195,
 205, 206, 216, 308
 prayoga, 73, 74
 prayoga text, 25, 171, 237
 preliminary rites, 166
 prenatal saṃskāras, 19, 65, 68, 70–
 72, 76–79, 83, 120, 122, 123, 167,
 169, 190, 195, 216, 224, 232, 267
 prenatal Śrīvaiṣṇava nature, 105
 preparation of the sthaṇḍila, 174, 205,
 212, 218
 present day practices, 10, 236

- publication activity, 257
 pūjā, 39, 79, 89, 123, 163, 167, 199,
 218, 219, 222, 306, 307
 puṃsavana, 68, 71, 76, 77, 83, 88,
 89, 94, 122, 123, 169, 171, 185,
 190, 242
 puṅdrasamskāra, 106, 108, 115, 126
 puṇyāha, 70, 84, 88, 94, 98, 163, 169,
 188, 203
 purānas, 24, 36, 37, 41, 42, 45, 48,
 58, 59, 63, 116, 130, 131, 144, 146
Purātantra, 32, 43, 128, 145
 puruṣārcana, 173, 187, 205, 206
 puruṣāvāhana, 84, 88, 92, 94, 96, 99,
 100, 103, 121, 129, 173, 185, 205,
 206, 211, 217
Pūrvaprayoga, 26, 74, 167, 168,
 170–172, 185–188, 199, 205–210,
 225, 227, 229, 233

 quality of the rituals, 253

 Rāmānuja, 16, 28, 31, 55, 107, 108,
 125–127, 139, 147, 197, 258–260,
 262
 rekindling of the domestic fire, 165
 repeatability, 234
 ritual agent, 226
 ritual competence, 14, 151, 189, 225,
 226, 231, 233, 234, 236, 238, 254,
 261–264, 266
 ritual handbooks, 20, 25, 26, 68, 74,
 80, 81, 161, 162, 165, 167, 185,
 188, 189, 205, 222–225, 227, 228,
 243, 307
 ritual purity, 130, 163
 ritual rules, 222
 ritual specialist(s), 11, 13, 15, 16, 21,
 54, 74, 110, 162, 166, 186, 189,
 191, 222, 224, 226, 228, 230–232,
 234–236, 239, 241, 243–245, 252,
 253, 255, 261, 262, 266, 303, 310
 ritual stance, 164, 229

 ritual texts, 11, 14, 15, 17, 18, 20, 21,
 24, 36, 40, 65, 82, 161, 186, 190,
 223, 225, 228, 254
 ritual variance, 189, 222
 ritualised reading, 223
 ṛtusamgamana, 68, 70–74, 76, 77,
 122, 169, 171, 190

 sacrifices, 15, 20, 25, 30, 39, 65–69,
 83, 89, 109, 115, 166, 168, 186,
 220, 241
 sacrificial fire, 79, 115, 116, 132,
 166, 168–170, 198, 201, 206, 209,
 211, 217, 226, 307
 saṃhitās, 15–18, 27, 32, 43, 54–56,
 65, 72, 80, 82, 149, 159, 191, 236,
 252, 254, 257, 266
 saṃkalpa, 41, 71, 90, 94, 95, 105,
 113, 118, 120, 123, 129, 134, 164,
 165, 170–172, 180, 185, 186, 188,
 205–207, 211, 214, 217, 220–222,
 224, 225, 228–231, 234, 267, 307
 saṃskāra(s), 14, 18, 20, 26, 38–41,
 43, 47, 53, 63–81, 89, 102, 105,
 109–113, 115, 117, 118, 120, 122,
 123, 127–132, 134, 138–141, 146,
 150, 157–159, 161–165, 168–171,
 172, 180, 181, 185, 187–191, 193,
 195, 197, 201, 206, 224, 229, 232,
 233, 236, 238, 241, 242, 251, 264–
 269
Samūrtārcanādihikaraṇa, 27, 40, 111,
 141
 sanctum sanctorum, 222, 238, 242
 sandhyāvandana, 62, 163, 169, 240,
 249
 Sañjīvayājīn, 80, 120, 122, 123
 śaṅkha gāyatrī, 95, 182, 210, 215
 Sanskrit, 8, 9, 10, 14, 16, 18, 24, 26,
 30, 31, 34, 36, 39, 64, 74, 96, 107,
 144–146, 162, 167, 168, 186, 205,
 217, 235, 237, 240, 243, 246, 248,
 249, 253, 259, 264

- Sanskrit prayoga texts, 74
 śaraṇāgati, 49, 125, 126, 131, 135,
 139, 141, 144, 205, 220
 sīmanta, 68, 71, 77, 88, 94, 99, 102–
 105, 122, 123, 169–171, 185, 190,
 193, 195, 200, 201, 217, 225, 242
 sīmantonayana, 68, 76, 77, 79, 83,
 99, 100
 Singhaperumāl, 147, 151–154, 158,
 159, 257, 262
 snapana, 85, 93, 94, 97, 98, 100, 103,
 175, 185, 205, 208, 212, 218, 219
 space *an sich*, 231
 Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita, 18, 19, 23–25, 28–
 33, 36–50, 53, 54, 58, 60–64, 68,
 73, 74, 78–80, 94, 95, 98, 102,
 103, 105, 125, 128–135, 140, 141,
 144, 146, 158, 168, 232, 236, 244,
 251, 257, 258, 260, 262, 264, 266–
 269
 Śrīperumbudūr, 116, 146–148, 150,
 158, 159
 Śrīvaiṣṇava(s), 15, 21, 32, 35, 49, 50,
 51, 81, 83, 95, 103, 105–108, 110,
 111, 117, 125, 127, 136, 137, 139,
 141, 144–146, 155, 158, 159, 232,
 233, 258–263, 265
 stagings, 163, 164, 167, 189, 191,
 193, 197, 198, 201, 203, 222, 223,
 226–228
 sudarśana gāyatrī, 92, 95, 119, 210
 sudarśana mantra, 119
 Sundararāja, 32, 33, 49, 80, 96, 98,
 135, 140, 168
Sūtradarpaṇa, 26, 98
Sūtrānukramaṇikā, 26, 39, 74, 80,
 119, 120, 167–172, 185–187, 205,
 207, 210–215, 217, 219–221, 224,
 225, 227, 229, 237, 239
 suvarṇagarbha, 78, 195, 216
 taking refuge in Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa, 34,
 45, 49, 50, 81, 95, 114, 124–127,
 132, 140, 141, 144, 158, 232, 258,
 259, 268
 tantric prapatti, 42
 tāntrika, 19, 47, 111, 128–131, 135,
 144
 tāpasamskāra, 106, 107, 115, 123,
 126
 taptacakra, 114, 117
Taptacakrāṅkanakhaṇḍana, 29, 145
 taptasamāśrayaṇa, 151–157
Tātparyacintāmaṇi, 23, 25, 30–34,
 38, 39, 44, 49, 53, 68, 73, 80, 81,
 95, 96, 98, 102, 103, 105, 112,
 113, 117, 120, 128, 168, 251
 temple administration, 36, 147, 245
 temple priests, 7, 13, 15, 19, 23, 27,
 37, 53–57, 69, 108, 110, 117, 137,
 140, 147, 150, 160, 197, 207, 222,
 231, 232, 235, 245, 247, 250, 252,
 254, 260, 262, 264, 265, 309
 temple setting in Vijayawada, 165,
 190, 193, 195, 201, 222, 225, 227,
 228, 230, 231, 233, 268
 text and performance, 222
 texts and practice, 233
 textual transmission, 161
 tīrttakāra, 152–157, 159
 tīrttam, 144, 152, 153
 Tirukoṣṭiyūr Saumyanārāyaṇa Svāmi,
 145
 transfer of agency, 228, 230, 234
 transmission of practice, 162
 transregional conventions, 167
 upanayana, 65–68, 70, 110, 111, 118,
 127, 139, 148, 149, 170, 171, 187,
 224, 235, 236, 240, 243, 248
 ūrdhvaṇḍra, 106, 115, 137, 260
 vaidika, 40, 47, 111, 129–131, 135,
 141, 144, 165, 235, 236, 264

- vaidikatva, 19, 61, 63, 265, 266
vaidikī prapatti, 132, 133
Vaikhānasa identity, 16, 21, 63, 74,
118, 158, 162, 222, 224, 232, 264
Vaikhānasa literature, 24, 49, 50, 72,
73, 266
Vaikhānasa pāṭhaśālās, 245
Vaikhānasa prapatti, 138
Vaikhānasa tradition, 72
Vaikhānasadharmasūtra, 25, 40, 41
Vaikhānasagrhyapariśiṣṭasūtra, 25,
38, 39, 75, 105
Vaikhānasagrhyasūtradarpaṇa, 49,
90, 92
Vaikhānasakalpasūtrabhāṣya, 49, 90
Vaikhānasamahimamañjarī, 29, 30,
33, 34, 49, 132, 133, 135, 138,
139, 141
Vaikhānasamantrapraśna, 26, 82
Vaikhānasas, 7, 9, 13–16, 18, 19, 21,
23, 24, 26–29, 33–45, 47–50, 53–
61, 63–65, 67–69, 71–74, 78, 79,
81, 83, 84, 89, 95, 102, 109–118,
122–125, 127, 128, 131–133, 135–
137, 139–141, 143–150, 154–162,
168, 171, 187, 224, 231–233, 234,
236, 238, 239, 241–244, 246, 247,
250, 251, 253, 257, 258, 260–270,
301, 309
Vaikhānasasamhitā(s), 14–18, 27, 32,
35, 38, 39, 43, 48, 53, 54, 56–58,
72, 73, 78, 81, 83, 111, 112, 117,
128, 141, 143, 145, 146, 148, 157,
158, 160, 235, 236, 251
Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra, 15, 23, 25,
26, 35, 37–41, 49, 53, 54, 57, 58,
65–73, 75–80, 82–84, 88, 89, 94,
96, 102, 105, 118, 122, 123, 129,
138, 140, 162, 165, 169, 171, 185,
193, 228, 233, 236, 251
Vaikhānasaśrautasūtra, 7, 25, 26, 29,
33, 69
Vaikhānasasūtra, 7, 18, 23, 24, 29,
38, 41, 47, 48, 57, 60, 61, 64, 72,
74, 111, 123, 238, 242, 266, 268,
307
Vaikhānasīśākhā, 59
vaiṣṇava nature, 80, 94, 95, 102,
112–114, 123, 128, 131, 140, 186
vaiṣṇavasūkta, 86, 89, 91, 93, 97,
101, 102, 120, 170, 177, 187, 191,
205, 209, 212, 213, 220
vaḷaikāppu, 78
Vānamāmalai, 120, 146, 148–150,
158, 159
vānaprastha, 40, 41, 67
Varada Bhaṭṭācārya, 114, 239–243
variations the ritual, 222
Vāsādhikāra, 27, 32, 40, 43
Vasantayājñin, 31, 80, 98, 102, 105,
140, 298
vedamantra, 87, 89, 91, 93, 104, 121,
183, 187, 188, 205, 208, 209, 215,
216, 221
Vedāntadeśika, 17, 30, 32, 33, 107,
298
vedic authority, 37, 38, 44, 266, 268
Venkaṭayogin, 80, 118, 123, 140
Vikhanas, 14, 23, 27–29, 40, 42–44,
118, 122, 124, 238, 295
Viṣṇu's own son, 112
viṣṇubali, 8, 9, 11, 13–15, 19, 20, 29,
31, 36, 41, 43, 45, 49, 63, 65, 68,
71, 74, 76, 78–84, 88, 89, 90, 92,
94, 96, 98–100, 102–105, 109,
112, 113, 115–120, 122–124, 128,
129, 131–135, 138–141, 149, 157–
159, 161, 162, 164, 167–173, 185–
191, 193, 195, 201, 203, 205–207,
211, 216, 217, 222, 224, 225, 228,
229, 232, 233, 235, 236, 251, 254,
257, 260, 264–266, 268, 269, 301,
302, 306–308
viṣṇusūkta, 86, 87, 89, 91, 93, 101,
102, 170, 177, 187, 191, 205, 209,
212, 213, 220
Viṣvakṣenārādhana, 163
Viṣvakṣenasamhitā, 44, 62

Vṛddhahārītasṃṛti, 63, 131, 145, 146

Willem Caland, 7, 16, 26, 29, 35

written instructions, 188, 223, 225,
226, 231

yāgasamṣkāra, 107, 108, 115

yajamāna, 57, 70, 77, 152, 163–165,
168, 170, 187, 188, 191–193, 195,
197, 201, 206–222, 225, 227, 228,
230–232, 234, 236, 252, 261

Yajñādhikāra, 27, 32, 43, 111, 145