

## Human Relations and Vernacular Texts Sustaining the Vedic Rituals in Kerala

### Introduction

During the second half of the twentieth century, the performances of Vedic Śrauta rituals (Agnihotra, Iṣṭi, Soma, Agnicayana, and so on) in Kerala declined at a rapid pace. The Nampūtiri Brahmins, the transmitters of the Keralan Vedic tradition, lost their position as great landowners by the legislated partition of their estate as well as by the enforcement of the 'Land Reform' in 1957, so that the Nampūtiris had difficulty in continuing the ritual performance which requires sufficient leisure and financial basis. (See 'Table 1')

Since the beginning of the twenty-first century, however, the Vedic rituals in Kerala have become active again. Such a 'revival' of the Śrauta rituals in modern times has been realized, in their financial aspects, by sponsoring of rich people whose economic strength has been increasing from the 1990s. On the other hand, it is to note that the sacrificers of the recent rituals have been varied regarding their belonged grāmaṃs, 'social groups' particular to the Nampūtiris, though the rituals until 1990s were mostly held by people belonging to the Śukapuraṃ grāmaṃ (see 'Table 2'). The spreading of movement among the grāmaṃs is also significant for dealing with the present-day revival of the Vedic rituals.

## 2. Social Bases for Sustaining the Vedic Ritual Tradition

### 2.1 Grāmaṃs, Vaidikans and Ōtikkans

The word 'grāmaṃ' (skt. *grāma-* 'village') denotes here a social unit related to a particular temple and its deity: e.g. people of Śukapuraṃ related by birth to the Dakṣiṇāmūrtti temple in Eṭappāḷ (Malappuram) and have Dakṣiṇāmūrtti as their 'grāmadēvatā'. Likewise, Iriññāḷakuṭa is related to Kūṭalmānikkyaṃ temple and has Saṃgamēśan as the grāmadēvatā; Peruvanaṃ to Peruvanaṃ Mahādēvan temple and its deity Śivan.

Each of the grāmaṃs has an autonomous social system for executing the Gṛhya rituals containing various Saṃskāras for its members and, at least 'originally', also for celebrating the Śrauta rituals. The summit of this system is assumed by the Vaidikan families, which have the hereditary right to lead or supervise both the Gṛhya and Śrauta rituals. Next to them, there are the Ōtikkan families which have the right to lead the Gṛhya rituals only.

In principle, one grāmaṃ has two Vaidikan families, whose roles at the Śrauta rituals differ from each other: 1. the Vidhikartta-Vaidikan is responsible for precision of the ritual procedures (acts, chanting, etc.) and decides necessary changes of rules (*vidhi-*), but possesses no right to

Table 1: Performances of the Soma (Agniṣṭoma) and Atirātra (Agnicayana)  
in Śukapuram Grāmaṃ from 1880 to 1975 (based upon Somayajipad et al. 1983)

Period	Soma	Atirātra	Year: Sacrificer's Mana ( <b>Bold faces</b> remarks the Atirātra performance)
1880-1889	6	1	1880: Muṭṭattukāṭṭu Māmaṇṇū 1883: Cerumukkū 1885: <b>Cerumukkū</b> , Kīlmuṇṭayūr, Muṇṭayūr (in Āraṇṇōṭṭukara) 1887: Bhaṭṭi Nampūtiri (in Akatiyūr), Ērkkara
1890-1899	9	--	1892: Āñṇam 1893: Ērkkara, Kunṇam (in Kirāyūr), Neḍḍham 1895: Cerumukkū, Kīlenarippatta 1898: Mātattū Kavapra 1899: Aḷakappura, Nalleṭam
1900-1909	13	1	1901: <b>Nelikkāṭṭu Māmaṇṇū</b> , Putumana 1903: Bhaṭṭi Puttiraṃ, Eṇṇāli, Mūrṭṭeṭam, Pakarāvūr, Palliśśēri 1904: Mañṇalattēri, Perumañṇāṭṭu 1905: Nilayañṇōṭṭu, Oṭṭupura, Vāykkākkara 1906: Kilakke Kuttulli 1909: Bhaṭṭi Vaṭakkeḍam
1910-1919	18	2	1910: Pāṇṭam, Ventrakkāṭṭu 1911: Kaṇayūr Kavapra, Muṭṭattukāṭṭu Māmaṇṇū, Pōṭāyattū, Putuśśēri 1912: Tōṭṭam 1913: Pātirippilli 1914: Pāra, Pukkuḷi 1915: Ēlikkōṭṭu, Korāṭṭikkara, Mātattū Kavapra 1916: Cerupoyilaṃ, Kuliyāṅkuṇam, Muṇṭayūr (in Aṭṭūr), Nelikkāṭṭu Māmaṇṇū, Paṭiñṇāṭṭāṭṭu 1918: <b>Nelikkāṭṭu Māmaṇṇū</b> 1919: <b>Kuttulli</b>
1920-1929	28	1	1920: Paḷayaṃ 1922: Kummiṇi, <b>Mātattū Kavapra</b> 1923: Bhaṭṭinampūtiri (in Akatiyūr), Pakarāvūr 1925: Tōṭṭam 1926: Eḷeṭam, Koṭakkāṭṭu Kuttulli, Poṭṭakkuli 1927: Amettūr, Aṭakkāpputtūr Kunṇam, Eṇṇāli, Karuvāṭṭu, Meppoyilaṃ, Mūrṭṭeṭam, Paṭiñṇāṭṭāṭṭu

			1928: Bhaṭṭi Puttiraṃ, Kaṇayūr Kavapra, Kiḷakke Kuttuḷli, Muṇṭayūr (in Aṭṭūr), Nārāssū 1929: Ālampiḷli (in Kavalappāra), Ceṛumukkū, Cola, Eraṭṭa, Ērkkara, Muṭṭattukāṭṭū Māmaṇṇū, Putumana, Tiyyanūr
1930-1939	6	--	1930: Āñṇaṃ 1933: Māṭattū Kavapra 1938: Kiḷuprakkāṭṭū, Pukkūḷi 1939: Ceṛumukkū, Mañṇalattēri
1940-1949	3	--	1941: Ālampiḷli (in Kirāyūr), Nellikkāṭṭū Māmaṇṇū 1946: Māṭattū Kavapra
1950-1959	12	2	1952: Koyttaṭi, Vāykkākkara 1953: Paḷḷiśśēri, Kirāyūr Paḷḷiśśēri, Kunṇaṃ (in Kārālmaṇṇa), Kuttuḷli, Muṇṭayūr (in Aṭṭūr), Tekkumparaṃpū 1955: <b>Ceṛumukkū</b> , Nārāssū 1954: Ceṛumukkū, Kiḷakkekuttuḷli 1956: <b>Nellikkāṭṭū Māmaṇṇū</b> [1957: Enforcement of the Land Reform]
1960-1969	7	--	1965: Bhaṭṭi Puttiraṃ, Ceṛumukkū (2 times), Eḷeṭaṃ, Kīḷenarippatta, Māṭattū Kavapra, Nārāssū
1970-1979	1	1	1970: Amettūr 1975: <b>Ceṛumukkū</b> [Exhibition]

**N.B.:** Some performances before 1880 are memorized (**Bold faces** remark the Atirātra):

1838 Māṭattū Kavapra; 1844 **Muṭṭattukāṭṭū Māmaṇṇū**; 1859 **Pātirippillī**;

1868 Māṭattū Kavapra; 1869 Ceṛumukkū; 1873 **Ceṛumukkū**

**Supplement:** There were also performances during 19th to 20th centuries, whose dates are unknown, as below:

Manas of Atirātra Sacrificers:

Aṭakkāpputtūr Kunṇaṃ, Kakkāṭṭū, Kārttiyaṃ, Kuḷiyāṅkuṇaṃ, Mōḷikunṇaṃ

Manas of Soma Sacrificers:

Akittaṃ (2 times), Aṭakkāpputtūr Kunṇaṃ, Ceṛupoyilaṃ, Ēḷikkōṭṭū, Eraṭṭa (2 times), Eṭattara Mūṭṭeṭaṃ,  
Kakkāṭṭū (2 times), Kaliyan, Kallānikkāṭṭū, Kārttiyaṃ, Kiḷuprakkāṭṭū, Korāṭṭikkara (2 times), Koyttaṭi,  
Kṛṣṇattū, Kuḷiyāṅkuṇaṃ, Kummiṇi, Kunṇaṃ (in Kārālmaṇṇa), Kuriśśāttamaṇṇa, Kuttuḷli, Mēlenarippatta,  
Meppoyilaṃ, Mōḷikunṇaṃ, Muṇṭayūr (in Aṭṭūr), Muṭṭattukāṭṭū Māmaṇṇū, Mūtteṭaṃ, Neḍḍhaṃ,  
Nellikkāṭṭū Māmaṇṇū, Neṭuññōttūr Mūtteṭaṃ, Neṭuññōttūr Pāra, Pakarāvūr, Paḷayaṃ, Pāra,  
Paṭiññāṭṭukara, Pātirippillī, Perumaññāṭṭū, Tekkēppāṭṭū, Tekkumparaṃpū, Tōṭṭaṃ, Vāddhyāṃ,  
Vāykkākkara, Veññāḷlūr, Ventrakkāṭṭū

Table 2: Performances of the Soma (Agniṣṭoma) and Atirātra (Agnicayana) in Kerala State (from 1975-2017)

Year	Place (District)	Ritual	Sacrificer's Mana, Branch	(Belonged Grāmaṃ)
1975	Pāññāl (Tṛṣṣūr) [Exhibition]	Atirātra	Cerumukkū, RV-Kauṣītaki	(Śukapuram)
1984	Tiruvananthapuram	Soma	Kavapra, RV-Kauṣītaki	(Śukapuram)
1990	Kuṇṭūr (Malappuram)	Atirātra	Bhaṭṭi Puttilam, RV-Kauṣītaki	(Śukapuram)
2003	Tṛṣṣūr	Soma	Bhaṭṭi Puttilam, RV-Kauṣītaki	(Śukapuram)
2005	Aññātippuram (Malappuram)	Soma	?	?
	Eṭaṅakulam	Soma	Organized by Om Shantidharma Ashram	
	Tiruvananthapuram	Soma	?	?
2006	Koṭakara (Tṛṣṣūr)	Soma	Kaimukkū, YV-Baudhāyana	<b>(Iriññālakuṭa)</b>
	Mūlamkoṭṭū (Pālakkaṭṭū)	Atirātra	Kavapra, RV-Kauṣītaki	(Śukapuram)
2007	near Kuttipuram (Malappuram)	Soma	Taranūr, RV-Kauṣītaki	(Śukapuram)
	Kumpiṭi (Tṛṣṣūr)	Soma	Tavannūr, ?	<b>(Panniyūr)</b>
	Rappāl (Tṛṣṣūr)	Soma	Naṭuvam, YV-Baudhāyana	<b>(Iriññālakuṭa)</b>
2009	Āluva (Eṭaṅakulam)	Soma	Kuruśśārūr, YV-Baudhāyana	<b>(Iriññālakuṭa)</b>
2011	Pāññāl (Tṛṣṣūr)	Atirātra	Bhaṭṭi Puttilam, RV-Kauṣītaki	(Śukapuram)
2012	Koṭakara (Tṛṣṣūr)	Atirātra	Kaimukkū, YV-Baudhāyana	<b>(Iriññālakuṭa)</b>
	Bhadrachalam, Āndhra Pradesh	Atirātra	Naṭuvam, YV-Baudhāyana	<b>(Iriññālakuṭa)</b>
2013	Kesaragutta, Āndhra Pradesh	Atirātra	Cerumukkū, RV-Kauṣītaki	(Śukapuram)
	Śukapuram (Malappuram)	Soma	Kāvumpuram, RV-Kauṣītaki	<b>(Iriññālakuṭa)</b>
2014	Kōlikkoṭṭū	Soma	Organized by Kasyapa Ashram, and performed by Brahmins from Kattūr, Karnataka	
2015	Śukapuram (Malappuram)	Atirātra	Kāvumpuram, RV-Kauṣītaki	(Śukapuram)
2016	Paṭṭambi (Pālakkaṭṭū)		Cerumukkū, RV-Kauṣītaki	(Śukapuram)
2017	Cerupōyka (Tiruvananthapuram)	Soma	Muṭappilāppiḷi Maṭham (not Nampūtiri) [Actually executed by Nampūtiris from Śukapuram]	

N.B.: **Bold faces** remark grāmaṃs other than Śukapuram.

celebrate any Śrauta ritual for itself; 2. the Yāgādhikāra-Vaidikan possesses the right to celebrate all Śrauta rituals and lead the rituals held by other families. In addition, few grāmaṃs have sole Vaidikan which assumes both roles of Vidhikartta and Yāgādhikāra for some exceptional reason, such as the extinguishment of other Vaidikan(s). (See 'Table 3')

Table 3: Principal Grāmaṃs and Vaidikans

Grāmaṃ (Caraṇa)	Vidhikartta-Vaidikan, Branch	Yāgādhikāra-Vaidikan, Branch
Śukapuram (RV, SV)	Teikkāṭṭu, RV-Kauṣṭiki	Cerumukkū, RV-Kauṣṭiki
Iriṅṅālakuṭa (YV, RV)	Pantal, YV-Baudhāyana	Kaimukkū, YV-Baudhāyana
Iriṅṅālakuṭa-Vādhūlaka (YV)	Neṭumpiḷli Taraṇanellūr & Kiṭaṅṅāśśēri Taraṇanellūr, YV- Vādhūlaka	
Peruvanaṃ (YV, RV)	Kapliṅṅāṭṭu, YV-Baudhāyana	Perumpaṭappū, YV-Baudhāyana
Periṅṅellūr (YV, RV)	Naṭuvattū Puṭavār, YV-Baudhāyana	Eruvesi Puṭavār, YV-Baudhāyana
Kōḷikkōṭṭu (YV, RV)	Vellakkāṭṭu Bhaṭṭattiri, YV-Baudhāyana	

The Vaidikans/Ōtikans should be invited for all occasions of the Saṃskāras (birth ceremony, Upanayana, marriage, funeral, etc.) as well as the periodical rites for ancestors held at each houses. So Nampūtiri people are very aware about membership of their own grāmaṃs, and the close relationship to their Vaidikans and Ōtikans. Thus they have potentially kept an organization for executing the Śrauta rituals to be realized basing upon the human relations of grāmaṃs, which are always active through frequent celebrations of the Gṛhya rituals.

## 2.2 Order of Śrauta Rituals and Titles of Honor for the Sacrificer

By accomplishing the Agnyādhāna (the first establishment of three sacred fires), Soma (Agniṣṭoma) and Atirātra (Agnicayana), the sacrificer receives high estimation in Brahmin society and attains the ‘titles of honor’ in respective stages, everyone ending with suffix ‘-pāṭṭu’, as shown in ‘Table 4’. Such a ‘promotion system’ of sacrificer also motivates the Nampūtiris to practice the temporary large-scale rituals.

Furthermore, this system also functions to sustain some simultaneous small-scale Śrauta rituals, such as the Agnihotra, Iṣṭi, and so on. These rituals in ordinary life are practiced in calm circumstance, in contrast to the large-scale rituals, and offer good occasions to young people who play the roles of the adhvaryu, hotar, etc. to learn the basic skills for executing the rituals.

Table 4: Śrauta Rituals and Corresponding Titles of Honor for the Sacrificer

Ritual	Title of Honor	Rituals to be held by the Sacrificer afterwards
Agnyādhāna	Aṭṭittirippāṭṭu	Agnihotra
Soma (Agniṣṭoma)	Sōmayājippāṭṭu	Agnihotra, Iṣṭi (Darśapūrṅamāsa)
Atirātra (Agnicayana)	Akkittirippāṭṭu	Agnihotra, Iṣṭi (Darśapūrṅamāsa)

N.B.1: The wife of the sacrificer of Agnyādhāna receives the title ‘Pattanāṭṭi’, and the wife’s title is not changed afterwards, while her husband can receive other titles by doing the Soma and the Atirātra.

N.B.2: Until 300 years back, a loṣṭaciti (śmaśānaciti) had been piled for the cremation of Akkittirippāṭṭu in Śukapuram. It was recently piled in Iriṅṅālakuṭa, at the cremation of Naṭuvaṃ Nārāyaṇan held in 2014.

### 2.3 New Human Relations beyond the Boundaries of Grāmaṃs

In the past, three grāmaṃs, Śukapuram, Iriññālakuṭa and Paruvanaṃ were socially isolated from each other, and hardly had any relationship among them, such as through marriage, ritual, training of Veda recitation, which had been done within the respective grāmaṃs with no trouble.

Table 5: Examples of Śrauta Rituals Performed in Iriññālakuṭa and Peruvanaṃ Grāmaṃs in 19th to 20th Centuries (based upon the interviews at both grāmaṃs)

Iriññālakuṭa Grāmaṃ
<p><u>Baudhāyana</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-- in the 2nd half of the 19th c.?: Agnyādhāna, held by Naṭuvaṃ Nārāyaṇa Aṭṭirippāṭṭu</li> <li>-- around 1880?: <b>Soma</b>, held by Vaṭakkēṭattū Malliśṣēri Haridattan Sōmayājippāṭṭu</li> <li>-- in the 1st half of the 20th c.?: Agnyādhāna, held by Vaṭakkēṭattū Malliśṣēri Haridattan Aṭṭirippāṭṭu</li> <li>-- in the 1st half of the 20th c.?: Agnyādhāna, held by Naṭuvaṃ Nārāyaṇa Aṭṭirippāṭṭu</li> <li>-- around 1947: <b>Soma</b>, held by Kelukkiniyeṭattū Kṛṣṇaṃ Sōmayājippāṭṭu</li> <li>-- around 1957: Agnyādhāna, held by Vaṭakkēṭattū Malliśṣēri Haridattan Aṭṭirippāṭṭu</li> </ul> <p><u>Vādhūlaka</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-- around 1875: <b>Soma</b>, held by Kiṭaṇṇaśṣēri Taraṇanellūr Mana</li> <li>-- in the 1st half of the 20th c.?: <b>Soma</b>, held by Kūrṛampillī Vāsudēvan Sōmayājippāṭṭu</li> <li>-- around 1910: <b>Soma</b>, held by Kanni Tāmarappillī Dāmōdaran Sōmayājippāṭṭu</li> <li>-- 1922: <b>Soma</b>, held by Maṭhasi Vāsudēvan Sōmayājippāṭṭu</li> <li>-- around 1925: <b>Soma</b>, held by Paccāmpillī Padmanābhan Sōmayājippāṭṭu</li> <li>-- around 1935: <b>Soma</b>, held by Kūrṛampillī Vāsudēvan Sōmayājippāṭṭu</li> <li>-- in the middle of the 20th c.?: <b>Soma</b>, held by Kallēli Jātavēdan Sōmayājippāṭṭu</li> <li>-- in the middle of the 20th c.?: Agnyādhāna, held by Kallēli Dāmōdaran Aṭṭirippāṭṭu</li> <li>-- around 1950: Agnyādhāna, held by Vaṭakkēṭattū Tāmarappillī Dāmōdaran Aṭṭirippāṭṭu</li> <li>-- in the 2nd half of the 20th c.?: Agnyādhāna, held by Kūrṛampillī Vāsudēvan Aṭṭirippāṭṭu</li> </ul>
Peruvanaṃ Grāmaṃ
<p><u>Baudhāyana</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-- in the 2nd half of the 19th c.?: <b>Soma</b>, held by Mūlayil Peruṃpaṭappū Vāsudēvan Sōmayājippāṭṭu</li> <li>-- in the 2nd half of the 19th c.?: <b>Soma</b>, held by Vellāmpaṃpū Mādhavan Sōmayājippāṭṭu</li> <li>-- in the 1st half of the 20th c.?: <b>Soma</b>, held by Mūlayil Peruṃpaṭappū Dāmōdaran Sōmayājippāṭṭu</li> <li>-- in the 1st half of the 20th c.?: <b>Soma</b>, held by Vellāmpaṃpū Citra Sōmayājippāṭṭu</li> <li>-- around 1956: <b>Soma</b>, held by Mūlayil Peruṃpaṭappū Kṛṣṇaṃ Sōmayājippāṭṭu</li> <li>-- in the middle of the 20th c.?: <b>Soma</b>, held by Vellāmpaṃpū Nīlakaṇṭhan Sōmayājippāṭṭu</li> </ul>

N.B.: **Bold faces** remark the performance of Soma. In Iriññālakuṭa and Paruvanaṃ, the tradition of Atirātra was lost several hundred years ago.

In the middle of the twentieth century, however, the performance of Soma ritual in Iriññālakuṭa and Peruvanaṃ was stopped, obviously as a consequence of the enforcement of the Land Reform (see 'Table 5'). Thereafter, people of both grāmaṃs had gained no occasion to practice the Soma ritual over forty years long, so that, in the middle of 1990s, their living knowledge and skills for executing that ritual were almost lost.

At the end of the twentieth century, Rāman Nampūtiri of Kaimukkū Vaidikan (Yāgādhikāra) in Iriññālakuṭa decided to restart the performance of Soma ritual with financial backing of rich people, and went to Śukapuraṃ for learning the ritual practice under the guidance of several experts. Further, a young scholar of Pantal Vaidikan (Vidhikartta) in the same grāmaṃ, Dāmōdaran (Uṇṇi) Nampūtiri, also stayed in the house of Kēśavan Teikkāṭṭu Vaidikan of Śukapuraṃ for two months in 2003, and acquainted the knowledge for supervising the ritual. As results of these supports by Śukapuraṃ experts, Iriññālakuṭa people could execute their Soma in 2006, and also the Atirātra in 2012, both celebrated by Kaimukkū Rāman as the sacrificer.

In 2011, Perumpaṭappū Vaidikan of Peruvanaṃ grāmaṃ reestablished the three sacred fires by celebrating the Agnyādhāna, and that time, Dāmōdaran (Uṇṇi) Nampūtiri of Pantal Vaidikan in Iriññālakuṭa assumed the role of supervisor. Recently Mūlayil Perumpaṭappū Mana in Peruvanaṃ issued a private printing of the Baudhāyana Śrauta Caṭaṅṅū, which is supervised by two renowned scholars of Iriññālakuṭa (see the next section). Such multiple human relations beyond boundaries of grāmaṃs, which has never been found in old times, have a great significance for the present-day revival of Śrauta rituals in the large area.

### 3. Vernacular Manuals for the Vedic Rituals

#### 3.1 Preservation and Printing of the Caṭaṅṅū

Another basis for sustaining the Vedic rituals in Kerala is the accumulation of the vernacular ritual manuals, 'Caṭaṅṅū'. These Malayalam texts enable to practice the rituals without studying the Sūtra texts written in an expert Sanskrit, so that the performance of Vedic rituals in Kerala nowadays relies on the Caṭaṅṅū preserved in the houses of the leading Nampūtiri families.

It is obscure when and how the compiling of Caṭaṅṅū was started. Parpola 2011, sole academic work on the Caṭaṅṅū text until now, suggests that the date of palmleaf manuscript of the Sāma Smārta Caṭaṅṅū which he dealt with could be in the seventeenth century from some reasons. So the first compilation of this sort of text would back to some period earlier than it. Each of vedic branches in Kerala has transmitted its own Caṭaṅṅū for both the Gṛhya and the Śrauta, in palmleaf scripts or notebooks. Since the second half of the twentieth century, some Caṭaṅṅū for the Gṛhya rituals have been issued as books from publishers or as private printings. Recently, a Śrauta Caṭaṅṅū of the Baudhāyana was printed in Peruvanaṃ.

### Private Printings

-- Gṛhya Caṭaṅṅū:

Brahmaśrī Veḷḷārappiḷḷi maṭattil illattū Sōmayājippāṭṭū Mahan Vāsudēvan Nanpūtiri  
1979 *Bādhūlakacaṭaṅṅū*. [Vādhūlaka]

-- Śrauta Caṭaṅṅū:

Mūlayil Perumpaṭappū Dāmōdaran Nanpūtiri (ed.), Pantal Vaidikan Dāmōdaran (Uṇṇi)  
Nanpūtiri, Śrīdās Kaṭalūr, Naṭuvam Vāsudēvan Nanpūtiri (supervisors). Enterprised by  
Peruvanaṃ Grāmasabhā  
2017 *Agnyādhānaṃ Caṭaṅṅūkal*. [Baudhāyana]

### Publications

-- Gṛhya Caṭaṅṅū:

Kāṅṅippayūr Śaṅkaran Nanpūtirippāṭṭū.

2000 *Kauṣītakaṃ Caṭaṅṅū*. Kunnaṃkuḷaṃ: Pañcāṃgaṃ Pustakaśāla. [Kauṣītaka]

Kāṅṅippayūr Śaṅkaran Nanpūtirippāṭṭū.

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### 3.2 Importance of the Caṭaṅṅū for sustaining the Ritual Tradition

As we see in the Gṛhya and Śrauta Sūtras, the original Sanskrit Manuals compiled earlier than the 2nd c. BCE, procedures of the Vedic rituals are somewhat different among the vedic branches (*carāṇa-śākhā-*). Also in the present-day, each of the Vedic ritual in Kerala should be executed while following procedures of the particular branch, and also the manner of respective grāmaṃ, to which the sacrificer belongs. So Nanpūtiris have used to refer to the Caṭaṅṅū for checking those procedures which vary among the respective branches and grāmaṃs .

When Iriññālakuṭa people wanted to reestablish their tradition of Śrauta rituals, after having learned in Śukapuraṃ, they further needed to modify the transmission of Śukapuraṃ for adapting it to the Iriññālakuṭa manner. The revival of their rituals was realized actually in basing upon both transmissions, one belonging to Śukapuraṃ and the other to Iriññālakuṭa. Likewise, at the occasion of the Agnyādhāna in Peruvanaṃ in 2011, it was executed in the way to modify the transmission of Iriññālakuṭa for adapting it to that of Peruvanaṃ. In this respect, the old Caṭaṅṅū preserved in each grāmaṃs have a vital importance for sustaining the ritual tradition.



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