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***Sandhyā* Worship in the 14th Century Pāñcarātra: Theory and Practice?¹**

SUMMARY: In his *Pāñcarātrarakṣā*, Veñkaṭanātha states that a Pāñcarātrin is not obliged to follow the prescriptions of the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās, but can also follow those of the Vedic Sūtras when performing *sandhyā* worship. The paper tries to clarify the meaning and background of this statement by presenting and comparing various *sandhyā* prescriptions—from Veñkaṭanātha himself, from Vedic Sūtras, and from several Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās—and it investigates the question of whether this statement gives us insight into the relationship between theory and practice of *sandhyā* worship in Veñkaṭanātha’s lifetime.

KEYWORDS: Veñkaṭanātha, Vedāntadeśika, *Pāñcarātrarakṣā*, Pāñcarātra, *sandhyā* worship

Researchers of religious history must be aware of the fact that their main sources, namely texts, are usually normative and describe ideals. It is often difficult or even impossible to find out to what extent they were put into practice or if they had any social relevance, when we are not lucky enough to have information about their reception history.

Sometimes, however, a normative text can indeed offer a glimpse of the religious practice of its time, even if not always in the way its author had intended. An example for this is a statement of Veñkaṭanātha in his *Pāñcarātrarakṣā*, which I will examine in the present paper.

¹ I would like to express my gratitude to Elisa Freschi for her valuable remarks and to Katharine Apostle for suggesting various stylistic corrections of the English manuscript.

Veṅkaṭaṇātha was a famous philosopher and theologian of the Viśiṣṭādvaita Vedānta who lived in the 13th and 14th centuries. He was also a Pāñcarātrin, which means that his religion was the Pāñcarātra, a Hindu tradition that worships Viṣṇu as supreme God.²

Veṅkaṭaṇātha wrote many works, among these the *Pāñcarātra-rakṣā*, in which he defended, as its title says, the tradition of Pāñcarātra. Veṅkaṭaṇātha's aim was to show that the Pāñcarātra is an authoritative tradition from the point of view of the Vedic orthodoxy, that is, that the Pāñcarātra scriptures do not contradict the Vedic texts. In particular, he sought to show that the typical Pāñcarātric daily routine, the so-called *pāñcakālikadharmā*, which in his opinion all Pāñcarātrins are obliged to practice,³ does not contradict the prescriptions of the Vedic orthodoxy, and in this context he described this routine from getting up in the morning up to going to bed at night in great detail.

The passage that I would like to discuss follows a detailed description of the *sandhyā* rites (see pp. 240ff.), the “twilight rites” performed in the morning, evening and sometimes also at noon⁴. It runs as follows:

“Even if with regard to the [*sandhyā* ritual] three different kinds of *sandhyā* worship are described in the various [Pāñcarātra] Saṃhitās, namely, that related to the seers (*ārsī*), that related to Viṣṇu (*vaiṣṇavī*), [and] that related to Prajāpati (*prājāpatyā*), it is nevertheless proper to perform the *sandhyā* worship and other [rites] only as prescribed by one's Sūtra (1) because it is difficult to know these various modes [of *sandhyā* worship], as the largest portion of these Saṃhitās is lost, (2) because a tradition of proper instruction and performance even of the various modes of *sandhyā* worship that are seen in their entirety in Saṃhitās such as the *Pārameśvara* or the *Parama* is not established, [and] (3) because it is established that even if performed according to the Sūtras [the *sandhyā* worship] has the form of the worship of the Venerable One, since there is no insistence on giving up something that was adopted before because the *samskāras* and

² For a general overview on the tradition of Pāñcarātra see, for example, Rastelli 2011.

³ On the *pāñcakāla* rites cf. Rastelli 2000 and Rastelli 2006: 62–91.

⁴ Cf. Kane II/1: 312f.

the established rules of conduct (*ācāra*) that are taught by one's own Sūtra are approved in the Saṃhitās of the Venerable One's body of teachings (*bhagavacchāstra*) themselves."⁵

In this passage, Veṅkaṭanātha says that although the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās contain prescriptions for *sandhyā* worship, a Pāñcarātrin is not obliged to follow these prescriptions, but can also follow only the prescriptions of his own Sūtras.

This seems to be quite an extraordinary statement: For Pāñcarātrins, the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās are the most authoritative texts. Veṅkaṭanātha devotes the entire first chapter of this PRR to the proof that the Pāñcarātra and its scriptures are authoritative and a valid means of knowledge (*pramāṇa*). So why is it not necessary to follow their prescriptions?

The first reason Veṅkaṭanātha gives seems satisfactory: It is difficult to know what the Saṃhitās' prescriptions enjoin with regard to the various types of *sandhyā* rites that are known⁶ because

⁵ PRR 110,5–12: *tatra yady apy ārṣī vaiṣṇavī prājāpatyeti trividhāḥ sandhyopāstibhedās tattatsaṃhitāsūcyante, tathāpi tāsāṃ saṃhitānāṃ luṭta-prāyatvena tattatprakārāṇāṃ durjānatvāt pārameśvaraparamasaṃhitādiṣu paripūrṇadṛṣyamānasandhyopāsanaprakārabhedānām api yathāvadupadeśānuṣṭhānapāramaparyāsiddheḥ, bhagavacchāstrasamhitāsv eva svasūtrokta-saṃskārācārābhyanujñānāt prathamaparigrhītaparityāge nirbandhābhāvād yathāsūtram anuṣṭhāne 'pi bhagavatsamārādhanarūpatvasiddheḥ svasūtravihitam eva sandhyopāstyādikaṃ kartum ucitam.*

⁶ I could not find a passage in any Saṃhitā that describes forms of the *sandhyā* bearing exactly the three names mentioned by Veṅkaṭanātha. A list that comes close to that of Veṅkaṭanātha's is that of NārS 11.64 which mentions three forms of *sandhyā* called *brāhmī*, *daivī* and *vaiṣṇavī* ("Then he should piously worship the *brāhmī sandhyā* with devotion after having sipped water, then he should worship the *daivī sandhyā* and the *vaiṣṇavī sandhyā*.", *tatas tu prayato brāhmīm sandhyām ācāmya bhaktitaḥ | daivīm sandhyām upāsīta vaiṣṇavīm tadanantaram ||*). However, the meaning of these three *sandhyās* performed consecutively is not clear.

most of them are lost. This is comprehensible: if one does not have the prescriptions, one cannot follow them.

But Veṅkaṭanātha's second reason already shows that there are Pāñcarātra prescriptions for the *sandhyā* rites that are entirely extant. However, he says, there is no tradition that properly teaches or follows these prescriptions. According to Veṅkaṭanātha, there is a divergence between theory and practice, to put it in the terms of the topic of the present volume.

Before we examine the third reason, we have to properly understand the alternative to the Saṃhitās' prescriptions. What does it mean if Veṅkaṭanātha says that a Pāñcarātrin should follow the prescriptions of his Sūtra? Are there specific Pāñcarātra Sūtras? No, there are not.

Although the Pāñcarātra presented itself, at least in its early days, as an alternative to the Veda,⁷ there was a particular point in its

The *Pārameśvarapadyavivṛti* (17,14f.), a commentary on the PārS by Nṛsiṃhayajvan (18th century, see preface p. 4 of the edition of the PārS), mentions three forms of the *sandhyā* that are probably identical with those mentioned by Veṅkaṭanātha: *prājāpatyārṣavaiṣṇavasandhyā* (em.; *prājāpatyāṣṭavaiṣṇavasandhyā* ms.) *tu yeṣu prastutavaiṣṇavakramam upadiśati*, "He teaches the mentioned *vaiṣṇava* procedures (?) among which are the *prājāpatya*, *ārṣa* and *vaiṣṇava sandhyā*". He mentions these forms while commenting on PārS 2.96c–108 (see below p. 265f) but it is not clear if certain elements described in this passage refer to one of these specific forms of *sandhyā*. Possible candidates are the *jalāñjali* for sages (*vibudha* =? *ṛṣis* and therefore the *ārṣa* form?, PārS 2.98c–99b) and that for Hari (= Viṣṇu > *vaiṣṇava* form?, PārS 2.100c–101b), but it is not clear what would refer to *prājāpatya*.

The *Somaśambupaddhati* (I, pp. 45ff.) describes three forms of *sandhyā* called *brāhmī*, *vaiṣṇavī*, and *raudrī*. They are performed in the morning, at noon, and in the evening consecutively. In the first case, the Sandhyā, which is considered a deity, is worshipped as the goddess Brāhmī with a particular appearance, in the second case as Vaiṣṇavī, and in the third case as Raudrī. There is no evidence that forms of that manner are meant in the context of Pāñcarātra.

⁷ The seers (*ṛṣi*) that are often described in the *śāstrāvātāra* stories at the beginning of the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās are an example for this.

history when some of its followers did not consider the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās and the Vedic texts to be contradicting alternatives but rather perfectly compatible with each other. Stories like that contained in the *Pādmasaṃhitā* probably contain an aspect of truth. This story tells about a group of Brahmins headed by Aupagāyana and belonging to the Kāṇva and Mādhyandina branches of the White Yajurveda, who were initiated into the Mantrasiddhānta, a sub-tradition of the Pāñcarātra, by Brahmā. Brahmā gave them the instruction to continue to study their Vedic texts and to continue to perform their Vedic rites but these rites should be “connected with the visualisation of Viṣṇu” (*bhagavaddhyānasahita*) and “characterised by His worship” (*tatsamārāadhanātmaka*), meaning rites that are modified in comparison to the original Vedic orthodox ritual and that are devoted exclusively to Viṣṇu.⁸ It is difficult to say when such persons belonging both to the Pāñcarātra and to a Vedic school first appeared in history but the earliest evidence is probably Yāmuna’s *Āgamaprāmānya* from the 10th/11th century.⁹ Veṅkaṭanātha himself certainly belonged to a group following the prescriptions of both the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās and the Vedic Sūtras, and such a group is his target audience.

Veṅkaṭanātha’s third reason says that to perform the *sandhyā* rites following the Vedic Sūtras’ prescriptions is in accordance with the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās’ prescriptions because the Sūtras meet the requirements of the Saṃhitās, namely that the *sandhyā* worship should have the form of the worship of Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa. In addition, the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās do not insist that a devotee should give up his adherence to the Vedic prescriptions but approve these. Subsequently, Veṅkaṭanātha quotes several passages from the Pāñcarātra

Although these seers have usually studied the Veda and perform Vedic rites, they are not successful in reaching their aims and ask for another means of doing so (which is later presented to them in the form of the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitā, e.g. JS 1.7–18b, ParS 1.3–6).

⁸ PādS cp 21.2c–12; cf. also Rastelli 2006: 229–242 and Rastelli 2003.

⁹ Cf. Rastelli 2006: 218f.

Samhitās and works of the tradition’s teachers in order to corroborate this argument.

Thus, at first view, Veṅkaṭanātha’s statement gives us the impression that the Pāñcarātra Samhitās’ prescriptions for the *sandhyā* rites were pure theory at his time and that the living practice was the performance of *sandhyā* worship according to the Vedic Sūtras. But could this be true? Is there a way to find out if this is true? And: what is actually the difference between the Pāñcarātric and the Vedic orthodox manner of *sandhyā* worship? Let us first answer the last question and examine the nature of both kinds of *sandhyā* worship.

The *sandhyā* According to Veṅkaṭanātha

In detail, Veṅkaṭanātha describes *sandhyā* worship at sunrise; *sandhyā* worship at sunset is described only in comparatively short passages (PRR 150,1-152,4; 164,3–165,8). According to his own description, it consists of the following sub-rites:

<i>snāna</i>	“Having bathed in such a manner [and]
<i>ūrdhva puṇḍra</i>	having applied the <i>ūrdhva puṇḍras</i> , ¹⁰
<i>tarpaṇa</i> of the deities, seers, ancestors	he should, as a part of the bath, satiate ¹¹ the deities, seers and ancestors, who have the nature of the Venerable One,
<i>ācamana</i>	sip water, ¹²
<i>mantraprokṣaṇa</i>	sprinkle [himself while reciting] mantras, ¹³

¹⁰ The *ūrdhva puṇḍras* are marks applied on the forehead and parts of the body with white clay or another substance; cf. TAK1 s.v. *ūrdhva puṇḍra*, Rangachari 1930: 56f.

¹¹ Satiating the deities etc. means offering libations of water to them.

¹² Sipping water (*ācamana*) serves as a means of ritual inner purification. For descriptions of how to perform it see, e.g., Kane II/1: 315f. or Bühnemann 1988: 104–107.

¹³ For this meaning of the term *mantraprokṣaṇa* cf. BaudhDhS 2.7.2: “... sprinkle his body with water while reciting the following: the Surabhimaṭī verse,

<i>mantrācamana</i>	sip water [while reciting] mantras,
<i>prokṣaṇa</i>	sprinkle [himself] again,
<i>svāmapariṣecana</i>	sprinkle [water] around himself in the manner that has been taught by his Sūtra and his [Pāñcarātra] Saṃhitā.
<i>arghyadāna</i>	Then he should offer a form of <i>arghya</i> that consists of water over which the <i>gāyatrī</i> (cf. n. 14) has been recited to the Supreme Self (<i>paramātmān</i>) that is present in the sun. With regard to this, Pitāmaha taught Sanatkumāra that throwing the water <i>añjali</i> [should take place] three times: ‘Being well concentrated he should take water with both hands, recite the <i>tāra</i> , the <i>vyāhṛtis</i> and the <i>gāyatrī</i> ¹⁴ over the water, and, standing with his face directed towards the sun, throw [it] upwards three times at the two <i>sandhyās</i> .’ (quotation unidentified)
<i>pradakṣiṇā</i>	Then he should walk around from left to right in order to shake off the malefaction of driving away the Rākṣasas called Mandeha ¹⁵ who are hit by the water of the [<i>arghya</i> offering] as it has become a thunderbolt.

the Ablīṅga verses, the Vāruṇī verses, the Hiranyavarṇa verses, the Pāvamāṇī verses, the Calls, and other purificatory formulas.” (... *surabhimatyāblīṅgābhir vāruṇibhir hiranyavarṇābhiḥ pāvamāṇibhir vyāhṛtibhir anyaiś ca pavitrair ātmānaṃ prokṣya*. Translation by Olivelle 2000: 267). For the detailed performance of *prokṣaṇa* and the subsequent *pariṣecana* in the context of the *sandhyā* see Rangachari 1930: 61 (with other mantras than those prescribed by the BaudhDhS).

¹⁴ The term *tāra* designates the mantra *oṃ*. The seven *vyāhṛtis* are *oṃ bhūh*, *oṃ bhuvah*, *oṃ svaḥ*, *oṃ mahah*, *oṃ janah*, *oṃ tapaḥ*, *oṃ satyām*. The wording of the *gāyatrī* is: *oṃ tát savitūr vāreṇyaṃ bhārgo devāsya dhīmahi | dhiyo yó naḥ pracodáyāt ||*. The wording of the *gāyatrīśiras* is: *oṃ āpo jyótiḥ rāso ’mṛtāṃ bráhma bhúḥ bhúvaḥ súvar oṃ* (TaittĀ 10.27).

¹⁵ Kane II/1: 314 gives information about the “Rākṣasas called Mandeha”: “Among the earliest references to Saṃdhyopāsana is the one in the Tai. Ār. II.2, where it is said that when brahmavādins facing the east throw up water consecrated by the Gāyatrī, the evil spirits that fight with the sun are sent tumbling into the country (called) Mandeha Aruṇa (of the evil spirits).” and he adds that later sources consider *mandeha* as the name of these Rākṣasas (*ibid.*). In addition to the sources mentioned by Kane one could mention Rām 4.39.36–37, MBh *14.4.1566–1567, ViṣṇuPur 2.8.49–52.

<i>tarpaṇa</i> of the lords of the months	He should satiate Keśava and the other lords of the months ¹⁶ starting with Mārgaśīrṣa with their respective mantra.
<i>prāṇāyāma</i>	He should perform three breath controls in the manner taught by [the verse]: ‘Controlling his breath he should recite the <i>gāyatrī</i> together with the <i>vyāhṛtis</i> , the <i>praṇava</i> (i.e., <i>om</i>) and the <i>śiras</i> three times. This is called breath control.’ ¹⁷
invitation and	He should invite ¹⁸ the <i>gāyatrī</i>
recitation of the <i>gāyatrī</i>	and recite the <i>gāyatrī</i> 1008, 108 or 10 times according to one’s abilities. (...) ¹⁹
recitation of the <i>aṣṭākṣaramantra</i>	At the right moment at <i>sandhyā</i> [worship], the Venerable eight-syllable-mantra ²⁰ that has been taught by the Śrīvaiṣṇavadharmaśāstra such as ‘(...)’ also has to be recited according to one’s abilities.
	Bodhāyana ²¹ and others declare that the <i>gāyatrī</i> should be recited 1000 times, together with breath control 100 times, and together with the special combination of <i>praṇava</i> and <i>vyāhṛtis</i> 10 times. ²² (...) ²³

¹⁶ The names of these deities are Keśava, Nārāyaṇa, Mādhava, Govinda Viṣṇu, Madhusūdana, Trivikrama, Vāmana, Śrīdhara, Hṛṣīkeśa, Padmanābha, and Dāmodara. Sometimes this series starts with Viṣṇu (cf. below, p. 272 and Rastelli 2006: 348–361).

¹⁷ This verse can be found, for example, in BaudhDhS 4.1.28, VasDhS 25.13, *Viṣṇusmṛti* 55.9.

¹⁸ The *gāyatrī* is considered a goddess here. She is invited before being recited. Einoo (1993a: 203f.) also describes that the goddess Gāyatrī was invited and worshipped before reciting it during a *sandhyā* ritual he observed in Mithilā 1987 and 1988, and an invitation of Gāyatrī during *sandhyā* worship is also prescribed in *Mānavagrhyasūtra* 1.2.2. Note that in PRR 109,10 (see below) Gāyatrī is asked for permission to worship God in the solar disk. However, it is not clear why she has to be asked for that.

¹⁹ The passage that is skipped here contains quotations about the recitation of the *gāyatrī* and the *aṣṭākṣaramantra*.

²⁰ *om namo nārāyaṇāya*, cf., e.g., PādS cp 25.

²¹ Cf. BaudhDhS 2.7.5–8.

²² PRR 106,1–107,12: *evam snātaḥ kṛtordhva puṇdraḥ snānāṅgam bhagavadātmakadevarṣipitṛtarpaṇam kṛtvā, ācāmya, mantraprokṣaṇa-*

<i>prāṇāyāma</i>	Having recited the <i>gāyatrī</i> until sunrise in this way, standing with his face eastwards or north-eastwards according to the Smṛti ‘facing north-east [or] north-west’ ²⁴ , he should perform three breath controls as before,
<i>saṃkalpa</i>	formally declare ²⁵ [to perform] the <i>sandhyā</i> worship,
<i>anuñāpana</i>	ask the <i>gāyatrī</i> for permission (cf. n. 18) by means of the mantra <i>uttame śikhare</i> (MNārU 343–344),
<i>upasthāna</i>	worship the Venerable One being present in the solar disk by means of the mantras that are taught by his own Sūtra,

mantrācamanapunaḥprokṣaṇasvātmāpariṣecanāni svasūtrasaṃhitoktaprakāreṇa kṛtvā, gāyatrīābhimantritajalam ādityāntaḥsthitāya paramātmāne ’rghyarūpaṃ dadyāt. atra jalāñjaliprakṣepas trir iti sanat Kumārāya pitāmahāḥ prāha—“ubhābhyāṃ toyam ādāya hastābhyāṃ susamāhitāḥ | gāyatrīā cābhimantrīyāpas tāravyāhṛtipūrvayā | raver abhimukhas tiṣṭhann ūrdhvaṃ triḥ sandhyayoḥ kṣipet ||” iti. tato vajrībhūtatajjalanihatamandehākhya-rakṣonirasanapāpmāvadhūnanārthaṃ pradakṣiṇaṃ prakramya, mārgaśīr-ṣādimāseśān keśavādīn tattanmantreṇa tarpayitvā, “savyāhṛtiṃ sapraṇavāṃ gāyatrīm śirasā saha | triḥ paṭhed āyataprāṇaḥ prāṇāyāmaḥ sa ucyate ||” ityuktaparakāreṇa prāṇāyāmatrayaṃ kṛtvā, gāyatrīm āvāhya, aṣṭottara-sahasram aṣṭottaraśataṃ yathāśakti daśavārāṃ vā gāyatrīm jayet. (...) iti śrīvaiṣṇavadharmaśāstroktasrīmadāṣṭākṣarajapo ’pi yathāśakti sandhyāyāṃ avasare kāryaḥ. prāṇāyāmena śatakr̥tvāḥ praṇavavyāhṛtisambhedaviśeṣeṇa daśakṛtvo gāyatrījapaṃ sahasratulyaṃ bodhāyanādayaḥ smaranti.

²³ The passage that is skipped here describes variations concerning the recitation of the *gāyatrī* and the *aṣṭākṣaramantra* such as the position one can assume while reciting, the place at which one can recite, how the number of recitations can be counted, etc

²⁴ The source of this quotation is not yet identified. The quotation seems to contradict Veṅkaṭanātha’s statement. Probably, however, Veṅkaṭanātha refers only to the morning while the quotation speaks about the morning and the evening. According to Kane II/1: 314, “the morning *saṃdhyā* is to be performed facing the east and the evening one facing the northwest”.

²⁵ On the declaratory formula (*saṃkalpa*) that usually precedes rituals according to the Dharmaśāstric rules see Michaels 2005.

<i>namaskāra</i> for Sandhyā, etc.	bow down to the five [deities] Sandhyā, etc., ²⁶
<i>pradakṣiṇā</i>	who have the nature of the Venerable One and walk around from left to right,
<i>abhivādana</i> and <i>praṇāma</i> for God present in the heart	respectfully salute and bow down to the Supreme Self who is present in the heart as has been learned by [the statement]: ‘He who is in the human being and he who is in the sun is the same’, ²⁷
optional: <i>praṇāma</i> for the cardinal directions, etc.	and if there is a tradition of instruction and performance by one’s own ancestors of also bowing down to the cardinal directions, etc., he should also bow down to these, connected with the realisation that [these] have the nature of the Venerable one. (...) ²⁸
<i>tarpaṇa</i> of <i>ādhāraśakti</i> , etc., the deities, the seers, and the ancestors	Then he should realise that the <i>ādhāraśakti</i> and the other [constituents of God’s throne] ²⁹ up to [His] retinue and the deities, the seers and the ancestors have the nature of the Venerable One and satiate them with their respective names preceded by the <i>praṇava</i> .
wringing out the bathing cloth	At a pure place he should wring out [his] bathing cloth,
<i>ācamana</i>	sip water

²⁶ Five deities beginning with Sandhyā are also mentioned in *Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati sāmānyapāda* 9.140. Unfortunately, I was not able to find out the names of the other four deities.

²⁷ TaittU 2.8 (in the original without *sa* at the beginning).

²⁸ The passage skipped here contains a quotation corroborating what has been said by Venkaṭanātha.

²⁹ For the constituents of God’s throne see Rastelli 2002.

<i>samāhāra</i> of mantras	and draw back ³⁰ the invited <i>tīrtha</i> and the mantras into himself. ³¹
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The sources of Veṅkaṭanātha's prescriptions

If we consider Veṅkaṭanātha's statement quoted on pp. 236f, we could conclude that his prescriptions for *sandhyā* worship are based on Vedic Sūtras. If we examine the pertinent Sūtras, however, the case is not so clear.

First of all, the prescriptions for *sandhyā* rites in the Vedic Sūtras are not uniform. Prescriptions for *sandhyā* rites in the form we talk about in this paper can be found only in texts complementary to the Gṛhyasūtras, such as Gṛhyapariśiṣṭa texts and some Dharmasūtras. The Śrautasūtras and most of the Gṛhyasūtras describe different forms of morning and evening rites and for another performer, namely for

³⁰ If mantras were placed on the devotee's body, an object or a place during a ritual, they have to be drawn back when the ritual is completed. Before the devotee takes his bath he makes a holy bathing place (*tīrtha*) present at his bathing place, also by means of mantras. These mantras also have to be drawn back at the end of his bath (see JS 9.25–32 and 58–60, Rastelli 1999: 201f. and 207; I could not find a passage in the PRR which describes making a *tīrtha* present at the devotee's bathing place).

³¹ PRR 109,7–110,4: *evam āsūryodayāt "pūrvottarāsābhimukhas tv aparottaradiṇmukhaḥ" ityādismṛtyanusāreṇa prāṇmukhaḥ prāgudaṇmukho vā tiṣṭhan, gāyatrīm āvarttya, pūrvavat kṛtaprāṇyāmatrayaḥ, sandhyopasthānasaṅkalpapūrvakam "uttame śikhare" iti manreṇa gāyatrīm anujñāpya, svasūtroktair mantrair ādityamaṇḍalāntasthitam bhagavantam upasthāya, sapradakṣiṇam bhagavadātmakasandhyādipaṇcakanamaskāram kṛtvā, "sa yaś cāyaṃ puruṣe yaś cāsāv āditye sa ekaḥ" ity adhītam hṛdayāntasthitam paramātmānam abhivādyā praṇamya, digādinamaskārāṇām api svapūrvapūrvopadeśānuṣṭhānapāramparyam asti cet tatrāpi bhagavadātmakadhyānapūrvakam praṇamet. (...) tata ādhārasaktyādipāriṣadāntān devarṣipitṛṅś ca bhagavadātmakān dhyātvā, praṇavapūrvakais tattannāmabhiḥ santarpya, śucau deśe snānavastram niṣpīḍya, ācamya, āvāhita-tīrtham mantrāmś ca svātmani samāharet.*

the *brahmacārin* instead of for the *gr̥hastha*. Further, if the Gṛhyasūtras describe *sandhyā* worship it is usually much simpler than the form we discuss here.³²

So Venkaṭaṇātha's sources could be Gṛhyapariśiṣṭa texts or Dharmasūtras. One Dharmasūtra that he mentions at least once in our context is that of Bodhāyana.³³ The *Baudhāyanadharmasūtra* contains a chapter on *sandhyā* worship (2.7) and, subsequently, chapters on the bath and libations (2.8–9). As the table below shows, the BaudhDhS's prescriptions for *sandhyā* worship and the bath overlap in some aspects. They give the impression of describing two independent procedures that partly consist of the same elements rather than two consecutive sequences.³⁴ When we compare Venkaṭaṇātha's prescriptions with those of the BaudhDhS, we see that the former has parallels with the latter but that it also contains ritual elements that do not appear in the BaudhDhS.

PRR	BaudhDhS 2.7	BaudhDhS 2.8–9
<i>snāna</i>	bath or washing feet and hands (2)	washing hands, feet and body, entering the water (8.1–2) ³⁵

³² For the evolution of *sandhyā* worship in the Vedic Sūtras see Einoo 1993a and 1993b. Cf. also Kane II/1: 312–319.

³³ See PRR 107,12. In addition, he quotes a verse that appears in the BaudhDhS among others in PRR 106,11f. (see n. 17).

³⁴ Govindasvāmin, the commentator of the BaudhDhS, presents the case as if BaudhDhS 2.8 was the description of the bath that is hinted at by the words *aprayato 'bhiṣiktaḥ* in 2.7.2 (cf. BaudhDhSV 233,20: “[He] taught: ‘having bathed if he had been ritually impure’. Incidentally, he teaches the prescription for this.” “[a]prayato 'bhiṣikta' ity uktam. prasāṅgāt tad-vidhim āha.). However, it is not probable that a devotee first performs the procedure described in BaudhDhS 2.8 and then that described in BaudhDhS 2.7 because then the recitation of the *gāyatrī* and the worship of the sun would be performed twice (which especially in the case of the latter is simply not possible: the sun rises only once a day).

³⁵ BaudhDhS 2.8.1–2: *atha hastau prakṣālya kamaṇḍaluṃ mṛtṭpīṇḍaṃ ca saṃgr̥hya tūrtham gatvā triḥ pādaḥ prakṣālayate trir ātmānaṃ || 1 atha haike*

PRR	BaudhDhS 2.7	BaudhDhS 2.8–9
<i>ūrdhvapuṇḍra</i>		
<i>tarpaṇa</i> of the deities, seers, ancestors		
		<i>añjali</i> of water for one's own benefit and for the enemy's damage (8.4–5) ³⁶
		washing one's hands (<i>upasparśana</i>) ³⁷ (8.6)
		whirling the water around three times with his hand in a clockwise motion (Olivelle 2000: 269) in order to banish evils ³⁸ (8.6) ³⁹

bruvate | śmaśānam āpo devagṛhaṃ goṣṭhaṃ yatra ca brāhmaṇā aprakṣālyā pādau tan na praveṣṭavyam iti ||. I do not give a translation of the BaudhDhS here in order to save space and because Olivelle's (2000) translation is easily accessible. If not indicated otherwise, my interpretation of the text follows Olivelle's translation.

³⁶ BaudhDhS 2.8.4–5: *athañjalīnāpa upahanti | sumitrā na āpa oṣadhayaḥ santv iti* || 4 *tām diśam nirukṣati yasyām asya diśi dveṣyo bhavati | durmitrās tasmai bhūyāsūr yo śmān dveṣṭi yaṃ ca vayaṃ dviṣma iti* || 5.

³⁷ Olivelle 2000: 269 understands *upasprśya* as “he washes himself” but Govindasvāmin glosses *upasparśanam* with *pāñiprakṣālanam* (BaudhDhSV 236,19), which seems to be more probable at this stage of the procedure.

³⁸ The *añjali* of water and whirling water around seem to be parallels of the *arghyadāna* and the subsequent *pradakṣiṇa* in order to drive away Rākṣasas in PRR 106,3–9, as they also aim at enemies.

Whirling water around in a clockwise direction (*pradakṣiṇam*) could have been reinterpreted as walking around in a clockwise direction at some point in time. That Venkaṭanātha intends the latter meaning is without any doubt. *pradakṣiṇam prakramya* (v.l. *parikramya*) hardly means whirling around. Also the reading of the edition of PādS cp 13.25d: *paribhramaṇam ātmanaḥ* instead of *parikramya pradakṣiṇam* in Venkaṭanātha's reading of the PādS (PRR 111,2) supports this interpretation.

³⁹ BaudhDhS 2.8.6: *athāpa upasprśya triḥ pradakṣiṇam udakam āvartayati | yadapāṃ krūraṃ yad amedhyaṃ yad aśāntaṃ tadapa gacchatād iti* ||.

PRR	BaudhDhS 2.7	BaudhDhS 2.8–9
		bathing and climbing back onto the bank (8.7, 8.10)
<i>ācamana</i>	<i>ācamana</i> (2)	<i>ācamana</i> (8.10)
<i>mantraprokṣaṇa</i>	sprinkling (<i>prokṣaṇa</i>) oneself while reciting various Vedic mantras (2) ⁴⁰	
<i>mantrācamana</i>		repeated <i>ācamana</i> (8.10) ⁴¹
<i>prokṣaṇa</i>		
<i>svātmapariṣecana</i>		<i>mārjana</i> ⁴² while reciting various mantras (8.11)
<i>arghyadāna</i>		[cf. n. 38]
<i>pradakṣiṇā</i>		[cf. n. 38]
<i>tarpaṇa</i> of the lords of the months		
<i>prāṇāyāma</i>		3 <i>prāṇāyāmas</i> while standing in water, reciting the <i>aghamarṣaṇa</i> hymn (RV X.190) (8.11)
		climbing back onto the bank, wringing out the bathing cloth, putting on fresh clothes (8.11)
		<i>ācamana</i> (8.11)

⁴⁰ BaudhDhS 2.7.2: *tīrthaṃ gatvāprayato 'bhiṣiktaḥ prayato vāna-bhiṣiktaḥ prakṣālitapādapānir apa ācamya surabhimatyābblingābhir vāruṇībhīr hiraṇyavarṇābhīh pāvamānībhīr vyāhṛtibhir anyaiś ca pavitrair atmānaṃ prokṣya prayato bhavati.*

⁴¹ BaudhDhS 2.8.7 and 10: *apsu nimajjyonmajjya || 7 (...) uttīryācamyācāntaḥ punar ācāmet | āpaḥ punantu pṛthivīm pṛthivī pūtā punātu mām | punantu brahmaṇaspatir brahma pūtā punātu mām || yad ucchiṣṭam abhojyaṃ yad vā duṣcaritaṃ mama | sarvaṃ punantu mām āpo asatām ca pratigrahaṃ svāheti ||.*

⁴² Olivelle (2000: 271) translates *mārjayati* with “rubs his body with water”. According to Kane II/1: 314, however, *mārjana* is “sprinkling himself with water to the accompaniment of several mantras”. If we follow

PRR	BaudhDhS 2.7	BaudhDhS 2.8–9
recitation of the <i>gāyatrī</i>	1000 recitations of the <i>sāvitrī</i> (= <i>gāyatrī</i>) or 100 recitations with <i>prāñāyāma</i> or 10 recitations of the <i>sāvitrī</i> together with <i>om</i> and the <i>vyāhṛtis</i> (5–7) ⁴³	1000, 100, an unlimited number or 10 times of recitations of the <i>sāvitrī</i> (8.11) ⁴⁴
recitation of the <i>aṣṭākṣara-mantra</i>		
<i>prāñāyāma</i>	3 <i>prāñāyāmas</i> with the <i>brahmahṛdaya</i> ⁴⁵ (8) ⁴⁶	
<i>saṃkalpa</i>		
<i>anujñāpana</i>		
<i>upasthāna</i>		worship of the sun (<i>upasthāna</i>) (8.12) ⁴⁷
<i>namaskāra</i> for Sandhyā, etc., <i>pradakṣiṇā</i>		

Kane's interpretation, *māṛjana* would be a parallel of *svātmapariṣecana* in PRR 106,2–3.

⁴³ BaudhDhS 2.7.5–7: *darbheṣv āsīno darbhān dhārayamāṇaḥ sodakena pāñinā pratyānmukhaḥ sāvitrīṃ sahasrakṛtva āvartayet || 5 prāñāyāmaśo vā śatakr̥tvaḥ || 6 ubhayataḥ prañavāṃ sasaptavyāhṛtikāṃ manasā vā daśakṛtvaḥ || 7.*

⁴⁴ BaudhDhS 2.8.11: *pavitre kṛtvādbhir māṛjayati | āpo hi śṭhā mayobhuva iti tisṛbhīḥ | hiranyavarṇāḥ śucayaḥ pāvakā iti catasṛbhīḥ | pavamānaḥ suvarjana iti | etenānuvākena māṛjayitvāntarjalagato 'ghamarṣaṇena trīn prāñāyāmān dhārayitvottīrya vāsaḥ pīḍayitvā prakṣālitopavātāny akliṣṭāni vāsāmsi paridhāyāpa ācamya darbheṣv āsīno darbhān dhārayamāṇaḥ prañmukhaḥ sāvitrīṃ sahasrakṛtva āvartayec chatakr̥tvo 'parimitakṛtvo vā daśāvaram ||.*

⁴⁵ *brahmahṛdaya* means reciting the mantra *om bhūḥ om bhuvah* (cf. BaudhDhSV 228,18: *brahmahṛdayaṃ 'om bhūḥ | om bhuvah' ity anuvākaḥ.*)

⁴⁶ BaudhDhS 2.7.8: *tribhiś ca prāñāyāmais tānto brahmahṛdayena.*

⁴⁷ BaudhDhS 2.8.12: *athādityam upatiṣṭhate (...).*

<i>abhivādana</i> and <i>pranāma</i> for God present in the heart		
optional: <i>praṇāma</i> for the cardinal directions, etc.		
<i>tarpaṇa</i> of <i>ādhāraśakti</i> , etc., the deities, the seers, and the ancestors		<i>tarpaṇa</i> of various deities, seers, etc. (9.1ff.)
wringing out the bathing cloth		
<i>ācamana</i>		
<i>samāhāra</i> of mantras		

Thus, it is not probable that the BaudhDhS is the only source of Veṅkaṭanātha's prescriptions. As the BaudhDhS is much more elaborate with regard to *sandhyā* worship than most of the other Vedic Sūtras,⁴⁸ we can conclude that Veṅkaṭanātha does not rely on another Vedic Sūtra but rather on post-Vedic sources.

In fact, Veṅkaṭanātha himself presents us with another one of his sources when he quotes passages which corroborate his argument that the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās approve the prescriptions of the Vedic Sūtras. He quotes the *Pādmasaṃhitā*'s prescriptions for *sandhyā* worship, and when we compare these with Veṅkaṭanātha's presentations we see certain agreements in the procedures of the two.

PRR	PādS <i>cp</i> 13.23–28b	
<i>snāna</i>		
<i>ūrdhvaṇḍra</i>		
<i>tarpaṇa</i> of the deities, seers, ancestors		
<i>ācamana</i>	<i>ācamana</i>	“Having sipped water,

⁴⁸ Cf. the sources quoted in n. 32. Another comparatively elaborate description of *sandhyā* worship is *Jaiminigrhyasūtra* 1.13 (cf. Einoo 1993a: 227) but this is also not Veṅkaṭanātha's source.

PRR	PādS cp 13.23–28b	
<i>mantraprokṣaṇa</i>	<i>prokṣaṇa</i>	he should sprinkle [his] body, which is endowed with mantras, with <i>darbha</i> water.
<i>mantrācamana</i>		
<i>prokṣaṇa</i>		
<i>svātmapariṣecana</i>	<i>svātmapariṣecana</i>	He should sprinkle water around himself over which the <i>gāyatrī</i> beginning with <i>om</i> has been recited
<i>arghyadāna</i> in order to destroy Rākṣasas	<i>salilāñjali</i>	and throw a water <i>añjali</i> up. At both twilights, Rākṣasas who wish to fight are destroyed, (23–24) as they are killed by the waters that have become a thunderbolt when driven forwards.
<i>pradakṣiṇā</i> in order to remove this malefaction	<i>pradakṣiṇā</i>	He should walk around from left to right, [which] is a rite of reparation for the injury. (25)
<i>tarpaṇa</i> of the lords of the months	<i>tarpaṇa</i> of <i>devas</i> and others	Then, having sat down, he should satiate the deities and other [beings], uttering their respective mantras.
<i>prāṇāyāma</i>		
invitation and		
recitation of the <i>gāyatrī</i>	recitation of the <i>sāvitrī</i>	Standing in the water, facing eastwards, he should recite the <i>sāvitrī</i> . (26)

recitation of the <i>aṣṭākṣara-mantra</i>		
<i>prāṇāyāma</i>		
<i>saṃkalpa</i>		
<i>anujñāpana</i>		
<i>upasthāna</i>	<i>upasthāna</i>	Joining and holding out his hollowed open hands, he should look at the one dispelling darkness ⁴⁹ until sunrise, worship him with mantras taught by his own <i>śākhā</i> ,
<i>namaskāra</i> for Sandhyā, etc., <i>pradakṣiṇā</i>		
<i>abhivādana</i> and <i>praṇāma</i> for God present in the heart	visualising God in the heart	[him] who is to be visualised as being present in [his] heart. (27)
optional: <i>praṇāma</i> for the cardinal directions, etc.		
<i>tarpaṇa</i> of <i>ādhāraśakti</i> , etc., the deities, the seers, and the ancestors		
wringing out the bathing cloth		
<i>ācamana</i>		
<i>samāhāra</i> of mantras		
	salutation to teachers, etc.	He should respectfully salute the old teachers and Bhāgavatas in due order. ⁵⁰

⁴⁹ *timirāpaha*, “the one dispelling darkness”, can designate the sun but also God who dispels the darkness of ignorance. Here, both are meant, God being present in the sun.

⁵⁰ PādS cp 13.23–28b (as quoted in PRR 110,15–111,7, variants given by the edition of the PādS are mentioned in parentheses): *ācamya prokṣayed*

In order to summarise our results so far, let us look at the procedures of all three sources side by side.

PRR	BaudhDhS 2.7	BaudhDhS 2.8–9	PādS <i>cp</i> 13.23–28b
<i>snāna</i>	bath or washing feet and hands	washing hands, feet and body, entering the water	
<i>ūrdhvaṇḍra</i>			
<i>tarpaṇa</i> of the deities, seers, ancestors			
		<i>añjali</i> of water for one's own benefit and for the enemy's damage	
		washing one's hands	
		whirling the water around three times with his hand in a clockwise motion in order to banish evils	

darbhavāribhir (PādS *dehaṃ vāribhir*) *mantravattanum* (PādS *mantravittamaḥ, mantravit tanum*) | *oṃpūrvayā ca gāyatryā vāribhiś cābhimanritaiḥ* || 23 *ātmānaṃ pariṣicyordhvaṃ utkṣipet salilāñjalim* | *yoddhukāmāni rakṣāṃsi sandhyayoṃ ubhayoṃ api* || 24 *sāmyanti tair vajrabhūtair* (PādS *vajrahatair, vajraghātaiḥ, vajrabhūtaiḥ*) *hatāni preritair* (PādS *hastābhiperitair*) *jalaiḥ* | *prāyaścittaṃ tu hiṃsāyāḥ parikramya pradakṣiṇam* (PādS *paribhramaṇam ātmanaḥ*) || 25 *tarpayed upaviśyātha tattanmantram udīrayan* | *devādīn salile tiṣṭhan sāvitṛīm prāṇmukho japet* || 26 *yāvat sūryodayaṃ dṛṣṭvā prāñjalis timirāpahaṃ* | *upasthāya svaśākhoktair mantrair dhyeyaṃ* (PādS *dhyāyan*) *ḥṛdi sthitam* || 27 *abhivādya gurūn vṛddhāṃs* (PādS *vṛddhān*) *tathā bhāgavatān kramāt* |.

PRR	BaudhDhS 2.7	BaudhDhS 2.8–9	PādS <i>cp</i> 13.23–28b
		bathing and climbing back onto the bank	
<i>ācamana</i>	<i>ācamana</i>	<i>ācamana</i>	<i>ācamana</i>
<i>mantraprokṣaṇa</i>	sprinkling (<i>prokṣaṇa</i>) oneself while reciting various Vedic mantras		<i>prokṣaṇa</i>
<i>mantrācamana</i>		repeated <i>ācamana</i>	
<i>prokṣaṇa</i>			
<i>svātmapariṣecana</i>		<i>mārjana</i> while reciting various mantras	<i>svātmapari- ṣecana</i>
<i>arghyadāna</i> in order to destroy Rākṣasas			<i>salilāñjali</i> in order to destroy Rākṣasas
<i>pradakṣiṇā</i> in order to remove this malefaction			<i>pradakṣiṇā</i> as a rite of reparation
<i>tarpaṇa</i> of the lords of the months			<i>tarpaṇa</i> of <i>devas</i> and others
<i>prāṇāyāma</i>		3 <i>prāṇāyāmas</i> while standing in water, reciting the <i>aghamarṣaṇa</i> hymn	
		climbing back onto the bank, wringing out the bathing cloth, putting on fresh clothes	
		<i>ācamana</i>	
invitation and			

PRR	BaudhDhS 2.7	BaudhDhS 2.8–9	PādS cp 13.23–28b
recitation of the <i>gāyatrī</i>	recitation of the <i>sāvitrī</i>	recitation of the <i>sāvitrī</i>	recitation of the <i>sāvitrī</i>
recitation of the <i>aṣṭākṣara- mantra</i>			
<i>prāṇāyāma</i>	3 <i>prāṇāyāmas</i> with the <i>brahmahṛdaya</i>		
<i>saṃkalpa</i>			
<i>anujñāpana</i>			
<i>upasthāna</i>		<i>upasthāna</i>	<i>upasthāna</i>
<i>namaskāra</i> for Sandhyā, etc., <i>pradakṣiṇā</i>			
<i>abhivādana</i> and <i>praṇāma</i> for God present in the heart			visualising God in the heart
optional: <i>praṇāma</i> for the cardinal di- rections, etc.			
<i>tarpaṇa</i> of <i>ādhāra- śakti</i> , etc., the dei- ties, the seers, and the ancestors		<i>tarpaṇa</i> of vari- ous deities, seers, etc.	
wringing out of the bathing cloth			
<i>ācamana</i>			
<i>saṃhāra</i> of mantras			
			salutation to teachers, etc.

All three sources have the following rites in common (printed in bold letters in the table): sipping water (*ācamana*), sprinkling oneself while reciting mantras (*mantraprokṣaṇa*), and sprinkling around oneself

(*svātmāpariṣecana*, *māṛjana*) at the very beginning of the ritual procedure; and the two essential elements of *sandhyā* worship: the recitation of the *gāyatrī* and the worship of (God in) the sun (*upasthāna*). Throwing an *añjali* of water in order to banish evils also appears in all three sources but in this respect the PRR has much more in common with the PādS than with the BaudhDhS. Both the PRR and the PādS say that this *añjali* of water destroys Rākṣasas because it becomes a thunderbolt. In both sources, the *añjali* of water is followed by walking around (*pradakṣiṇā*), which is considered a kind of reparation rite for the crime of killing other beings, and then, according to both sources, a libation for deities (even if not the same) is performed. Even if one can perceive some similarities to this in the BaudhDhS, too, such as aiming the *añjali* of water at enemies, these similarities are much less here.

The most striking similarities in the PRR and the BaudhDhS are the repeated sipping of water after the *mantraprokṣaṇa*, the sequence of three *prāṇāyāmas*, which appears twice in these sources but not at all in the PādS, and the libations (*tarpaṇa*) after the worship of (God in) the sun.

In conclusion, what do we know about the sources of Veṅkaṭa-nātha's description of *sandhyā* worship? We can be sure that Veṅkaṭa-nātha knew both sources, the BaudhDhS and the PādS, as he mentions them explicitly. However, we can also be sure that these two sources were not his only ones, as the sequence of *sandhyā* worship he describes also contains elements that cannot be found in the two sources.

In addition, one should be aware of two facts. The first is that out of the many prescriptions for *sandhyā* worship that one can find in texts (be it the Vedic Sūtras or the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās, which were examined in the context of the research for this paper), hardly any one equals another in every little detail. The normal case is that these prescriptions have certain ritual elements in common but deviate from each other in sequences and/or with regard to other ritual elements.⁵¹

⁵¹ For Vedic Sūtras apart from those examined in this paper see, for example, *Kāthakagrhyasūtra* 1.25–28, *Kauṣītakiḡrhyasūtra*

This means that in practice, depending on the respective traditions, many versions of *sandhyā* worship were possible and valid. It is quite possible and even probable that Veṅkaṭanātha added another version of *sandhyā* worship to these many possibilities and did not depend on a single textual source for its description. What we know for sure is that Veṅkaṭanātha did not insist on using a specific source for the performance of the *sandhyā* worship, as he explicitly said that it is proper to perform such rituals as prescribed by the Sūtra of one's own Veda branch,⁵² regardless which one.

The second fact is that a devotee does not learn the performance of a ritual such as *sandhyā* worship primarily on the basis of texts. The performance of rituals of such a kind is learned in practice. Little boys watch their male family members, imitate them, and finally, having grown up, perform their own ritual according to their observation.⁵³ They may pay lip service to a certain textual basis but their main source is the practical tradition they grew up in, which, perhaps even more easily than texts, can also be subject to evolution and change.⁵⁴

2.6.3–4, *Mānavagrhyasūtra* 1.2.1–5, *Varāhagrhyasūtra* 5 (p. 6,12–14), *Śāṅkhāyanagrhyasūtra* 2.9.1–3, *Āśvalāyanagrhyasūtra* 3.7.3–6, *Pāraskara-grhyasūtrapariśiṣṭa Trikaṇḍikāsūtra* (see also Einoo 1993a: 226–236). Examples of *sandhyā* prescriptions from the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās apart from those examined in this paper are JS 9.42c–60b, SS 6.190–191 (> ĪS 6.81 and 83ab), PauṣS 41.57, NārS 11.58c–70b, ŚrīprśS 17.22–43b, MārKS 15.6, AnS 10.24–25, BBS 3.7.165–189, ParāśaraS 3.3–8b, 4.1–30, ŚeṣaS pp. 50,6–51,13, 176,3–21.

⁵² PRR 110,11f., quoted on pp. 236f.

⁵³ Cf. Hüsken 2009.

⁵⁴ Cf., for example, Kane II/1: 315: “Modern writers went on adding details, e.g. it is now the practice in Deccan to repeat the 24 names of Viṣṇu at the very beginning of *sandhyopāsana*, but this is hardly anywhere prescribed by any Smṛti or early commentator.” Cf. also Hüsken 2009: 205: “Although the ritual texts are always referred to as authoritative and ultimate ‘source of tradition’ by the performers themselves, the priest can deviate from the ritual rules given therein, at least to a certain extent.”

This means that it is possible that Veṅkaṭanātha's description did not rely only on textual sources, but also on practice or on practice as it should be in his opinion.

The *sandhyā* worship according to the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās

If Veṅkaṭanātha did not insist on a particular textual prescription for *sandhyā* worship, this does not mean that he considered any prescription as proper to be followed. As we have seen in the passage quoted on pp. 236f, he explicitly mentioned prescriptions of certain Saṃhitās, namely, the *Parama-* and the *Pārameśvarasaṃhitā*, which he implicitly considered not proper to be followed because, as he argued, they have “no tradition of proper instruction and performance”. Let us now examine what is so different in these *sandhyā* prescriptions.

The ParS, which is the earlier of the two texts,⁵⁵ contains several passages describing *sandhyā* worship. In chapter 3, two variants of *sandhyā* worship are described. One is a general form meant for all Bhāgavatas and one is to be performed by initiated persons.⁵⁶ The one to be performed by all Bhāgavatas is described as follows:

	“At early morning he should purge his bowels and silently wash [himself].
<i>ācamana</i>	At twilight, being pure he should sip water

⁵⁵ The PārS is based on several other Saṃhitās, among these, to a small extent, the ParS; cf. Rastelli 2006: 49 and 570f.

⁵⁶ Cf. ParS 3.57: “Now I will explain the rules of conduct (*ācāra*) that is always to be performed by Bhāgavatas. The daily rituals that are taught by the *śāstra* are called *ācara*.” (*ācāram adhunā vakṣye kāryaṃ bhāgavatais sadā | ācāro nityakarmaiva śāstradṛṣṭaṃ prakīrtyate ||*) and ParS 3.69cd: “I will teach you the rules of conduct (*samācāra*) for initiated persons, o grandfather.” (*dīkṣitānāṃ samācāraṃ vakṣye tava pitāmaha ||*).

recitation of the <i>pañcopaniṣads</i>	and recite the <i>pañcopaniṣad</i> [-mantras] ⁵⁷ one hundred times, one thousand times or ten times in times of distress.
worship of the sun	He should do homage to the sun [while reciting] the <i>kālamāntra</i>
worship of the cardinal directions	and then to the cardinal directions [while reciting] their own mantra. ⁵⁸
recitation of the eight-syllable and the twelve-syllable mantra	Having become pure he should recite the eight-syllable mantra and the twelve-syllable [mantra]. ⁵⁹
recitation of hymns	According to one's possibilities, one should daily recite hymns of praise and think of the God of gods at last. ⁶⁰

For initiated persons, *sandhyā* worship is described twice in ParS 3, once very briefly and the second time in more detail⁶¹:

⁵⁷ According to the ParS cosmology, the *pañcopaniṣanmantras* constitute the subtle body (*sūkṣmaśarīra*) of God (ParS 2.29–34). Their wording is *oṃ śaṃ namaḥ parāya parameṣṭhyātmāne namaḥ; oṃ yāṃ namaḥ parāya puruṣātmāne namaḥ; oṃ rāṃ namaḥ parāya viśvātmāne namaḥ; oṃ vāṃ namaḥ parāya nīṣṭyātmāne namaḥ and oṃ lāṃ namaḥ parāya sarvātmāne namaḥ* (NG 182,17–20).

⁵⁸ The ParS passage describing these mantras is corrupt. Thus it is difficult to figure out their wording. Possibly the *kālamāntra* is *oṃ haṃ kālāya namaḥ*. The *diṇmantra* is possibly *oṃ haḥ digbhyo namaḥ* (ParS 6.8–9 and 18cd).

⁵⁹ The eight-syllable mantra (*aṣṭākṣaramāntra*) is *oṃ namo nārāyaṇāya* (e.g. PādS cp 25). The twelve-syllable mantra (*dvādaśākṣaramāntra*) is *oṃ namo bhagavate vāsudevāya* (eg. PādS cp 24).

⁶⁰ ParS 3.58–61b: *uṣaḥkāle malotsargaṃ kṛtvā prakṣālyā vāgyataḥ | śucir ācamya sandhyāyāṃ pañcopaniṣadaṃ japet || 58 śatakr̥tvāḥ sahasraṃ vā daśakṛtvō [']thavāpadi | bhāskaraṃ kālamāntreṇa svamāntreṇa diśo (em., ed. diśāṃ) kramāt || 59 namaskṛtvā śucir bhūtvā mantram aṣṭākṣaraṃ japet | dvādaśākṣaram evāpi yathāsambhavam anvaham || 60 stotrāṇi ca japitvānte devadevam anusmaret |*

⁶¹ It is quite possible that these passages originally derive from independent sources and were used for compiling ParS 3.

	“He should wash off the dirt with clay and water according to the <i>śāstra</i> .”
touching the body	He should touch [his body (?)] while reciting] the <i>viśva[mantra]</i> ,
<i>ācamana</i>	sip water [while reciting] the <i>puruṣa-[mantra]</i> ,
<i>prokṣaṇa</i>	sprinkle his head or his entire body [while reciting] the <i>parameṣṭhi-[mantra]</i> ⁶² ,
recitation	perform <i>sandhyā</i> worship according to the prescription, recite [the <i>pañcapaniṣanmantras</i> (?)] in due sequence,
formal declaration	formally declare [to perform <i>sandhyā</i> worship while reciting] the <i>manomantra</i> ,
touching the sense organs	touch each sense organ [while reciting] the <i>ahaṃkāramantra</i> ,
worship	salute respectfully the imperishable Supreme Self (<i>paramātman</i>)
	and touch a brown cow [while reciting] the <i>buddhimantra</i> . Having thought of the supreme Mantra, he should fulfill his worldly duties. ⁷⁶³

⁶² These mantras belong to the *pañcapaniṣanmantras*; cf. n. 57.

⁶³ ParS 3.72–75: *malaprakṣālanam kṛtvā mṛdabhir adbhis ca śāstrataḥ | sprṣtvā viśvātmanā toyam ācāmet puruṣātmanā || 72 parameṣṭhyātmanā prokṣya śiras sarvāṅgam eva vā | sandhyām upāsyā vidhinā japitvā ca yathākramam || 73 manomantreṇa saṅkalpya paramātmānam avyayam | sprṣtvāhaṃkāramantreṇa indriyāṇi sakṛt sakṛt || 74 abhivandyāmṛśed gām ca kapilām buddhividyaḥ | mantram param anusmṛtya* (ParS_{ms} p. 44, ed. *anusprṣya*) *laukikam kāryam ācaret || 75*. The line 74cd probably is a later interpolation because if we remove it we get the smooth formulation: *paramātmānam avyayam abhivandya*. Otherwise, *paramātmānam avyayam* lacks a verb, and *abhivandya* lacks an object. In the translation, however, I do not

bath	“For purification he should bathe first and [then] perform a <i>mantra</i> bath. (83cd) Taking clay [while reciting] the <i>sarva[mantra]</i> , he should purify the water by means of the <i>nivṛtti[mantra]</i> . He should invite the bathing place (<i>tīrtha</i>) and smear [his body while reciting] the <i>puruṣa[mantra]</i> . (84) He should bathe [while reciting] the <i>parameṣṭhi[mantra]</i> ⁶² .
<i>ācamana</i>	He should sip water again according to the rules.
<i>prokṣaṇa</i>	Having sprinkled [himself while reciting] the <i>pañcopaniṣad[-mantras]</i> ,
cleaning the body	he should clean his whole body. (85)
recitation of the <i>pañcopaniṣads</i> with breath control	Standing inside the water he should recite the five mantras in the proper sequence. Having recited while performing breath control (<i>prāṇāyāma</i>) thrice, twice or once ⁶⁴ and having bathed,
changing clothes	he should put on his clothes,
<i>ācamana</i>	sip water,

remove this line, but give the ritual sequence in the order that was probably intended by the interpolator

⁶⁴ The meaning of *vinayena* in the line *prāṇāyāmaih tribhīr dvābhyām ekena vinayena vā* is not quite clear. The word order suggests that the words *ekena vinayena* are one unit. Then *vinaya* would be a kind of synonym of *prāṇāyāma*. However, I am not aware of the usage of the term *vinaya* in this meaning. One could also understand *vinayena* as “in a controlled way”. Then, however, the position of the word *vā* would be strange, even if one takes into consideration that word order in *ślokas* is usually not strictly regulated. The variant of PārS 2.87cd (≈ ParS 3.86cd): *prāṇāyāmais tribhīr dvābhyām ekena niyatena vā* does not help in this case. *niyatena* could either be a synonym of *vinayena* in the sense of “in a controlled way” or it could mean “in a fixed [number]” (?).

recitation of various <i>mantras</i>	turn eastwards and, holding <i>kuśa</i> grass in his hand [and] being concentrated, (86–87) recite the <i>paramahaṃsa</i> and the <i>praṇava</i> ⁶⁵ (i.e. <i>om</i>) consisting of three syllabic instants one thousand or one hundred times, and [he should also recite] the twelve-syllable and the eight-syllable [mantras]. (88)
worship of God in the sun	He should worship the sun after having thrown a water <i>añjali</i> [while reciting] just these great mantras. And joining his hollowed palms, he should visualise the subtle, fiery supreme Lord as being present in the [solar] disk [while reciting] the <i>kāla</i> [<i>mantra</i>]
<i>tarpaṇa</i> of the deities, etc.	and, after that, he should satiate the deities with water in the proper sequence, (89–90) [namely,] Indra and the others, Viṣṇu and the others, Vāsudeva and the others, the twelve <i>mūrtis</i> and the <i>śaktis</i> ⁶⁶ and the Supreme Self himself, (91) the elements earth and the others, the seers and the ancestors. The name in the accusative case at the beginning, then [the phrase] ‘I satiate’, (92) this is the mantra that is fitly declared for satiating.
	Having satiated [the deities], he should sip water again and go ⁶⁷ to the place of worship. ⁷⁶⁸

⁶⁵ As Czerniak-Drożdżowicz (2003: 191, n. 626) points out, these two mantras may only be used by initiated persons (see ParS 29.73c–74b). The wording of the *paramahaṃsamantra* (mentioned also in ParS 4.54–55, 84, 8.32, 23.41, 29.16) is not clear. One could think of the *haṃsamantra* (so ‘*ham*, *Dhyānabindūpaniṣad* 61c–62b) but there is no evidence that this mantra is meant here. If one searches for the term *paramahaṃsa* in other Saṃhitās than the ParS, it appears most often meaning God’s manifestation as supreme goose (JS 2.7, PādS cp 13.57, BhT 1.40).

⁶⁶ For all these deities see pp. 273f.

⁶⁷ *samā-√car* actually does not mean “to go” but rather “to perform”. This, however, does not make sense with *yāgasthāna* as object. So I interpret it in the meaning of *√car* without prefixes.

⁶⁸ ParS 3.83c–93: *suddhyarthaṃ prathamam snātvā mantrasnānam samācaret* || 83 *sarveṇa mṛdam ādāya nivṛtyā vāri śodhayet* | *viśvena tīrtham āvāhya puruṣeṇānulepayet* || 84 *parameṣṭhyātmanā snāyād ācāmed vidhinā*

In addition, ParS 27 gives another short account of *sandhyā* worship in a kind of summary of rituals⁶⁹:

<i>ācamana</i>	“(…) Afterwards he should sip water according to the prescriptions,
drinking, wiping the mouth	drink [water], wipe his mouth once, (7cd)
<i>ācamana</i>	sip water again,
<i>ātmaprokṣaṇa</i>	sprinkle himself according to the prescriptions,
<i>ātmapiṣecana</i>	then sprinkle water around himself
<i>jalāñjali</i>	and throw a water <i>añjali</i> . (8)
washing the hands	With regard to the <i>sandhyā</i> [worship] he should wash his hands with water again,
recitation of the <i>pañcapaniṣads</i>	recite the five <i>mantras</i>
<i>pradakṣiṇā</i>	and circumambulate God. ⁷⁰

punaḥ | pañcapaniṣadā prokṣya sarvagātraṃ viśodhayet || 85 antarjalagato bhūtvā pañcamantrān kramāj jayet | prāñyāyamañiḥ tribhir dvābhyām ekena vinayena vā || 86 japitvā tu kṛtasnānaḥ paridhāyātha vāsasī | ācāntaḥ prāñmukho bhutvā kuśapāñiḥ samāhitaḥ (em. [for a parallel see ParS 22.34b], ed. *kuśalaṃ nissamāhitaḥ*) || 87 *jayet paramahaṃsaṃ tu trimātraṃ praṇavaṃ tathā | sahasraṃ śatavāraṃ vā dvādaśāṣṭākṣarāv api || 88 ādityam upatiṣṭheta pūrvaṃ muktṃ jalāñjalim | etair eva mahāmantraiḥ kālena ca kṛtāñjalih || 89 sūkṣmaṃ tejomayaṃ dhyātvā maṇḍalasthaṃ paraṃ prabhum | tarpayed devatāḥ paścād udakena yathākramam || 90 indrādīn viṣṇupūrvāms ca vāsudevādīkān api | mūrṭir dvādaśa śaktīś ca paramātmānam eva ca || 91 pṛthivyādīni bhūtāni ṛṣiś ca piṭṛbhis saha | ādau nāma dviṭyāntaṃ tarpayāmīti cottaram || 92 eṣa mantras tu nirdiṣṭaḥ tarpaṇe tu yathātatham | saṃtarpya punar ācamya yāgasthānaṃ samācaret || 93*

⁶⁹ Cf. ParS 27.2ab: “Look! I will give you a summary of the rituals.” (*hanta te kathayiṣyāmi karmaṇāṃ saṃgrahaṃ tava*).

⁷⁰ ParS 27.7c–9: *ācamya vidhivat paścāt pītvonmṛjya sakṣṇ mukham || 7 bhūya eva tathācamya prokṣyātmānaṃ yathāvidhi | ātmānaṃ pariṣicyātha viśṣjet salilāñjalim || 8 sandhyām uddiṣya bhūyo 'pi pañī prakṣālya vāriṇā | pañcamantrajapaṃ kṛtvā devasyāpi pradakṣiṇam || 9.*

The PārS offers prescriptions for the *sandhyā* rituals within its description of the Pāñcarātric daily routine called *pañcakālas*⁷¹:

touching the sense organs	“(…) He should cover his ears, eyes, mouth [and] nose in sequence with his fingers.
plunging into the water while reciting	Then he should plunge [into the water] while reciting the mantra and the <i>aṅga</i> [<i>mantras</i>] (85) once or many times according to his ability.
visualisation of God within the body	He should visualise Hari, the God, as consisting of light, as being present in the lotus of the heart and in the place between the eyes. (86)
<i>prāṇāyāma</i>	In order to remove all malefactions he should perform ‘sin-effacing’ (<i>aghamaṛṣaṇa</i>) in this way (?) by means of three, two, one or a fixed number (? , cf. n. 64) of breath controls. ⁷² (87)
stepping out of the water, changing clothes, etc.	Afterwards he should rise up and perform [his rites (?)]. He should look at the solar disk—the one of great splendour (i.e. the sun) is a manifestation of the mantra ⁷³ —step out of the water, (88) take off the bathing cloth, put on another cloth, then bind his tuft of hair while reciting the <i>śikhā</i> [<i>mantra</i>],

⁷¹ For the role of the *pañcakāla* rites in the PārS see Rastelli 2006: 62–91.

⁷² For the manner of the performance of the *aghamaṛṣaṇa* rite see Kane II/1: 317: “*Aghamaṛṣaṇa* (driving out sin) consists in taking water in the right hand formed in the shape of a cow’s ear, holding it near one’s nose, breathing out from the nose on the water (with the idea of driving away sin from oneself) to the accompaniment of the three verses ‘*ṛtam ca*’ (Ṛg. X. 190.1–3) and then casting the water away to one’s left on the ground.” If according to the PārS ṚV X.190 or another mantra is recited is not clear; see below (pp. 271f) on the mantras used in the *sandhyā* worship according to the PārS and n. 75. Cf. also Gupta/Hoens/Goudriaan 1979: 132: “The Tantric form of *aghamaṛṣaṇa* (removal of all sins) differs from the Vedic *aghamaṛṣaṇa* in that it does not use any Vedic mantra.”

⁷³ It is not at all certain that the text is correct here. This sentence inserted into another one seems strange but as I cannot propose a better solution

<i>ācamana</i>	and sip water according to the prescriptions. (89) (...) ⁷⁴
<i>prāṇāyāma</i> with water (<i>aghamarṣaṇa</i> ?)	He should move his right palm filled with water to the tip of his nose, O Sage, (96cd) smell [it] while thinking of the <i>hṛnmantra</i> , hold [his breath] while whispering the <i>kavaca[mantra]</i> , and exhale, uttering the <i>astra[mantra]</i> while throwing water. ⁷⁵ (97)
<i>mantranyāsa</i>	Then he should place [mantras] on his hands and body in sequence.
<i>jalāñjali</i> for sages	Then he should take filtered water into his left hand while reciting the <i>hṛnmantra</i> (98) and he should delight the deceased sages, throwing [water] while reciting the <i>śikhā[mantra]</i> .
<i>jalāñjali</i> in order to destroy villains and faults	In order to destroy villains and faults, thinking of the <i>astra[mantra]</i> he should throw [water] onto the earth (99) towards the intermediate points of the compass (? <i>antarāntarayogena</i>), then down and finally up.
<i>jalāñjali</i> for God	Then he should take an <i>añjali</i> of water and, thinking of Hari while reciting his mantra, (100) satiate [Him] who is present in the solar disk by means of this water.
reciting while facing the sun	Then with his [right] hand holding <i>kuśa</i> grass raised upwards, his eyes closed, reciting, (101) he should look ⁷⁶ at the sun, which is the mantra that has been worshipped before by means of <i>arghya</i> .

I take the text as it is. The entire PārS is a text compiled of passages from other texts (cf. Rastelli 2006: 49–62), which often results in inhomogeneities

⁷⁴ PārS 2.90–96b (ParS 5.5–9) is a detailed prescription of how to perform *ācamana*.

⁷⁵ These *prāṇāyāmas* seem to be a replication of the *aghamarṣaṇa* rite described in PārS 2.87.

⁷⁶ Probably this means that the devotee should close his eyes and face the sun.

<i>tarpaṇa</i> of throne, deities, etc.	Then he should sit down and satiate the mantra together with his limbs and his retinue, preceded by [satiating] the throne [that serves as] support (<i>ādhārāsana</i>). Then, in sequence, [he should satiate] Indra and the others, Viṣṇu and the others, Vāsudeva and the others, (102–103) the twelve <i>mūrtis</i> and the <i>śaktis</i> and the Supreme Self himself, the elements earth and the others, the seers and the ancestors. (104) Uttering the name in the accusative case at the beginning and [the phrase] ‘I satiate’, this is the mantra that is declared for satiating in due succession. (105)
<i>tarpaṇa</i> of the ancestors	Having satiated the fathers and grandfathers with water with sesame, he should satiate the great-grandfathers and their wives afterwards. (106) He should satiate while facing southwards for all the ancestors ⁷⁷ , for the deities and all the others he should face eastwards [in the morning] or westwards [in the evening]. (107)
<i>ācamana</i>	Then he should put the <i>pavitraka</i> (i.e. the <i>kuśa</i> grass mentioned in 101) away. The one who knows the mantra (<i>mantravid</i> ⁷⁸) should sip water again and
salutation of the cardinal directions	salute to in the cardinal directions respectfully after having visualised Nārāyaṇa, the Lord, in the evening and in the morning. ⁷⁹

⁷⁷ The southern direction is the direction of Yama, the deity that rules the spirits of the dead. Thus it fits to the deceased ancestors.

⁷⁸ In this context the term *mantravid* probably does not only mean that the devotee knows the mantra, but also that he recites it while sipping water.

⁷⁹ PārS 2.85–89 and 96c–108: *śrotrādṛgṇvadanam nāsām svakarāṅgulibhiḥ kramāt | sthagayitvā nimajyātha sāṅgam mantram athocaran || 85 sakṛd vā bahuśaḥ śaktyā dhyāyej jyotirmayaṃ harim | devaṃ hṛtṣuṣkarāntasthaṃ netrayor atha cāntare || 86 sarvapāpanirāsārthaṃ kṛtvaiyam aghamarśaṇam | prāṇāyāmais tribhir dvābhyām ekena niyatena vā || 87 samutthāyācaret paścāt sannirīkṣyārkaṃaṇḍalam | mantramūrtir mahātejāḥ samuttīrya jalāntarāt || 88 snānavastram parityajya paridhāyāmbarāntaram |*

Let us again compare the ritual sequences described in these texts with the sequence described by Venkaṭanātha:

PRR	ParS 3.58–61b	ParS 3.72–75	ParS 3.85b–93	ParS 27.7c–9	PārS 2.85–108
		touching the body			touching the sense organs
					plunging into the water, recitation
					visualisation of God within the body
				<i>ācamana</i>	
				drinking, wiping one's mouth	

śikhayātha śikhābandhaṃ kṛtvācamya yathāvidhi || 89 (...) *sajalaṃ dakṣiṇaṃ hastaṃ kṛtvā ghrāṇāgragaṃ mune* || 96 *smaran hṛnmantram āghrāya sandhārya kavacaṃ lapan | virecyā samudṛyāstraṃ toyakṣepeṇa vai saha* || 97 *tatas tu hastayor dehe nyāsaṃ kuryād yathākramam* (corr. of the editor, text: *yathāgamam*) | *hydā vāmakare toyam ādāya galitaṃ ca tat* || 98 *vibudhān ūrdhvadehasthān hlādayec chikayā kṣipan | smarann astraṃ kṣiped bhūmau duṣṭadoṣaprasāntaye* || 99 *antarāntarayogena hy ūrdhvāntaṃ prāg adhas tataḥ | jalāñjalim athādāya svamantreṇa* (corr. of the editor, text: *samantreṇa*) *hariṃ smaran* || 100 *sūryamaṇḍalamadhyasthaṃ tarpayet tena vāriṇā | sakuśordhvakaraś cātha vinimilitadyg japan* || 101 *sūryaṃ nirīkṣayen mantraṃ yad arghyenārcitaṃ purā | tatopaviśya santarpya ādhārāsanapūrvakam* || 102 *sāṅgaṃ saparivāraṃ ca mantraṃ tadanu vai kramāt | indrādīn viṣṇupūrvāmś ca vāsudevādīkān api* || 103 *mūrtīr dvādaśa śaktīś ca paramātmānam eva ca | pṛthivyādīni bhūtāni ṛṣīmś ca pītṛbhiḥ saha* || 104 *ādau nāma dvitīyāntaṃ tarpayāmīti coccaran | eṣa mantras tu nirdiṣṭas tarpaṇeṣu yathākramam* || 105 *tilodakais tarpayitvā svapitīrś ca pitāmahān | prapitāmahasamjñāmś ca sadārān anutarpayet* || 106 *tarpayet sarvapitīrñām dakṣiṇābhīmukhena tu | devānām ca tadanyeṣāṃ prāṇmukho vāpy udānmukhaḥ* || 107 *pavitṛkaṃ tyajet paścāt punar ācamya mantravit | sāyaṃ prātar diśo vandyād dhyātvā nārāyaṇaṃ prabhūm* || 108. PārS 2.87cd; ≈ParS 3.86cd; PārS 2.90–96b; ≈ParS 5.5–9; PārS 2.103c–105; ≈ParS 3.91–93b.

PRR	ParS 3.58–61b	ParS 3.72–75	ParS 3.85b–93	ParS 27.7c–9	PārS 2.85–108
<i>ācamana</i>	<i>ācamana</i>	<i>ācamana</i>	<i>ācamana</i>	<i>ācamana</i>	
<i>mantra- prokṣaṇa</i>		<i>prokṣaṇa</i>	<i>prokṣaṇa</i> while reciting the <i>pañc- opaniṣads</i>	<i>ātmaprokṣa- ṇa</i>	
<i>mantrācamana</i>					
<i>prokṣaṇa</i>					
<i>svātmāpari- ṣecana</i>				<i>ātmapari- ṣecana</i>	
<i>arghyadāna</i> in order to des- troy Rākṣasas					
<i>pradakṣiṇā</i>					
<i>tarpaṇa</i> of the lords of the months					
			purification of the body		
<i>prāṇāyāma</i> , invitation and recitation of the <i>gāyatrī</i>	recitation of the <i>pañcopa- niṣads</i> (100, 1000 or 10 times)	recitation	recitation of the <i>pañcopa- niṣads</i> with <i>prāṇāyāma</i>		<i>aghamaṣaṇa</i> by means of <i>prāṇāyāmas</i> ⁸⁰
			changing clothes		stepping out of the wa- ter, changing clothes
			<i>ācamana</i>		<i>ācamana</i>
			recitation of the <i>parama- haṃsa</i> and the <i>praṇava</i> , 1000 or 100 times		

⁸⁰ Cf. BaudhDhS 2.8.11 for a parallel rite.

PRR	ParS 3.58–61b	ParS 3.72–75	ParS 3.85b–93	ParS 27.7c–9	PārS 2.85–108
recitation of the <i>aṣṭ-ā k ṣ a r a -mantra</i>			recitation of the <i>aṣṭākṣara- and dvādaśā-kṣaramantra</i>		
<i>prāñāyāma</i>					<i>prāñāyāma</i> with water (<i>aghamaṣṣaṇa</i> ?) reciting <i>hṛm-</i> , <i>kavaca-</i> , <i>astramantra</i>
<i>saṃkalpa</i>		<i>saṃkalpa</i>			
<i>anujñāpana</i>					
		touching the sense organs			
					<i>mantranyāsa</i>
					<i>jalāñjali</i> for sages ⁸¹
					<i>jalāñjali</i> in order to destroy villains and faults ⁸¹
<i>upasthāna</i>	worship of the sun reciting <i>kāla-mantra</i>	worship of the Supreme Self	<i>jalāñjali</i>, worship of the sun reciting <i>mahā-mantras</i> and <i>kālamāntra</i> ; visualisation of God in the solar disk	<i>jalāñjali</i>	<i>jalāñjali</i> for God present in the sun, recitation of <u>his mantra</u>
<i>namaskāra</i> for Sandhyā, e t c . , <i>pradakṣiṇā</i>					
<i>abhivādana</i> and <i>pranāma</i> for God present in the heart					

⁸¹ The *jalāñjalis* for the sages and for the sake of the destruction of villains and faults seem to be a parallel of the *jalāñjalis* for one's own benefit and

PRR	ParS 3.58–61b	ParS 3.72–75	ParS 3.85b–93	ParS 27.7c–9	PārS 2.85–108
				washing one's hands	
				recitation of the <i>pañc-</i> <i>opaniṣads</i>	
				<i>pradakṣiṇā</i> for God	
optional: <i>praṇāma</i> for the cardinal directions, etc.	worship of the cardinal directions reciting their mantra				
	recitation of the <i>aṣṭākṣara-</i> and <i>dvā-</i> <i>daśākṣara-</i> <i>mantra</i>				
	reciting <i>stotras</i> , thinking of God				
<i>tarpaṇa</i> of <i>ādhvāśakā</i> , etc., the deities, the seers, and the ancestors			<i>tarpaṇa</i> of deities, etc.		<i>tarpaṇa</i> of <i>ādhvāśākti</i> , etc., the deities etc., the ancestors
wringing out the bathing cloth					
<i>ācamana</i>					<i>ācamana</i>
					salutation of the cardinal directions
<i>samāhāra</i> of mantras					

The comparison shows that in some cases the nature of rituals that constitute *sandhyā* worship and their sequence match in their descriptions those of the PRR, the ParS and the PārS, and in some cases they diverge.

for the enemy's damage in BaudhDhS 2.8.4.

We arrived at the same conclusion when we compared the PRR's descriptions with those of the BaudhDhS and the PādS: the kind of rituals and their sequence sometimes match and sometimes diverge. So if we look only at these two aspects, namely, which rituals are performed and in what sequence, we do not find more matches or affinities between the PRR and the BaudhDhS and the PādS than between the PRR and the ParS and the PārS.

However we find another aspect that diverges in the prescriptions of the PRR and those of the ParS and the PārS, which is most crucial: the mantras that are recited while the devotee performs his rites.

In the Vedic orthodox form of the *sandhyā* ritual, the most important mantra is the *gāyatrī*. Its recitation is considered one of the principal constituents of this ritual,⁸² and it also plays a prominent role in Veñkaṭanātha's description.

In contrast, in the ParS's prescriptions the mantras that appear most often are the *pañcopaniṣanmantras*. As already mentioned (n. 57), in the ParS's cosmology these mantras, although they bear masculine names, represent five *śaktis* that constitute the subtle body of God. They belong to the most important mantras of the ParS and are mentioned very often in its ritual prescriptions.⁸³ In the ParS's prescriptions for *sandhyā* worship, they take the place of the *gāyatrī*: They should be recited one hundred, one thousand or ten times (ParS 3.58–59b; see also 27.9) just as the *gāyatrī* should be recited according to the Vedic prescriptions (cf. PRR 107, 11f.), and they are recited also in other contexts of the morning ritual (ParS 3.72c–73b, 3.84–86).

Another important mantra in the ParS's prescriptions is the *kālamāntra* (ParS 3.59, 89), the mantra of time, used for the worship of sun, which is another principal element of the *sandhyā* ritual. In the ParS, time is one of the *tattvas* that constitute the world. Like all other *tattvas* constituting the world, mostly borrowed from the Sāṃkhya, it arises during the process of creation, more precisely, from the *taijasa ahaṃkāra* (cf. n. 91)

⁸² Cf., e.g., Kane II/1: 314.

⁸³ E.g., ParS 4.5, 41–43b, 48, 5.24, 8.33, 51, 19.28, 20.28, 40, 55.

(ParS 2.35–51),⁸⁴ and just like the other *tattvas* it is a form of manifestation of God.⁸⁵ As the passing of time is most clearly visible in the movement of the sun, it obviously suggests itself to consider the sun a manifestation of God in the form of time, and thus the *kālamāntra* was considered the appropriate mantra for worshipping this form of God.

Another mantra specifically used in the ParS's *sandhyā* ritual is the *dīnmantra*, the mantra of the cardinal directions, which are also one of the *tattvas* of the ParS's cosmology, arising from time (ParS 2.49) and representing space. This mantra is fittingly used for worshipping the cardinal directions, a rite that is also accepted by Veṅkaṭanātha as an option if the devotee stands in a tradition performing it (PRR 109,13–15, see p. 244). The *manomantra*, the *ahaṃkāramāntra*, and the *buddhimantra* mentioned in ParS 3.74–75 are constituents of the ParS's cosmology, too.⁸⁶

The only mantra the recitation of which is described by both the ParS and Veṅkaṭanātha is the eight-syllable mantra (*aṣṭākṣaramāntra*) (ParS 3.60, 88, PRR 107,10f., see p. 279f).⁸⁷

⁸⁴ For a detailed description of this process of creation according to the ParS see Czerniak-Drożdżowicz 1998 and Rastelli 2006: 354; for a summary see p. 273.

⁸⁵ See ParS 2.52–53b: “The five subtle elements such as smell and the others, the cardinal directions, time, mind, self-awareness, intellect, the primary matter and the yoga body (i.e. the subtle body made of the *pañcopaniśads*; see ParS 2.29–34) are taught as the twelve manifestations of the Supreme Self.” (*gandhamātrādīkāḥ pañca diśaḥ kālo manas tathā | ahaṃkāraś ca buddhiś ca prakṛtir yogavīgrahaḥ || 52 ity etā dvādaśa proktā mūrtayaḥ paramātmanaḥ |*) and ParS 2.77: “The supreme person himself, o Brahmā, appearing as time permanently turns the wheel for the sake of the course of the world.” (*para eva pumān brahma kālo bhūtvā vyavasthitaḥ | lokasaṃvyavahārārthaṃ cakram bhramayati dhruvam || 77*). According to the Pāñcarātra, every aspect of the world is a manifestation of God; cf. Rastelli 1999: 98f.

⁸⁶ ParS 2.41–48. The mind (*manas*) is associated with volition (*saṃkalpa*) (ParS 2.48cd, 6.18ab) which makes it appropriate for the ritual declaration (*saṃkalpa*) for performing a ritual.

⁸⁷ It is probably not by chance that Veṅkaṭanātha does not mention the *dvādaśākṣaramāntra* here because it is associated with the Ekāyanas (Rastelli 2006: 204f.). On the Ekāyanas see pp. 279f.

Another difference between the PRR and the ParS can probably be found in the deities satiated during the *sandhyā* ritual. Although Venkaṭanātha does not specify the deities that are to be satiated, but formulates his prescription in a rather general way,⁸⁸ we can be almost sure that he does not mean the deities that are mentioned in the ParS. The reason is that although the list of deities in the ParS 3.91–92b seems to be quite general at first view, they are quite specific for the ParS’s cosmology, even if the ParS’s cosmology is not coherent in all places of the text.

Let us investigate the role of these deities in the ParS in detail:

Supreme Self:	The Supreme Self (<i>paramātman</i>) possesses a body made of the <i>pañcapaniṣads</i> (ParS 2.29–30).
<i>śaktis</i> :	When the <i>pañcapaniṣads</i> join with the primary matter (<i>prakṛti</i>), fifteen <i>śaktis</i> (Jyeṣṭhā, Vidyā, Kānti, Śānti, Śraddhā, Vāgīśvarī, Kriyā, Kīrti, Lakṣmī, Sṛṣṭi, Mohinī, Avidyā Tamovātī, Mṛtyu, Māyā, Malinā) arise (ParS 2.35–38).
twelve <i>mūrtis</i> :	These fifteen <i>śaktis</i> in three groups of five constitute the three <i>guṇas</i> , from which the various <i>tattvas</i> arise (ParS 2.35cd and 39–51). Twelve of these <i>tattvas</i> , namely, the five subtle elements, the cardinal directions, time, mind, self-awareness, intellect, the primary matter and the yoga body, are called the twelve <i>mūrtis</i> of the Supreme Self (ParS 2.52–53b, cf. n. 85).
	From these twelve <i>mūrtis</i> twelve <i>śaktis</i> (Yogeśvarī, Sukhā, Prajñā, Tuṣṭi, Smṛti, Dīptirāgā, Vāc, Nīti, Kānti, Amṛtā, Śakti, Sarvā) arise (ParS 2.79–81).
Viṣṇu and the others:	From the twelve <i>śaktis</i> the twelve lords of the months Viṣṇu, Madhusūdana, Trivikrama, Vāmana, Śrīdhara, Hṛṣīkeṣa, Padmanābha, Dāmodara, Keśava, Nārāyaṇa, Mādhava, and Govinda arise (ParS 2.82–86).

⁸⁸ PRR 110,1f.: “Then he should realise that the *ādhāraśakti* and the other [constituents of God’s throne] up to [His] retinue and the deities, the seers and the ancestors have the nature of the Venerable One and satiate them with their respective names preceded by the *praṇava*.” For the Sanskrit text see n. 31.

Vāsudeva and the others are the four Vyūhas: Vāsudeva, Saṃkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna, and Aniruddha. They are also mentioned in the ParS chapter on cosmology (ParS 2.99c–101), but they do not have a specific role or place in the process of creation. It seems that they were added to this description later. The four Vyūhas, however, appear also in another passage, namely, in the description of the throne (*yāgapīṭha*?⁸⁹) used for the worship of God. This kind of throne is generally constituted of elements that also constitute the universe.⁹⁰ Thus it also gives us information about cosmological concepts. In the ParS's throne, the four Vyūhas are its four legs and represent the four positive *guṇas* of the intellect (*buddhi*), *dharmā*, *jñāna*, *vairāgya* and *aiśvarya*. The other parts of the throne are the four negative *guṇas* of the *buddhi*, the three *ahaṃkāras*⁹¹, the three *guṇas* of primary matter, the elements (*bhūta*), and a lotus. On the petals and the filaments of the lotus, the twelve *mūrtis* and the fifteen *śaktis* are situated. On the receptacle (*karnikā*) the three groups of five *śaktis* being the sources of the three *guṇas* of the *prakṛti* are present. Above them we find fire (*agni*), moon (*soma*), and sun (*sūrya*), which are the uppermost elements of the throne (ParS 4.28c–36). We see that in contrast to the cosmology chapter, in the throne the four Vyūhas have been integrated into a system to which also the twelve *mūrtis*, the fifteen *śaktis*, etc. belong.

Indra and the others mean the guardians of the world (*lokapāla*). They are deities that are quite common but the formulation “[while reciting] the mantras beginning with the [twelve] *mūrtis* and the [twelve] *śaktis* and ending with the *lokapālas*” (*mūrtiśaktyādibhir mantrair lokapālāvāsānikaiḥ* ||) in ParS 20.54 shows that they can have a fixed

⁸⁹ The verses ParS 4.27–28 indeed use the term *yāgapīṭha*. This term may be used intentionally or it may be a scribal error for the term *yogapīṭha* which is more common and appears also in other places of the ParS (ParS 4.64, 22.71, 25.22, 29.3 and 64).

⁹⁰ Cf. Rastelli 1999: 73–80.

⁹¹ I.e. the *vaikārika ahaṃkāra* made of *sattva*, the *taijasa ahaṃkāra* made of *rajas*, and the *bhūtādi ahaṃkāra* made of *tamas* (ParS 2.45–46).

place in a defined series of mantras that also include the twelve *mūrtis* and twelve *śaktis* that are specific for the ParS.

The mantras used in the PārS are that of the mantric system specific for this Saṃhitā. The main mantra of the PārS is the twelve-syllable mantra (*dvādaśākṣaramantra*) *om namo bhagavate vāsudevāya*. It is followed by the six *aṅgamantras* for heart (*hṛd*), head (*śiras*), tuft of hair (*śikhā*), cuirass (*kavaca*), weapon (*astra*) and eye (*netra*), and several other groups of mantras constituting the retinue of the main mantra, which are not of importance in our context as they are not mentioned in detail in the passage quoted.⁹²

The main mantra is recited while offering a *jalāñjali* to God present in the sun, one of the most important moments in *sandhyā* worship (PārS 2.100c–101b). Together with the *aṅgamantras* and its retinue it is the first mantra that is satiated (PārS 2.102c–103b). And it is recited while plunging into the water when God is visualised as being present within the body of the devotee (PārS 2.85c–86). The other mantras recited while performing breath control or while throwing *jalāñjalis* for various purposes (PārS 2.96c–99) belong to the *aṅgamantras*.

The deities and beings satiated in the PārS's prescriptions are for a great part those from the ParS. The redactor of the PārS adopted the whole passage from ParS 3.91–93b in PārS 2.103c–105, although generally the PārS did not adopt the ParS's cosmology.

Theory or Practice?

We found out that the main difference between the *sandhyā* rituals that were accepted by Veṅkaṭanātha and those that he implicitly rejected are the mantras recited and the deities evoked during the rituals. One of his main arguments for implicitly rejecting the ParS and PārS *sandhyā* rituals is that they were not properly performed in practice.

However, could this be true? And what exactly does it mean?

⁹² For a detailed description of the mantric system of the PārS see Rastelli 2006: 424–426.

First of all, as long as there is no other evidence, we should principally consider a document of religious history such as the PRR to be truthful. In this case, however, we have other documents, namely the ParS and the PārS. If we take Veṅkaṭanātha at his word, this would mean that these two Saṃhitās were purely normative texts which were never properly put into practice.⁹³ So it is one statement against another.

We could argue that the ParS had been composed a few centuries before Veṅkaṭanātha's lifetime and its ritual prescriptions had become obsolete by that time.⁹⁴ It is, however, more difficult to argue this with regard to the PārS. The PārS was composed not very long before Veṅkaṭanātha, probably in the 12th century at the earliest, and it was probably composed in Śrīraṅgam (Rastelli 2006: 49–54), a place where Veṅkaṭanātha spent a part of his life as *ācārya* (Singh 1958: 22–29). The fact that the PārS was commented by Narasiṃhayajvan in the 18th century shows that it could not have become out of use at the time of Veṅkaṭanātha.

Is it then probable that Veṅkaṭanātha never had the opportunity to observe the performance of rituals according to the PārS? The keyword here might be “properly” (*yathāvat*): Veṅkaṭanātha perhaps did

⁹³ An argument against this would be that at least the PārS was an authoritative text for Veṅkaṭanātha himself, as he quoted from it several times in his PRR (e.g., PārS 10.329–333b in PRR 40,9–17 or PārS 2.42c–57b in PRR 99,12–101,3). It is however possible that he considered it authoritative only for aspects other than the *sandhyā* ritual.

⁹⁴ The *Paramasaṃhitā* is already quoted in Yāmuna's *Āgamaprāmāṇya* (10th/11th century) but we do not know which form it had in Yāmuna's lifetime (cf. Czerniak-Drożdżowicz 2003: 27f.), a problem that inheres in the dating of all anonymous literature.

On the other hand, the usage of the *pañcopaniṣanmantras*, which seems to be the main reason for rejecting the prescriptions of the ParS, could not have been very unconventional for Veṅkaṭanātha. Their usage is prescribed even in the *Nityagrantha* (182,17–20) which Veṅkaṭanātha considered to have been authored by Rāmānuja, one of his most authoritative teachers (see, e.g., PRR 63,17f.).

not want to say that the *sandhyā* prescriptions of the ParS and the PārS were not followed at all but that they were not followed in a proper way. We will examine below (pp. 279f.) what this could mean from his point of view.

But what was Veṅkaṭanātha's reason for making this statement? In order to answer this question we have to consider Veṅkaṭanātha's overall purpose for writing the PRR: he wanted to show that the Pāñcarātra scriptures are authoritative because they are in agreement with the Vedic texts (cf. PRR 2,1–3,8).

If we consider *sandhyā* prescriptions such as those of the ParS and the PārS, it is difficult to argue that they are in agreement with the Vedic Sūtras. The recitation of the *gāyatrī* is one of the principal constituents of the Vedic orthodox *sandhyā*. If it is absent, it is not a Vedic orthodox *sandhyā* anymore.

Veṅkaṭanātha could not argue that the prescriptions of the ParS and PārS are not valid because in chapter 1 of the PRR he went to great pains to show that the entire tradition of Pāñcarātra including all sub-traditions (*siddhānta*) is authoritative (PRR 3,9–13, 7,13–9,5, 43,8–19). So other arguments had to be found:

“Even if with regard to the [*sandhyā* ritual] three different kinds of *sandhyā* worship are described in the various [Pāñcarātra] Saṃhitās, namely, that related to the seers (*ārṣī*), that related to Viṣṇu (*vaiṣṇavī*), [and] that related to Prajāpati (*prājāpatyā*), it is nevertheless proper to perform the *sandhyā* worship and other [rites] only as prescribed by one's Sūtra, (1) because it is difficult to know these various modes [of *sandhyā* worship] as the largest portion of these Saṃhitās is lost, (...)

In this passage, Veṅkaṭanātha said that there are prescriptions for *sandhyā* worship in the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās and specifies three kinds of them. However, he said, it is difficult to know the content of these prescriptions because they are lost in large part.

Lost prescriptions were an issue already in the *Āpastambadharmasūtra* and in the Mīmāṃsā. Here we have the principle that the main basis of the *dharma*, that is, what one should do and how one should live, is the Veda. There are, however, cases in which the so-called

“cultivated people” (*śiṣṭa*) who principally follow the Vedic prescriptions have customs and rules of conduct (*ācāra*) that are not prescribed by the Veda. In such cases the principle was to infer that these customs are based on lost parts of the Veda.⁹⁵ Considered as such, the customs of cultivated people were an authority with regard to the *dharmā*, although hierarchically placed below the Vedic revelation (*śruti*) and the *smṛtis*.

However, this is not exactly what Veṅkaṭanātha argued here. There are not certain customs which must be argued to be based on certain prescriptions. Actually, according to Veṅkaṭanātha it is just the contrary: a few prescriptions are extant but they are not followed properly:

(...) (2) because a tradition of proper instruction and performance even of the various modes of *sandhyā* worship that are seen in their entirety in Saṃhitās such as the *Pārameśvara* or the *Parama* is not established,

What to do in such a case, where the large part of the prescriptions is supposedly lost and the part that is extant is not properly practiced? We have to find out the content of the lost prescriptions by finding out what the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās’ general view is of how rituals should be performed:

[and] (3) because it is established that even if performed according to the Sūtras [*sandhyā* worship] has the form of the worship of the Venerable One, since there is no insistence on giving up something that was adopted before, since the *saṃskāras* and the established rules of conduct (*ācāra*) that are taught by one’s own Sūtra are approved in the Saṃhitās of the Venerable One’s body of teachings (*bhagavacchāstra*) themselves.”

Veṅkaṭanātha argued that the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās do not require that a devotee gives up his Vedic tradition as they approve the rituals

⁹⁵ See ĀpDhS 12.10: “All rites are described in the Brāhmaṇas. The lost Brāhmaṇa passages relating to some of them are inferred from usage.” (*brāhmaṇoktā vidhayas teṣāṃ utsannāḥ pāṭhāḥ prayogād anumīyante*, translated by Olivelle 2000: 44) and, for the Mīmāṃsā, Clooney 2001: 141f.

and customs prescribed by the Vedic Sūtras (here we clearly see who Veṅkaṭanātha's target audience was: Pāñcarātrins that also adhere to a Vedic *śākhā*). According to Veṅkaṭanātha, this proves that the Vedic Sūtras have the same aim as the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās, namely, the worship of God and not that of the sun itself. So according to Veṅkaṭanātha, we know what was intended by the lost *sandhyā* prescriptions of the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās: a performance that agrees with one according to the prescriptions of the Vedic Sūtras because Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās and Vedic Sūtras both match with regard to their content.

By arguing in such a complicated way, Veṅkaṭanātha achieved the following aims: Arguments 1 and 3 maintain the supreme authority of the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās while at the same time Veṅkaṭanātha achieved his aim that the *sandhyā* rituals should be performed according to the Vedic Sūtras. These arguments give the impression that the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās originally prescribed the performance of the *sandhyā* rituals in the way that also the Vedic Sūtras prescribe. Thereby the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās are presented, firstly, as authoritative sources that are, secondly, in agreement with the Veda.

Argument 2 does not invalidate Saṃhitās such as the ParS and the PārS, which from an objective point of view do not agree with the Vedic prescriptions. Veṅkaṭanātha did not say that these texts are not authoritative because they teach diverging prescriptions. Instead he said that there is no tradition of properly performing them, which implies that these prescriptions would be fine if they were properly performed, which could mean according to Veṅkaṭanātha if they were performed in a way that agrees with the Vedic orthodox way.⁹⁶ So the fault is not that of the scriptures but that of a tradition that does not properly follow them.

But which tradition did Veṅkaṭanātha have in mind? The PārS belongs to the tradition of the Ekāyanas or Āgamasiddhānta, a sub-tradition of the Pāñcarātra, which bases itself on the authority of the so-called Ekāyanaveda—a text that perhaps never existed, which

⁹⁶ We can only speculate what this might mean concretely.

was perhaps just an ideal—in contrast to another sub-tradition called Mantrasiddhānta, which follows the Pāñcarātra and a Vedic tradition and to which, for example, the PādS belongs (cf. p. 239).⁹⁷

However, does the ParS also belong to the Ekāyanas? The ParS was probably composed at a time when the division of the Pāñcarātra into Siddhāntas had not yet come into existence (cf. n. 94). Thus we do not find any clue of an adherence to a Siddhānta in this text. It is, however, possible that in later times the ParS was considered part of the Ekāyana tradition. Nṛsiṃhayajvan, the author of the *Pārameśvarapadyavivṛti*, commented on the passage containing the prescriptions for sipping water (*ācamana*), which the PārS adopted from the ParS (cf. n. 74): “This is the Ekāyanaśākhās’ prescription for sipping water from the *tīrthas*.”^{98,99} We do not know if Nṛsiṃhayajvan was aware of the fact that this passage had been adopted from the ParS and if he would indeed have considered the ParS part of the Ekāyanaśākhā. But it is possible that if this mode of sipping water was considered characteristic of the Ekāyanas, in the long run a text prescribing this mode was also considered part of the Ekāyanaśākhā.

So Veṅkaṭanātha’s motives seem to be clear. Although in the first chapter of the PRR Veṅkaṭanātha argued in detail that all Siddhāntas have the same value, he seems to have had a personal preference, and if we know his background it is no surprise that it is the sub-tradition that also adheres to the Vedic tradition. The Ekāyanas, who do not belong to a Vedic orthodox tradition, were a social fact for him. They were present at Śrīraṅgam, where Veṅkaṭanātha could observe and meet them. And, it seems, he did not agree with their ritual way of life.

The traditional records on Veṅkaṭanātha’s life in Śrīraṅgam possibly corroborate this. They report that Veṅkaṭanātha had problems with the Teṅkalais—whoever might be meant by this term, since it is not at all sure that there was a clear-cut division between Vaṭakalais and

⁹⁷ On these two sub-traditions see Rastelli 2003 and Rastelli 2006: 185–253.

⁹⁸ In this context, *tīrthas* are particular places on the hand from which water is sipped (see Kane II/1: 316, n. 750, and 652f.).

⁹⁹ PārPV 17,2f.: *ekāyanaśākhānām ayam eva tīrthācamanavidhiḥ*.

Teñkalais at Venkaṭanātha's time¹⁰⁰—because they were jealous of him. Singh (1958: 22–26) describes several incidents in which according to these records the Teñkalais behaved quite rudely towards Venkaṭanātha whereas Venkaṭanātha's behaviour is described as very positive and friendly.

Of course, these records cannot be taken as objective historical accounts. They have their own purposes and they are, of course, biased. But what may be the truth behind these reports is that there were tensions between Venkaṭanātha and the local Brahmins. We can only speculate if these so-called Teñkalais were identical with our Ekāyanas.

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¹⁰⁰ Cf. Raman 2007: 4–15.

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Other abbreviations:

cp *caryāpāda*.
GOS *Gaekwad's Oriental Series*.

