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Veṅkaṭanātha's Impact on Śrīvaiṣṇavism:
The Case of Hayagrīva Iconography*

SUMMARY: This article maintains that the resemantization of Hayagrīva from a minor pan-Indian deity to a major local deity can be traced to Veṅkaṭanātha (traditional dates 1269–1370), who chose Hayagrīva because of his connection with learning and the Vedas. As a consequence of this intentional resemantization, in Viśiṣṭādvaita Vedānta following Veṅkaṭanātha, Hayagrīva has acquired distinct and standardized traits that are clearly recognizable in all reuses of his image and trope. To conclude, the article shows how Hayagrīva took on a particularly sectarian flavor as an identifying mark of the sub-school of Viśiṣṭādvaita Vedānta, which considers Veṅkaṭanātha its founder.

KEYWORDS: Viśiṣṭādvaita Vedānta, Hayagrīva, Veṅkaṭanātha (or Vedānta Deśika), iconography, resemantization

1.Hayagrīva

Hayagrīva was in its first attestations a minor pan-Indian deity. However, at a certain point in time and in a certain region he became the supreme deity (or at least one of the main aspects of the supreme deity). This occurred sometime after the 13th century in a part of what later became the Vijayanagara Empire, extending roughly across the area of what is today the northern part of Tamil Nadu, including Mysore in today's Karnataka but excluding today's Kerala. Later I will discuss the reasons for this major change, arguing that it occurred in the 17th century due to precise historical reasons and possibly due to the work and influence of the Viśiṣṭādvaita Vedānta systematiser Veṅkaṭanātha (traditional dates 1269–1370). I will thus conventionally refer to this form of Hayagrīva as "Veṅkaṭanātha Hayagrīva".

2. Hayagrīva before Veṅkaṭanātha

2.1 The major changes in the Hayagrīva iconography

The pan-Indian Hayagrīva is a minor *avatāra* of Viṣṇu and,that is why representations of him are rare. His main distinctive feature is a horse's head, a feature that is reflected in his various names (Hayagrīva, Hayavadana, Hayaśīrṣan, Hayaśiras, Hayamukha, Hayāsya, Hayavaktra, Aśvaśīrṣan, Aśvamukha, Turagavadana, Vaḍavāmukha,[1] Vājimukha, Vājiśiras, etc.).

From an iconographic point of view, the pan-Indian and minor deity Hayagrīva, one of the best preserved specimens of which can be found in Khajuraho (Fig. 1), has a horse's head and four or eight arms. He is portrayed standing[2] and bears various attributes commonly found in connection to all forms of Viṣṇu. In the Khajuraho relief, he holds a mace (*gadā*) and displays the *dānamudrā*, the "gesture of bestowing boons"; the other two arms are damaged. In other examples he carries a mace

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[1]   This last name presents a specific problem; see section "Hayagrīva and Vaḍavāmukha" in Freschi s.a.

[2]   According to Kalpana S. Desai (Desai 1973) the *samabhaṅga* posture is the most common.

as well as a conch, a wheel and sometimes, generally at a later stage, a book representing the Vedas. The *mudrā*s most commonly associated with him

Fig. 1: The pan-Indian Hayagrīva at Khajuraho, Lakṣmaṇa Temple—
The sculpture is located on an inner wall of the sanctum area. Source: Wikipedia.

are the *dānamudrā*, as in the example above (also called *varadamudrā*), and the *abhayamudrā*, "gesture of non-fear."[3] He is often accompanied

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[3]   According to Desai, the first images of Viṣṇu usually displayed the *abhayamudrā* (ibid.: 8–9), but the *varadamudrā* seems to be the second most common gesture (ibid.:13).

by generic attendants. For instance, in Khajuraho he is portrayed with two servants who hold a fan (identified by Kalpana S. Desai as *āyudhapuruṣa*s, "personified weapons").[4]

Hayagrīva's primary characteristic (his horse's head) is consistent in all of his representations. In contrast, all other elements differ to a great extent in the Veṅkaṭanātha's Hayagrīva. Most importantly, Veṅkaṭanātha's Hayagrīva has a much more standardized iconography: his four arms always hold Vaiṣṇava attributes, these remaining the same: in his upper arms a conch and a discus, and in the lower left hand, a book representing the Vedas, sometimes together with a rosary. The lower right hand performs the *vitarkamudrā*, "gesture of reflection", or another *mudrā* connected to teaching (eg., the *jñānamudrā* or *vyākhyānamudrā*). Two types of supreme deity Hayagrīva's depictions are known: the Yoga-Hayagrīva, who sits alone in the *padmāsana*, "lotus position", and the Lakṣmī-Hayagrīva, in which he is depicted in the *rājalalitāsana* with his divine spouse Lakṣmī sitting on his left knee (Fig. 2). To compare:

	Pan-Indian Hayagrīva	Veṅkaṭanātha Hayagrīva
Head	Horse-head	Horse-head
Arms	4 or 8	4
Position	Standing	Sitting in the *padmāsana* (Yoga-Hayagrīva) or the *rājalalitāsana* (Lakṣmī-Hayagrīva)
Attributes	Generic Vaiṣṇava attributes, changing from image to image	Always the same: conch and discus in the upper hands; a book (and sometimes a rosary) in the lower left hand
mudrā	*abhayamudrā* or *dānamudrā*	Invariably a *mudrā* connected with knowledge (*vitarkamudrā*) in the lower right hand
Association	Generic attendants, at times *āyudhapuruṣa*s	Alone (Yoga Hayagrīva) or with Lakṣmī seated on his right leg (Lakṣmī Hayagrīva)

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4   Ibid.: 143–44. According to Desai, *āyudhapuruṣa*s become increasingly common.

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Fig. 2: The Veṅkaṭanātha Hayagrīva (in the form of Lakṣmī-Hayagrīva).
Source: Viraraghavacharya and Nainaracarya 1971: 1.

2.2 Hayagrīva in the *Hayaśīrṣa Saṃhitā*

The iconographic portions of the *Agni Purāṇa* are frequently attributed to Hayagrīva. This is in turn due to the fact that the elusive *Hayaśīrṣa Pāñcarātra Saṃhitā* (henceforth HS) is among the sources for such passages. In particular, *Agni Purāṇa* 39–69, which is ascribed to Hayagrīva, stems from the HS (see Rastelli 2007). [5] The HS is probably an early[6] Pāñcarātra *saṃhitā*. Although it has been little studied by scholars, it seems to have originated in North India.[7] As described by Marion Rastelli: it consists of four sections (*kāṇḍa*), of which only the first, the *ādikāṇḍa*, has been edited and published.[8] It derives its name from the fact that according to its framestory (*ādikāṇḍa* 1) it was revealed by God in the form of Hayaśiras, the Horse-Headed One. At the beginning of each chapter of this text, the narrator is identified as Bhagavat (Rastelli 2007: 190).

While the HS is by no means a text dedicated predominantly to Hayagrīva, its name makes one nonetheless wonder why this secondary deity gained a more important role at a certain point in history.

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[5]   On the HS, see Marion Rastelli 2007. I am grateful to Robert Leach and Marion Rastelli for having discussed this *saṃhitā* with me. Valdas Jaskūnas discussed the iconographic programme of the HS in Jaskūnas 2013.

[6]   Cf. Smith 1978: 166: "[T]here are many clues in it which suggest an early date; yet other details indicate that, albeit written early, it passed through the hands of late redactors." Cf. also Smith 1975: 549ff.

[7]   "From the evidences of the names of the provinces forbidden in religious consecration ceremonies viz. Kacca, Kāveri, Koṅkana, Kāmarupa, Kaliṅga, Kāñcī, Kāsmira, Kosala and Maharāṣṭra we can conjecture that this work was composed somewhere in the Northern part of India. This is corroborated by the fact that *Hayaśīrṣa Pāñcarātra* is available in the Kāśmira and Nāgari (Northern Indian) scripts only. These scripts only are recommended for transcriptions of this sacred text" (Sridhara Babu 1990: 50). Although I am not convinced by the first argument (see Rastelli forthcoming, section "Names, Places and Motives", for a discussion of how sacred geography might deviate completely from one's concrete local environment), the second one appears persuasive.

[8]   Dutta Sastri 1976.

2.2.1 Descriptions of Hayagrīva in the *Hayaśīrṣa Saṃhitā*

The HS describes Hayagrīva at least twice.[9] First, in the first *paṭala*, "chapter", of the first book, it describes Hayaśiras as follows:

> With four arms, carrying a club, a discus, a lotus and a bow
>
> *caturbhujaṃ gadācakrapadmaśārṅgadharaṃ* […] (HS 1.1 first part of v. 22ab)

However, in the 25th *paṭala* of the first book, the HS describes Hayagrīva (in fact, Aśvavaktṛ) in a form very similar to the one found in Veṅkaṭanātha's *Hayagrīvastotra* (which will be described below in section 3.1):

> Rather, one should let [an artist] make me with a conch, discus, club and the Vedas in the hands || 24 ||
> Distinguished as having the face of a horse and four arms |
> seated in the *padmāsana* and connected in the upper part of the body with two (?)[10] Goddesses || 25 |
>
> *śaṅkhacakragadāvedapāniṃ vā kārayīta mām* || 24 ||
> *aśvavaktraṃ caturbāhum evam eva vyavasthitam* |
> *puṣkarāsanam adhyasthaṃ vevīdvitayasaṃyuktaṃ* || 25 ||

Readers will note that the two forms do not harmonize, with the first seeming more old-fashioned, insofar as it is closer to the pre-Veṅkaṭanātha iconography (described in section 2.1). The latter description, by contrast, lies somehow between the Khajuraho and the Veṅkaṭanātha models of Hayagrīva, since in it Hayagrīva has four arms holding a conch, discus and the Vedas *but also a club*. Further, he is seated, as in the *Hayagrīvastotra*, but is connected to a goddess (presumably Lakṣmī) and perhaps also to Bhūdevī (if she is the second Goddess meant; see note 12).

This shows that Veṅkaṭanātha probably had a precise model and that he chose to focus on what was according to him the real essence of Hayagrīva,

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9   Another passage which could be the source of AP 49.26 (see the section "Iconography of Hayagrīva in the Purāṇas" in Freschi s.a.) might be in the unedited portion of the HS.

10   If *devīdvitaya* actually means 'the two goddesses', then this passage would harmonise with the passage of the *Parāśara Saṃhitā* in which Śrīdevī and Bhūdevī are mentioned; see above, section "Hayagrīva in the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās" in Freschi s.a.

with some specific attributes (I could imagine that the club was eliminated also because Veṅkaṭanātha wanted to be sure that the *jñānamūdra* and the Vedic book were always present) and without Lakṣmī.

	Pan-Indian Hayagrīva	Veṅkaṭanātha Hayagrīva	Pāñcarātra *saṃhitā*s	HS (1st description)	HS (2nd description)
Head	Horse-head	Horse-head	Horse-head	Horse-head	Horse-head
Arms	4 or 8	4	From 2 to 12	4	4
Position	Standing	Seated	not mentioned	not mentioned	Seated
Attributes	Pan-Vaiṣṇava attributes, changing from image to image	Always the same: conch and discus in the upper hands; book (and at times rosary) in the lower left hand	Pan-Vaiṣṇava attributes, sometimes Vedic ladles, a book and a rosary	A club, discus, lotus, bow	A conch, discus, club, the Vedas
mudrā		Invariably a *mudrā* connected with knowledge	Sometimes	none	none
Association	Generic attendants, sometimes	Alone (Yoga Hayagrīva) or with Lakṣmī seated on his right leg (Lakṣmī Hayagrīva)	Śrī and Bhūdevī	none	Two goddesses
Colour	not mentioned	white	Various colors	not mentioned	not mentioned
Association with speech	no	yes	Only	not mentioned	not mentioned

2.3 Geographic diffusion of images

There seems to be some disagreement in the secondary literature concerning the diffusion of the images of Hayagrīva.[11] This is probably due to the paucity of images, so that small differences in the number of images available to one author or another leads them to very different conclusions.[12]

A pivotal role in the diffusion of the cult of Hayagrīva may have been played by Kaśmīr, since more than one image of Hayagrīva is found there. Kaśmīr might be also the place where the relevant section of the VDhP was originally composed (as maintained by Maxwell,[13] and as suggested by the parallels to the early Pāñcarātra *vyūha* doctrines that can be traced in the VDhP[14]). It was also Kaśmīr where various Pāñcarātra texts mentioning Hayagrīva were composed, in particular the *Hayaśīrṣa Pāñcarātra Saṃhitā*. And finally, Kaśmīr was also the home of Ānandavardhana, who opened his *Devīśataka* with a *maṅgala* to Hayagrīva.[15]

Adalbert J. Gail also indirectly refers to what I call the Veṅkaṭa-nātha Hayagrīva, insofar as he notices that Karnataka must have been the "homeland of the Hayagrīva cult." Moreover, his understanding

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[11] See also Sridhara Babu (Sridhara Babu 1990: chap. II.4), who discussed the geographic references to Hayagrīva in the Purāṇas.

[12] For example, D. Desai notes that Khajuraho must have been a centre of the Hayagrīva cult (Desai 1993: 47–50), whereas K. S. Desai writes: "It seems that the Hayagrīva worship was acknowledged only by a narrow group of people. His worship must have been prevalent in Rajasthan, for Rajasthan has produced his images, as far as the present discoveries go" (Desai 1973: 143–44). Next, Gail observes: "Hayagrīva is a minor *avatāra* of Viṣṇu, not represented in all regions of India. From Himachal Pradesh, Bihar/Bengal, Gujarat/Rajasthan [!], Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, Kerala, not a single image of Hayagrīva is known to me" (Gail 2013: 146).

[13] Maxwell 1992–93: Fig. 02.

[14] As mentioned in Srinivasan 2004.

[15] For more details, see Freschi s.a.

of "Karṇāṭaka" possibly refers to the same area I defined in section 1. as the homeland of the Veṅkaṭanātha Hayagrīva.[16]

Last, a damaged Śrī Vaiṣṇava pre-Veṅkaṭanātha inscription in the Śrī Raṅganātha temple at Śrīraṅgam offers a further interesting perspective on Hayagrīva:

> There are a number of inscriptions of the Hoysaḷas in the Śrī Raṅganātha Svāmi temple in Śrīraṅgam, many of them belonging to the reign of Vīra-Rāmanātha.[17] One of the most important of these is a damaged epigraph in the third *prākāra* [wall, EF] of this very last temple-complex dated CE 1269 of the time of Vīra Rāmanātha. This inscription is particularly important as it refers to the existence of a library (Sarasvatī-bhaṇḍāram), attached to the temple of Śrīraṅgam. […] This record of Vīra-Rāmanātha mentions that the images of Sarasvatī Devī, Vedavyāsa Bhagavān and Hayagrīva […] had been newly installed in the *maṇṭapa* constructed as an adjunct to the library. (Madhavan 2013: 138–139)[18]

No further details are given, but one is tempted to imagine that Sarasvatī represents learning and language in general, whereas Hayagrīva and Vyāsa are meant as deities presiding over Vedic and post-Vedic Vaiṣṇava literature respectively (Vyāsa having been identified with the author of the *Vedānta Sūtra* at least since the time of Veṅkaṭanātha, see Freschi 2017).

3. Hayagrīva as supreme deity

It is with Veṅkaṭanātha that Hayagrīva becomes the supreme deity (or, more precisely, one of the supreme deity's preferred aspects[19]).

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[16] I come to this conclusion because of Gail's references to a VDhP passage (quoted in the section "Hayagrīva and Vaḍavāmukha," in Freschi s.a.) and to his mention of "Hoysala temples".

[17] The author adds here a reference to ARE 139 of 1938—9 and SII—ARE [Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy] 139 of 1938–9 and SII [South Indian Inscriptions]

[18] I am obliged to Marion Rastelli, who pointed out this reference.

[19] I am grateful to an anonymous reviewer of *The reuse of texts and images: Hayagrīva's case*, who prompted me to insert this clause by noting that Veṅkaṭanātha also wrote hymns to other deities and praised also other deities in his *maṅgala*s.

This theologian, also known as Vedānta Deśika, was among the most important thinkers of the Viśiṣṭādvaita Vedānta school of philosophy and of the corresponding religious movement known as Śrī Vaiṣṇavism. Today there are two opposing currents of Śrī Vaiṣṇavism, with one regarding Veṅkaṭanātha as its founder, although the split only occurred much later than Veṅkaṭanātha's lifetime.[20] As will be shown below, the prestige of Veṅkaṭanātha within one of the two currents may have played a major role in the diffusion of Veṅkaṭanātha Hayagrīva image.

Although Hayagrīva is, as described above, found in the Pāñcarātra sacred texts and is also mentioned in Tamil texts,[21] Veṅkaṭanātha was the first to write a *stotra* 'eulogy' to Hayagrīva, in which he is praised as the supreme deit.

Why did Veṅkaṭanātha raise Hayagrīva to the level of a supreme deity? My tentative hypothesis is that Hayagrīva was a means for the philosopher and theologian Veṅkaṭanātha to frame his relationship with God under the shield of an intellectual form of God. Moreover, Hayagrīva's link to the Vedas was a further positive element for Veṅkaṭanātha, who had always tried to frame Śrī Vaiṣṇavism as a non-anti-Vedic movement and to reinterpret in a non-anti-Vedic way the (potentially anti-Vedic) statements about the superiority of the Ekāyana Veda found in some Pāñcarātra *saṃhitā*s (see section 2.2.7 in Freschi s.a.). Further evidence of this can be found in Veṅkaṭanātha's approach to the validity of Pāñcarātras, which are said to derive their authority from the Veda (SM ad 1.1.2).

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[20] On the two currents, see Raman 2007. For a short introduction on Veṅkaṭanātha in general, see Freschi 2016. For more on Veṅkaṭanātha's theology and his contribution to his school, Gerhard Oberhammer's contribution can never be appreciated enough. One can start with his series of nine volumes (Oberhammer 1979–2008). Oberhammer also recognised the impact of Veṅkaṭanātha on the school: although the series focuses on "Rāmānuja's school", the volumes 6–8 especially mention Veṅkaṭanātha already in their titles as the turning point in the school.

[21] See Champakalakshmi 1981: 163 for an interesting reference to Jaina texts in Tamil figuring Hayagrīva.

3.1 Veṅkaṭanātha's references to Hayagrīva and his *Hayagrīvastotra*

Veṅkaṭanātha mentions Hayagrīva in both his philosophical texts and his religious hymns. Whereas authors after him start using standardised *maṅgala*s praising Hayagrīva (described in section 3.2 below), Veṅkaṭanātha's references to Hayagrīva are still freely shaped and Hayagrīva is not a fixed presence in every *maṅgala*.

As an example, let me quote some[22] of the *maṅgala*s that Veṅkaṭanātha (presumably[23]) placed at the beginning of several chapters of his *Śatadūṣaṇī*. Interestingly, they focus on different aspects of Hayagrīva. The first one focuses on his connection to the Veda and speech, the second to speech only, the last two on his being the supreme deity; the middle one (opening the 29th *vāda*) is a sort of threshold between Hayagrīva's connection to knowledge and Hayagrīva as the supreme deity:

> Let the shout of the neighing of Hayagra——which collects the Sāmans (melodies of the *Sāmaveda*) and all the words of the Ṛcs (the strophes of the *Ṛgveda*), which is the abode of the Yajus (the ritual formulas of the *Yajurveda*) and destroys all obstacles, which is the collection of the waves of cognition in the water of knowledge—— destroy the ignorance which is present in the tumult (*kolāhala*) of the quarrelling disputants who are trembling because of pride in the discussion![24]

> Let the waves of the delightful neighing of Hayagrīva in the blissful ocean, which have thrown away the erroneous views of the outsiders at the end of a discussion, win! ‖[25]

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[22]   I am grateful to an anonymous reviewer of *The reuse of texts and images: Hayagrīva's case*, for mentioning also the *maṅgala*s at the beginning of chapters 11, 14 and 15. The first one equates Hayagrīva and Brahman, whereas the one at the beginning of the fourteenth chapter mentions Hayagrīva in connection with speech and with the validity of the Veda.

[23]   Caution is needed since the opening verses of a book (and sometimes even of a chapter) are particularly susceptible to additions by copyists, who often add altogether new *maṅgala*s or add new verses or deities to existing ones.

[24]   *samāhāras sāmnāṃ pratipadam ṛcāṃ dhāma yajuṣāṃ layaḥ pratyū-hānāṃ laharivitatir bodhajaladheḥ | kathādarpakṣubhyatkalikathakakolāha-labhavaṃ haratv antardhvāntaṃ hayavadanaheṣāhalahalaḥ || 1 ||* (beginning of the first *vāda* 'discussion'). The same verse is found in the HGS as v. 3.

[25]   *hayagrīvasudhāsindhuharṣaheṣāravormayaḥ | jayanti vādavelānta-kṣiptabāhyakudṛṣṭayaḥ ||* (beginning of the ninth *vāda*).

The middle *maṅgala* performs a difficult role and thus, as might be expected, its translation is trickier:

> The Upaniṣads, by repeating what has been understood, properly distribute all of this (this whole knowledge), which consists purely of Him: |
>
> Let He, treasure of good things,[26] with the face of a horse, whose opulence is not understood, perpetually take a place close to us ||[27]

There is an evident echo between *vidita/avidita* "understood/not understood" and *vidadhati/antarvidhattām* "to place or distribute/to place internally." Given that the second part of the verse refers directly to Hayagrīva and the first part to the Upaniṣads, the gist of the passage appears to lie in the idea that the Upaniṣads are an excellent device for gathering knowledge, but Hayagrīva surpasses all possible human knowledge.

As already mentioned, the last two *maṅgala*s dedicated to Hayagrīva focus on him as the supreme deity:

> Honour to Hayagrīva, the Brahman, who is the inner-Self of the three types of self (the normal soul, the liberated ones and the ones liberated *ab initio*) [and] is the single cause for the liberation from the bond-age ||[28]
>
> He who is accompanied by Lakṣmī, separates through various souls who are swallowed (*nigal-*) by the innate *māyā* and the three *guṇa*s (*sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas*), which are hard to overcome |
>
> This merciful [and] great god with a horse face, may he rescue us, who are slaves of the destruction of the basis which is the creation of the world ||[29]

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26   The pun is based on the fact that the second *sannidhi* bears its usual meaning of "closeness", whereas the first one should be interpreted as a compound of *sat* and *nidhi*. I am grateful to Harunaga Isaacson for suggesting this interpretation to me.

27   *viditam anuvadanto viśvam etad yathāvad vidadhati nigamāntāḥ kevalaṃ yanmayavam | aviditabahubhūmā nityam antarvidhattāṃ hayavaravadano 'sau sannidhis sannidhiṃ naḥ ||* (beginning of the 29th *vāda*).

28   *namas tridhā vibhaktānām ātmanām antarātmane | brahmaṇe hayavaktrāya bandhamokṣaikahetave ||* (beginning of the 36th *vāda*).

29   *ya eko durlaṅghyatriguṇanijamāyānigalitair vicitraiḥ kṣetrajñair viharati sarojāsahacaraḥ | jagatsargakṣemakṣapaṇaparikarmīṇamahimā dayālur devo 'sau turagavadanas tārayatu naḥ || 42 ||*

In the *Rahasyatrayasāra*, Hayagrīva is also praised as a defeater of adversaries in debates.[30]

    Hayagrīva is also mentioned, interestingly enough, in Veṅkaṭa-nātha's "agenda" at the beginning of his *Seśvaramīmāṃsā*, after two *maṅgala* verses to God in general and to the Mīmāṃsā teachers:

> These unselfish ones (*nirmatsara*) shall consider (*niśam-*, caus.) this [opinion of mine] with respect. [This] correct path (*gati*) through the *sūtra*s about the rules (*naya*) regarding (*adhikāra*) the ritual action (i.e., the PMS), | this one (*ayam*) God, horse-faced (i.e., Hayagrīva) and inner self of the world, he unites it with the *Śārīraka* (i.e., the *Vedāntasūtra*) by means of my voice ‖ 3 ‖[31]

In the *Adhikaraṇasarāvalī*, the *Nyāyasiddhāñjana*, the *Pāñcarātrarākṣā* (notwithstanding the Pāñcarātra context), the *Śrīśaraṇāgatidīpikā* and the *Saccaritrakṣā* there is no mention of Hayagrīva in Veṅkaṭanātha's *maṅgala*. Nor is Hayagrīva mentioned in the *maṅgala* of Veṅkaṭa-nātha's commentary on the *Adhikaraṇasarāvalī* and on the *Mīmāṃsā-pādukā*, nor in the *maṅgala* of the commentary on the *Saccaritrakṣā*. This points to the conclusion that the standardisation of the use of Hayagrīva in *maṅgala*s occurred only much later than Veṅkaṭanātha.

3.1.1 The *Hayagrīvastotra*

The *Hayagrīvastotra* (HGS) is the first hymn dedicated to Hayagrīva. It started a new genre, whereby later *stotra*s to Hayagrīva embedded verses from Veṅkaṭanātha's original.[32] The central verses for the purpose of the current article are the following (elements which may be icono-graphically relevant have been underline):

> We revere the God Hayagrīva, who is made of cognition and bliss, whose appearance is an <u>immaculate crystal</u>, [and] who is the receptacle of all Knowledges ‖ 1 ‖

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[30] Viraraghavacharya 1980: 41 (translated in Clooney 2005: 215).

[31] *nirmatsarā niśamayantv idam ādareṇa karmādhikāranayasūtragatiṃ samīcīm | śārīrakeṇa ghaṭayaty ayam asmaduktyā devas turaṅgavadano jagadantarātmā ||* (Viraraghavacharya and Nainaracarya 1971).

[32] On these various words of praise and invocations, see Sridhara Babu 1990: chap. VII.

We praise the glory[33] which has the <u>face of a horse</u>, is self-established, rivals a mountain of <u>pure crystal</u>, who cleanses the three worlds with his <u>rays</u> endowed with nectar, whose call is a neighing imitated by the Upaniṣads which will never end, who has destroyed all vices || 2 ||[34]

[…]

May the form of Viṣṇu called "Lord of Speech" (Vāgīśa), having the face of a horse, who utters the Vedas <u>shine</u> to me! […] || 4cd ||

I seek refuge in the God Hayagrīva, whose own nature is a mound of pure knowledge, who is an initiation (yielding salvation) for the bound [souls] through his <u>gift of knowledge</u>, who is a receptacle of mercy, [and] who is the proper refuge for all the embodied (living beings) || 5 ||[35]

[…]

<u>In the fire of sacrifice, whose flame is blazing, you, who have assumed a body made of mantras,</u> |

have pleased the deities by giving them oblations […] || 10 ||[36]

[…]

The wise people visualise in their mind your form, which produces the nectar of bliss, and is alluring (*vilobhanīya*) [like] the stream (*niṣyanda*)[37] of the young moon, like the vast horizon of the ocean of milk || 13||

The words (*gir*) of the one who contemplates you—who are the best of the geese in the Kailāsa lake[38] which is the mind of the wise—continuously

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[33] *mahas* could also refer to a Vedic oblation, probably an intended double meaning, given the context of a praise of Hayagrīva.

[34] *jñānānandamayaṃ devaṃ nirmalasphaṭikākṛtim | ādhāraṃ sarva-vidyānāṃ hayagrīvam upāsmahe || 1 || svataḥsiddhaṃ śuddhasphaṭika maṇu-bhūbhṛtpratibhaṭaṃ sudhā sadhrīcībhir dyutibhir avadātatribhuvanam | anantais trayantair anuvihita heṣāhalahalaṃ hatāśeṣāvadyaṃ hayavadanam īḍīmahi mahaḥ || 2 ||*

[35] *vaktrī vedān bhātu me vājivaktrā vāgīśākhyā vāsudevasya mūrtiḥ || 4 || viśuddhavijñānaghanasvarūpaṃ vijñānaviśrāṇanabaddhadīkṣam | dayānidhiṃ dehabhṛtāṃ śaraṇyaṃ devaṃ hayagrīvam ahaṃ prapadye || 5 ||*

[36] *agnau samiddhārciṣi saptatantoḥ ātasthivān mantramayaṃ śarīram | akhaṣṇasārair haviṣāṃ pradānaiḥ āpyāyana vyomasadāṃ vidhatse || 10 ||*

[37] I am unsure about the translation of *niṣyanda*.

[38] *mānasa* is a pilgrimage site on Mount Kailāsa, which is believed to be the native home of wild geese. But *mānasa* can also be an adjective deriving from *manas* "mind". The same pun is used, as suggested by an anonymous reviewer of this article, at the beginning of Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa*.

in his mind, spontaneously (*svayam*)[39] participate in debates and excel and generally act as it is fit [for him] || 14 ||[40]

[…]

He has four lotus hands, with one in the mode of bestowing knowledge; another holds books of wisdom, and the other two hold the conch and discus. […] May this Lord of Speech, who showers such cooling rays of grace on me, be forever manifest in my heart! || 32 ||[41]

Verse 10 hints at an iconographical motive that I have been unable to identify in any extant description of Hayagrīva. If we leave it aside, the following characteristics of Hayagrīva are clear: Hayagrīva has four arms, holding the Vedas, a conch and a discus and displaying the *jnānamudrā*. He is white and brilliant (i.e., shining white or transparent). Noteworthy is the absence of Lakṣmī, which represents something unusual for Śrī Vaiṣṇavism, since there—as the name makes clear—Viṣṇu is always linked to Śrī (Lakṣmī).[42] Hayagrīva's connection with

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[39] That is, without his conscious efforts.

[40] *mugdhenduniṣyandavilobhanīyāṃ mūrtiṃ tavānanda sudhā prasūtim | vipaścitaś cetasi bhāvayante velām udārām iva dugdhasindhoḥ || 13 || manogataṃ paśyati yaḥ sadā tvāṃ manīṣiṇāṃ mānasa rājahaṃsam | svayaṃ purobhāva vivādabhājaḥ kiṃkurvate tasya giro yathārham || 14 ||*

[41] *vyākhyāmudrāṃ karasarasijaiḥ pustakaṃ śaṅkhacakre bibhradbhinnasphaṭikarucire puṇḍarīke niṣaṇṇaḥ | amlānaśrīr amṛtaviśadair aṃsubhiḥ plāvayan māṃ āvirbhūyād anaghamahimā mānase vāgadhīśaḥ ||*. A devotional translation of the entire hymn is available in Raghavan et al. 1995. A more scholarly translation is currently under preparation by me.

[42] This absence might have caused troubles also to later Śrī Vaiṣṇavas looking at the HGS as the standard text on Hayagrīva. For instance, in the introduction of a devotional edition of the hymns by Veṅkaṭanātha, one can read: "Although no specific reference to the Lord's consort Lakshmi is made in this *stotra* [namely in the HGS, EF], a veiled remark to her eternal association with the Lord may be found in verse 32 (*amlanasrih* = of unfading splendour). The remarks made in this hymn to the compassion and love of the Lord may also be taken to substantiate the view that his benign aspect alone is described here. Tradition also recommends meditation of Hayagriva in the company of Lakshmi (Lakshmi-Hayagriva)" (Raghavan et al. 1995: 12).

speech in general and not just the spoken form of the Veda, and his connection with victory in debates are also characteristc.

With the one exception of victory in debates, all of these elements were already present before Veṅkaṭanātha, although some of them were less dominant (most notably, a connection between Hayagrīva and speech is only found in Ānandavardhana, in the *Sattvatā Saṃhitā* and in the other Pāñcarātra texts depending on it, and I could not locate any reference to victory in debates).[43] What is new is their balanced synthesis into an ideal image (cf., by contrast, the excessive number of attributes found in the *Sattvatā Saṃhitā*, as discussed in section "Hayagrīva in the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās" of Freschi s.a.). This is perhaps the reason that this new Hayagrīva image gains incredible popularity.

3.1.2 The absence of Lakṣmī in the *Hayagrīvastotra*

The absence of Lakṣmī in the *Hayagrīvastotra* might appear surprising, given the emphasis in Śrī Vaiṣṇavism on the connection between Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī. This theological point is most probably the reason why Veṅkaṭanātha decided to (re)introduce Lakṣmī in the praise to Hayagrīva found in the *Śatadūṣaṇī* (described in section 3.1). The reason for the dissociation of the two, in contrast, may lie in the yoga form of Hayagrīva praised in the HGS, which implies that the deity is worshipped in isolation.[44]

3.2 Attestations possibly independent of Veṅkaṭanātha

3.2.1 Sudarśanasūri

Sudarśanasūri was a senior contemporary of Veṅkaṭanātha; he wrote commentaries on several works by Rāmānuja.[45] The edition

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[43]   An anonymous reviewer courteously pointed out also that because of Veṅkaṭanātha's HGS "Hayagrīva [is] no longer a *gauṇāvatāra* or an *aṃśāvatāra* but a full-fledged one".

[44]   Shilpa Sumant has also made a distinction between a Yoga and a Lakṣmī form of a Viṣṇu *avatāra*, here in the case of Nṛsiṃha, see Sumant 2010.

[45]   For more comments on Sudarśanasūri, see Freschi forthcoming.

of Sudarśanasūri's commentary on Rāmānuja's *Vedārthasaṅgraha* opens with the following *maṅgala*. Although words of caution concerning the authorship of *maṅgala*s[46] apply all the more in this case, it is noteworthy that it does not mention Veṅkaṭanātha and thus is not the standardised *maṅgala* that will be examined below (in section 3.3).

> Honour to the venerable Rāmānuja!
> Honour to the venerable Hayagrīva!
> Honour to the honourable teacher Śrīnivāsa!
> Honour to the previous teachers![47]

Śrīnivāsa was a very common name among Viśiṣṭādvaitins; I was unable to identify who is being referred to here (the *maṅgala* of the VS honours only Viṣṇu).

3.2.2 Other Vaiṣṇava schools after Veṅkaṭanātha

Hayagrīva is also referred to in texts of the Madhva-*sampradāya*, that is, in the Vaiṣṇava dualist school founded by Madhva (1238–1317). He is however found together with other *avatāra*s of Viṣṇu. For instance, Vādirāja (16th c.) opens his *Gurvarthadīpikā* commentary on Jayatīrtha's *Nyāyasudhā* with the following *maṅgala*:

> After having honoured Nārāyaṇa, Hayagrīva, Vyāsa, Vāyu [and] Sarasvatī, […][48]

This represents a constellation similar to the one evoked in the epigraph about the library at the temple at Śrīraṅgam (above, section 2.3): Nārāyaṇa is the main deity and Sarasvatī, Hayagrīva and Vyāsa are connected to learning, and Vedic and post-Vedic Vaiṣṇava literature.

Hayagrīva is also praised (in the standard form "Honour to the venerable Hayagrīva") in a rubric found in the first folio of an 8th c. century manuscript recording a Mīmāṃsā text and compiled by a Vaiṣṇava copyist or scribe (as is shown by the running invocation

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[46] See n. 23.

[47] *śrīmate rāmānujāya namaḥ | śrīmate hayagrīvāya namaḥ | śrīśrī-nivāsamahāgurave namaḥ | pūrvācāryebhyo namaḥ |*

[48] *nārāyaṇaṃ hayagrīvaṃ vyāsaṃ vāyuṃ sarasvatīm | natvā tatkaruṇā-sattvād rāme nyāyasudhāṃ budhau ||*

"*rāma*" on each folio). This mention of Hayagrīva may have been due to the scribe's local origins or religious affiliation (about whom nothing is known), since the author of the text does not include any invocation to Hayagrīva.[49]

3.3 Post-Veṅkaṭanātha standardisation

3.3.1 In icons

Icons of Hayagrīva are today extremely common, both in temples and, for example, as images on cloth or paper to be distributed to devotees. They mostly fall into two categories: the Yoga- and the Lakṣmī-Hayagrīva.

3.3.1.1 Yoga-Hayagrīva

In the period after Veṅkaṭanātha, icons of Hayagrīva started to become much more widespread. They also became standardised according to the text of the HGS: Hayagrīva holds a conch, a discus and a book and a teaching gesture, with the latter two typical of Hayagrīva alone. Nonetheless, while no such icon has been preserved that dates to the period before Veṅkaṭanātha, it is impossible to rule out the possibility that Veṅkaṭanātha had such a Hayagrīva icon as an example for his *stotra*. Indeed, the *Hayagrīva Pāñcarātra Saṃhitā* hints at the possibility of such icons having existed (see above, section 2.2). What remains certain is that the *standardisation* of the images was a result of the success of Veṅkaṭanātha's *stotra*, a success that led to the composition of further *strotra*s to Hayagrīva, these reusing for the most part strophes of Veṅkaṭanātha's hymn.

For instance, Gail presents an image of what I refer here to as Yoga-Hayagrīva from the northern wall of the Vidyāśaṅkara temple in Śṛṅgeri. Hayagrīva sits in the *padmāsana*, holds a discus and a conch in the hands of his upper arms, displays a *jñānamudrā* and

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[49] The manuscript is held in the Cambridge Manuscript Library and has been catalogued by Hugo David, see http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-00894/1.

holds a rosary in the lower right hand, and holds books of the Veda in the lower left hand.[50] Another possible example of a Yoga-Hayagrīva can be found in the Devanathan Divya Desam temple in Tiruveṇḍipuram (west of Cuddalore). This temple is closely connected to Veṅkaṭanātha, who is traditionally believed to have lived there; it is also believed to be the home of the Vaṭakalai sect. An image of Hayagrīva is found in a small shrine on a hill opposite the main temple. Here, too, he sits in the *padmāsana*, holds a discus and a conch in the hands of his upper arms, displays the *jñānamudrā* in his lower right hand, and holds books of the Veda in his lower let hand.

3.3.1.2 Lakṣmī-Hayagrīva

The other standardised image of Hayagrīva initiated by Veṅkaṭanātha is that of him sitting in the *rājalalitāsana*, with Lakṣmī sitting on his left knee with the same attributes as listed above. A Lakṣmī-Hayagrīva image of this type is found in the Tiruveṇḍipuram temple.[51]

3.3.2 Functional equivalences

One of the most important post-Veṅkaṭanātha developments in the theology of Hayagrīva is the Śrīvaiṣṇava substitution of Haya-grīva for Sarasvatī on the day of the annual Āyudha/Sarasvatī *pūjā*, thus creating a stronger non-Smārta affiliated Śrīvaiṣṇava ritual tra-dition, more strictly adhering to the view that there must be no wor-ship of "other deities" (*devatāntara*). Indeed, I am grateful to one of the anonymous reviewers of this article for the suggestion that the will to create a substitute for Sarasvatī might even have been one

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[50] Gail 2013: Fig. 9.

[51] See Sridhara Babu 1990: Fig. 12a. Ute Huesken has pointed out the existence of another "Hayagrīva temple directly opposite of the Dīpa-prakāśa temple and the Tūppul Desikar shrine (Veṅkaṭanātha's birthplace) in Kāñcipuram, connected to the Śrī Brahmatantra Svatantra Parakalasvāmi Maṭha." Unfortunately, I have been unable to find any further information about this temple and do not even know whether the main image is a Yoga- or a Lakṣmī-Hayagrīva.

rationale for Veṅkaṭanātha's elevation of Hayagrīva. More generally since at least the time of Veṅkaṭanātha Śrī Vaiṣṇavas have tended to re-establish their own pantheon, substituting non-Vaiṣṇava deities with their own. In this connection Hayagrīva plays a key role as a function-al equivalent of Gaṇeśa and Sarasvatī. Hayagrīva shares the connec-tion to knowledge and speech with Sarasvatī. Accordingly, I received the following information from Ute Huesken:

> Mr Sundarajan (a member of the Tatacarya families by marriage) told me in an interview (2006/09/25) which I conducted with him about his *kolu* (the set up of dolls during Navaratri that Tamil Brahmins maintain in their houses), in which he also featured a Hayagrīva [Fig. 3]: "We Vaiṣṇavas do not celebrate Sarasvatīpūjā, it is Mahānavamī for us. And instead of Sarasvatī we venerate Hayagrīva."[52]

Fig. 3: The doll representing Hayagrīva in a Tamil Brahmin house. In front of him is probably an image representing Veṅkaṭanātha. Source: Ute Huesken.

3.4 In copyists' and editors' *maṅgala*s

Well after Veṅkaṭanātha, Hayagrīva started to find a fixed place in the *maṅgala*s in most Viśiṣṭādvaita Vedāntin works. In this section

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[52]   Personal communication, 5 June 2015.

I will examine in particular the *maṅgala*s added by copyists and later also by editors to the works of Veṅkaṭanātha. Given that Veṅkaṭanātha is among the figures praised in these *maṅgala*s, it is clear that they were not composed by him and thus can be attributed to the copyists or editors of his works. It is worth noting in this connection that Veṅkaṭanātha's works have usually been copied and edited by Śrī Vaiṣṇavas.[53]

What role is played by Hayagrīva in this case? In these *maṅgala*s Hayagrīva assumes the function performed by Gaṇeśa in Śaiva and Smārta texts, that is, he is a God of learning, the overcomer of obstacles, and thus the correct god to be invoked at the beginning of an intellectual enterprise. This functional equivalence may have been based on Hayagrīva's connection—referred to by Veṅkaṭanātha—to speech and knowledge. This may have also been suggested by the similar appearance of the two deities, who both have an animal head and a human body. A further characteristic of Hayagrīva that is frequently mentioned in the *maṅgala*s is his neighing, which is said to destroy demons (perhaps again because of his Vedic connection?). Like the invocations to Gaṇeśa in *maṅgala*s, these invocations to Hayagrīva are quite short. Moreover, copyists or editors often connect Hayagrīva to their lineage of teachers. See, for instance, the *maṅgala* introducing the *editio princeps* of Veṅkaṭanātha's *Śatadūṣaṇī*:

> Glory!
> Honour to Lakṣmī!
> Honour to the venerable Hayagrīva!
> Honour to the venerable Rāmānuja!
> Honour to the venerable great Vedānta Deśika!
> [This is] the *Śatadūṣaṇī*, composed by the venerable teacher of Vedānta, who was at home in every system [of thought].
> May the venerable Veṅkaṭanātha, the lion among poets and thinkers, the best among the teachers of Vedānta, be always near to me, in my heart![54]

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[53]   See the "State of the art" section in Freschi 2016.

[54]   *śrīḥ | śriyai namaḥ | śrīhayagrīvāya namaḥ | śrīmate rāmānujāya namaḥ | śrīmate nigamāntamahādeśikāya namaḥ | sarvatantrasvatantraśrīmad vedāntācāryaviracitā śatadūṣaṇī. śrīmān veṅkaṭanāthāryaḥ kavitārkikakesarī | vedāṃtācāryavaryo me sannidhattāṃ sadā hṛdi |* (Anantācārya 1901]). Here and

Note that the focus of these invocations grows gradually narrower, suggesting a structure that decreases from the supreme God to Viśiṣṭā-dvaita Vedānta's founder, and finally to its most important teacher.

The *maṅgala* (presumably by the editor) at the beginning of the *Śatadūṣaṇī*, Vedāntadeśika Granthamālā edition (1940),[55] cites the supreme Brahman instead of Lakṣmī. Other than this one difference, it is identical to the above.[56]

The *maṅgala* (by the editor or copyist?) at the beginning of the printed version of Veṅkaṭanātha's *Nyāyasiddhāñjana* is almost identical, but there the supreme Brahman is identified with Hayagrīva.[57]

The *maṅgala* (by the editor or copyist?) at the beginning of the printed version of Veṅkaṭanātha's *Nyāyapariśuddhi* is identical to the above except for the title of the following text being mentioned.[58]

An almost identical *maṅgala* is also found at the beginning of the printed version of Veṅkaṭanātha's *Saccaritrarakṣā*.[59] As well,

in the next notes the slash indicates a paragraph break not indicated by punctuation in the original.

[55] *Adhikaranasāravalī śatadūsanī* 1940.

[56] *śrīr astu || śrīmatpraṇatārtiharavaradaparabrahmaṇe namaḥ | śrīmate hayagrīvāya namaḥ | śrīmate rāmānujāya namaḥ | śrīmate nigamāntamahādeśikāya namaḥ | śrīmadvedāntadeśikagranthamālā || kavitārkikasiṃhasarvatantrasva tantraśrīmadvedāntācāryaviracitā | śatadūṣaṇī || śrīmān veṅkaṭanāthāryaṃ kavitārkikakesarī | vedāntācāryavaryo me saṃnidhattāṃ sadā hṛdi |*

[57] *śrīḥ | śrīmate hayavadanaparabrahmaṇe namaḥ | śrīmate rāmānujā-ya namaḥ | śrīmate nigamāntamahādeśikāya namaḥ | śrīmān veṅkaṭanāthāryaḥ kavitārkikakesarī | vedāntācāryavaryo me sannidhattāṃ sadā hṛdi | śrīman-nigamāntamahādeśikair anugṛhītam | śrīnyāyasiddhāñjanam* (Vīrarāghavācārya 1976).

[58] *śrīḥ | śrīmate hayavadanaparabrahmaṇe namaḥ | śrīmate rāmānujā-ya namaḥ | śrīmate nigamāntamahādeśikāya namaḥ | śrīmān veṅkaṭanāthār-yaḥ kavitārkikakesarī | vedāntācāryavaryo me sannidhattāṃ sadā hṛdi.*

[59] *śrīḥ | śrīmate hayavadanaparabrahmaṇe namaḥ | śrīmate nigamānta-mahādeśikāya namaḥ | śrīmān veṅkaṭanāthāryaḥ kavitārkikakesarī | vedāntā-cāryavaryo me saṃnidhattāṃ sadā hṛdi || śrīmadvedāntaguruviracitā | sacca-ritrarakṣā.*

the *maṅgala* (by the editor or copyist?) at the beginning of the printed versions of Veṅkaṭanātha's *Adhikaraṇasārāvalī* is almost identical, but adds before the invocation to the supreme Brahman in the form of Hayagrīva an invocation to the supreme Brahman in the form of Lakṣmī and Viṣṇu (in his Nṛsiṃha-*avatāra*).[60]

A condensed version is found in the editor's(?) *maṅgala* to the SM,[61] where only Hayagrīva as the supreme Brahman is praised before Veṅkaṭanātha.[62]

Last, a few other printed editions of works by Veṅkaṭanātha (such as those of the *Śrīśaraṇāgatidīpikā*, the *Mīmāṃsāpādukā* and the *Pāñcarātrarākṣā*) open with only the latter part of the same *maṅgala*, i.e., the praise of Veṅkaṭanātha.[63]

3.4.1 Authors' *maṅgala*s

The *maṅgala* of the commentary on Veṅkaṭanātha's SM by Abhinava Deśika Vīrarāghavācārya, a 20th-century Śrī Vaiṣṇava scholar, is in contrast completely different. Its originality could be evidence that the standardised *maṅgala*s seen above were from the hand of copyists, not authors:

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[60] *śrīmate lakṣmīnṛsiṃhaparabrahmaṇe namaḥ | śrīmate hayavadanaparabrahmaṇe namaḥ | śrīmate rāmānujāya namaḥ | śrīmate nigamāntagurave namaḥ | śrīmān veṅkaṭanāthāryaḥ kavitārkikakesarī | vedāntācāryavaryo me sannidhattāṃ sadā hṛdi || śrīman nigamāntamahādeśikānugṛhītā | adhikaraṇasārāvalī.*

[61] Viraraghavacharya and Nainaracarya 1971.

[62] *śrīḥ śrīhayavadanaparabrahmaṇe namaḥ | śrīmān veṅkaṭanāthāryaḥ kavitārkikakesarī | vedāntācāryavaryo me saṃnidhattāṃ sadā hṛdi ||*

[63] *śrīmān veṅkaṭanāthāryaḥ kavitārkikakesarī | vedāntācāryavaryo me sannidhattāṃ sadā hṛdi (Pāñcarātrarākṣā); śrīmate nigamāntamahādeśikāya namaḥ | śrīmān veṅkaṭanāthāryaḥ kavitārkikakesarī | vedāntācāryavaryo me saṃnidhattāṃ sadā hṛdi || (Śrīśaraṇāgatidīpikā); śrīḥ śrīmān veṅkaṭanāthāryaḥ kavitārkikakesarī | vedāntācāryavaryo me saṃnidhattāṃ sadā hṛdi || kavitārkikasiṃhasarvatantrasvatantraśrīmadvedāntācāryaviracitā mīmāṃsāpādukā* (Viraraghavacharya and Nainaracarya 1971).

> May the venerable Hayagrīva, by whom the whole Veda has been taught,
> the Veda which was transferred to earth, which is [Hayagrīva's] own self,
> after [Hayagrīva] had taken it back and killed the two *asura*s, spread out
> prosperity![64]

Similarly, Abhinava Deśika Vīrarāghavācārya's *Satpathasañcāra*
commentary on Veṅkaṭanātha's MP opens with free praises
of Hayagrīva:

> Let me salute the venerable Hayagrīva, praised as the celestial sage, the tu-
> telary deity of all knowledge, who in the beginning manifested [the Vedas]
> for the sake of prescribing the fruitfulness which is in the [Vedic] prescrip-
> tions [and] for the sake of teaching the Vedas which had been destroyed.[65]

4. Conclusion: on the post-Veṅkaṭanātha diffusion of the standardised Hayagrīva

Viśiṣṭādvaita Vedānta images of Hayagrīva are as strikingly similar
to each other as they are strikingly different from earlier ones.
Thus, an important change must have taken place within the history
of Viśiṣṭādvaita Vedānta. No *stotra* to Hayagrīva is known before that
dedicated to him by Veṅkaṭanātha, with the description he offered
of Hayagrīva matching later icons. Thus, it is at least plausible that
Veṅkaṭanātha was the key figure in this change.

When exactly did this standardisation occur? And when did
Hayagrīva become a fixed presence in the *maṅgala*s? An exact
terminus post quem is difficult to determine. Although we have a vast
number of Hayagrīva icons dating to post 17th century that display
these standardised traits, this does not rule out the possibility of ear-
lier, lost, icons with the same characteristics. However, the idea that
a major change was initiated by Veṅkaṭanātha and implemented much

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[64] *śrīmān vājimukhaḥ śriyaṃ vitanutāṃ yenopadiṣṭo 'khilo vedaḥ svātmabhuve 'rpitaś ca punar apy āhṛtya hatvāsurau | […] || 1 ||* (Viraraghavacharya and Nainaracarya 1971).

[65] *vandeya śrīhayāsyaṃ vidhihitavidhaye naṣṭavedopadiṣṭaye labdhā-virbhāvam ādau suramunivinutaṃ sarvavidyādhidevam |* (Viraraghavacharya and Nainaracarya 1971).

later fits other background data. In fact, when Śrī Vaiṣṇavism officially split into the two schools of Vaṭakalai and Teṅkalai, each school cited an illustrious predecessor, naming him as their founder. In the case of the Vaṭakalai, the illustrious predecessor was Veṅkaṭanātha; this connection was reinforced by all of Veṅkaṭanātha's distinctive points being endorsed. It is probably not a coincidence that the famous Yoga-Hayagrīva temple in Tiruveṇḍipuram was in fact built much later than Veṅkaṭanātha's time, namely in 1667, at the time of the Teṅkalai-Vaṭakalai split. This was a time when the Vaṭakalai needed to show off their connection to Veṅkaṭanātha. The main icon of this temple has been discussed above in section 3.3.1.1.

Why did the standardisation occur? Veṅkaṭanātha recognised Hayagrīva is the supreme God (or at least an important aspect of him) and consciously chose him as part of his reconceptualisation of the Viśiṣṭādvaita Vedānta school. After Veṅkaṭanātha, Hayagrīva as described by Veṅkaṭanātha becomes a fixed reference point. The reasons behind Veṅkaṭanātha's turn gave the Vaṭakalai reuse of the Hayagrīva trope new meanings:

1. belonging to an intellectual tradition
2. belonging to a religious tradition

The reuse of Hayagrīva as a mark of one's belonging to an intellectual tradition may be the basis of Veṅkaṭanātha's choice, that is, Veṅkaṭanātha's pro-Vedism, in a context in which possibly some Vaiṣṇava believers were moving away from the Vedas. Later, the presence of Hayagrīva was probably a sort of trade mark to be shown straightway (e.g., already in the *maṅgala*) by the adherents of the Vaṭakalai school as a mark signalling their belonging to Veṅkaṭanātha's tradition.

Abbreviations

AP   *Agni Purāṇa*
HS   *Hayaśīrṣa Pāñcarātra*, see Dutta Sastri 1976
HGS   *Hayagrīvastotra* by Veṅkaṭanātha
MBh   *Mahābhārata*
MP   *Mīmāṃsāpādukā* by Veṅkaṭanātha
SM   *Seśvaramīmāṃsā* by Veṅkaṭanātha
VDhP   *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa*
VS   *Vedārthasaṅgraha* by Rāmānuja

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