HINDUISM IN LEEDS

Kim Knott

A Study of Religious Practice in the Indian Hindu Community and in Hindu-Related Groups

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This monograph is based on a Ph.D. thesis submitted to the University of Leeds in 1982.
In memory of
Pandit Chimanlal Pandya
and Trikumbhai Bulsara,
for the kind help
they gave me throughout
this research.
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Kim Knott.
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NOTES ON TRANSLITERATION

Terms from Indian languages have been represented by roman characters in the main text and its appendices. Diacritical marks have not been used, and a recognised English spelling of these terms has been adopted. For a full understanding of the correct spelling, the glossary, provided after the main text should be consulted. The terms are cited in roman characters with diacritical marks, as a guide to pronunciation. Assistance in the pronunciation of Sanskrit, Hindi and Gujarati terms is provided in Coulson (1976), McGregor (1972) and Lambert (1971).

ABBREVIATIONS

VS Vajasaneyi Samhita
RV Rg Veda
AV Atharva Veda
BG Bhagavad Gita
BU Brhadaranyaka Upanishad
SB Satapatha Brahmana
MGS Manava Grihya Sutra
GGS Gobhila Grihya Sutra
AGS Asvalayana Grihya Sutra
Foreword

(This thesis presents a portrait of Hinduism in the city of Leeds as it was perceived in the period from 1977 to 1981. Since that time a number of changes undoubtedly will have occurred. Unfortunately these cannot be examined here. The bibliography, however, has been updated to include recent titles of relevance to those with an interest in the study of Hinduism in Britain.)

The subject addressed in this thesis became of interest to me in 1977. Until that time I was involved in an academic study of religions which was concerned by and large, with texts, historical periods and religious elites. I was aware that in the city of Leeds itself there was a multiplicity of religious groups with a bewildering diversity of beliefs, practices, experiences and attitudes. I decided, therefore, to bring together the interest I had in the Hindu religious tradition, and my desire to investigate some aspect of this local religious scene, not in a mission to compare Leeds Hinduism with what I had learnt of Hinduism as a world faith, but in order to attempt to describe and understand the forms which Hinduism had taken in its new geographical location. I wanted to see this local religion as a phenomenon in its own right, and not simply as an illustration of historical Hinduism.

The religion manifested itself most noticeably in the dimension of religious practice, and it became my intention, therefore, to consider aspects of this rather than alternative dimensions such as belief or experience. There was - and still is - very little material on the subject of Hinduism in Britain. (A number of references have been added to the bibliography in this volume in order to bring it up to date for 1984. The reader's attention is drawn to recent unpublished materials, Barot, 1983; Bowen, 1983; King, 1984; Knott, 1981(h), 1983; McDonald, 1983; Michaelson 1983(a),1983(b); O'Keeffe, 1981; Teifion, 1982; and to several published articles and books, Carey, 1983; Knott, 1982; Kanitkar and Jackson; Williams, 1984.)
Apart from two articles (Jackson, 1976; Pocock, 1976) and a slim book (Bowen, 1981), it consisted generally of short contributions on social issues (Kanitkar, 1972; Barot, 1972, 1974; Tambs-Lyche 1975, 1980; Michaelson, 1979). In these, and the more general works on South Asians in Britain, religion was treated as a dependent variable in the discussion of race and ethnicity. The inadequacy of this material led me to view my own contribution as seeking to provide both background information on this religious group in Britain, and an examination of their regular temple practices. To complete the full spectrum of forms of Hindu expression in Leeds I decided to include the non-Hindu or Hindu-related groups which represented a very different interpretation of the Hindu religious tradition. Despite the particular interest in spirituality these groups had, I chose primarily to consider and compare their use of the behavioural dimension with that of the Indian Hindus.

The fieldwork for this thesis was conducted between 1977 and the end of 1980. It is often assumed that such fieldwork is performed only in conjunction with sociological studies. This is not the case. My particular research should be understood in relation to the wider 'study of religion' because it seeks to describe and understand the nature of some aspects of Hinduism in Leeds rather than to explain them. Furthermore, it is hoped that the interpretation presented here accurately portrays the views and feelings of the Indian Hindus and the members of the 'new' groups concerned. The phenomenological approach, in which one attempts to bracket values and judgments, and seeks to pursue 'sympathetic objectivity', is not always easy to achieve. I often found, for example, that I was annoyed and affected by the roles of women and the expectations placed on them in the Indian community, and of the failure of some Hindu men to treat me with the seriousness I thought my questions deserved. In such a situation it is very difficult to implement the technique of epoche or bracketing. There were also other attitudes and responses which occasionally impinged on the process of data collection: I was often nervous when I had to visit a group for the first time; I was impatient when, in interviews, the respondents wanted to tell me of Hindu myths and concepts I already knew about; and I was sceptical when they insisted that the caste system did not operate in Britain. There are undoubtedly other values, attitudes and areas of intolerance, some of which I am aware of and perhaps others that I am not, which might well have influenced my reception of the data. These should not be suppressed; it is important that one should become aware of them, and of the effects and repercussions they may have. As far as possible I attempted to do this.
The phenomenological approach is not associated with any particular set of practical methods. It is poly-methodic, using techniques of data collection from various disciplines. In this study it was necessary to use many of the practical methods often utilised in sociology and anthropology. As I wanted to gather material and information about behaviour and its meaning, and about socio-religious groups and their styles of self-presentation, it was necessary to observe and question those involved. In some cases, for example in researching the TM and Raja Yoga groups, I was 'a total participant', becoming an inconspicuous member of the groups and observing, unbeknown to others, what went on within them. During most Hindu festivals and regular temple practices I was 'a participant as observer' taking part in the practices but known by all to be studying the group. On other occasions, for example in my enquiries into Ananda Marga Yoga and Sangeet Rajneesh, I was 'an observer as participant', asking questions and interpreting the data collected but not taking part in a more active sense. In these three roles, as 'a total participant', 'a participant as observer' and 'an observer as participant' (three of the four positions outlined by Gold (1970) to describe the researcher's form of interaction with his or her research material), it is impossible not to affect or influence the field. Thus, although my aim has been to describe and understand, in doing this I have also had a reflexive effect on the people I have been studying, making them aware, for example, of their own 'religiousness' or of the possible meanings of their actions.

In the process of observing and enquiring into Hinduism in the city I have found that I have become indebted to certain key respondents. In the Indian community these have included temple committee and trust members, the priest, and several women and men with an interest in the question of 'religion', and an ability to communicate in English with ease. I learnt conversational Gujarati by attending temple language classes but I never became sufficiently advanced to hold fluent conversations with non-English speakers. These key-respondents had a great deal of influence on my understanding of the reinterpretation of Hinduism which was occurring in Leeds amongst the Indian population.

In addition to observation and formal and informal interviewing, I used various elementary enumeration techniques in order to establish the size, composition and identity of the Indian Hindu population. It was also necessary to work on occasions with primary sources, with ephemera in English produced by the groups themselves as an integral part of their presentation, and with liturgical material in Sanskrit. In the case of the latter I was helped by a local Hindu with a particular interest in
Vedic religion and the Sanskrit language.

Between 1977 and the end of 1980 the temple was the focus for much of my fieldwork. In addition to attending the regular daily and weekly services I observed each annual festival at least twice, if not three or four times. Irregular rituals and non-temple practices were also recorded. From the extensive notes collected and classified for these events I was able to compile a full calendar for the Hindu year 2035 (1978-9) as it was celebrated in Leeds (Appendix C). The preliminary information gathered through observation was then enhanced through personal interviews, and through the primary and secondary source material which was available at that time. Early in 1980 the statistical work on the Indian Hindu population was carried out. This involved undertaking a detailed study of surnames in the Leeds electoral roll for 1979. This information was then analysed by religion and ethnicity, mapped, and then compared with other statistical material from the Census, and the religious groups themselves. In addition, I had access to the 1978 temple members list and the 1980 directory for the Leeds shoemakers association, the Pragati Mandal, both of which provided useful source material.

During this period I also attended meetings held by a number of small Hindu groups. In particular I recorded religious practices at the Shri Satya Sai Baba Mandal, and the Leeds University Union Hindu Society. Interviews with leading members of the Punjabi Sabha, the Pragati Mandal, the Ramakrishna Bhajan Mandal, the Garaba Group and the Swadhyaya Mandal provided a wealth of supporting information.

The majority of the fieldwork undertaken in association with the Hindu-related groups was also gathered through interviews. Leaders and members were contacted and visited in Sangeet Rajneesh, The Theosophical Society, the Leeds University Hatha Yoga Society, Divine Light Mission and The School of Economic Yoga Society. I attended introductory lectures on Ananda Marga Yoga, TM, Raja Yoga and Divine Light, and visited Bhaktivedanta Manor near Watford to learn more about Krishna Consciousness. The main fieldwork period, however, spanned a five month period in which I attended the TM centre and Raja Yoga centre for introductory talks, meditation sessions, instruction classes and a ceremony of initiation.

Notes were kept on all the observations and interviews attended during this four year period which have proved invaluable in the later stages of description and analysis. Some preliminary comparative information, which helped to add weight
to these recordings, was collected in visits to other British temples in places such as Balham, Coventry and Bradford, and through communications with Hindu organisations in London and the Midlands. The major source for comparative data, however, was a six week study visit to the state of Gujarat in West India, funded by the Department of Education and Science, for which I was given support and encouragement by The Spalding Trust. During this visit I met and received considerable hospitality from the extended families of a number of Leeds Gujarati Hindus. I observed domestic practices, temple worship, and pilgrimages to important religious sites throughout the state of Gujarat, and in Maharashtra and Rajasthan. Information on Gujarati castes, Hindu reform movements such as the Swaminarayan Mission and Raja Yoga, and on rural and urban Hinduism was gathered. I was also able to use the libraries in the M. S. University of Baroda and in Bombay University during my stay. This short visit provided me with an essential experience of modern Hinduism in a comparable but nonetheless different environment. It would have been virtually impossible to have understood the practices of contemporary British Hinduism without the wider perspective this visit provided for me.

Although, generally speaking, the most important insights into the study of religion are to be gained while one is actually engaged in fieldwork, in some ways one can be prepared for the task through a consideration of the methodological literature. It is for this reason that I feel it is important to acknowledge my debt to a number of scholars who encouraged me to question and consider the interactive relationships between the researcher, the data to be collected, and the process of their interpretation (Casagrande, 1960; Festinger et al, 1956; Larson, 1975; Myrdal, 1970; Tambs-Lyche, 1980; Whyte, 1958; van Baaren and Drijvers, 1973).

The primary aim of this research is to provide a phenomenological account of Hinduism in Leeds. This has of necessity involved a polymethodic approach, but the principal practical methods adopted have been participant observation and informal interviews. By their use information has been compiled on the social and behavioural dimensions of the Hindu religion found in the city. Beyond this basic characterisation an attempt has been made to offer a general perspective which relates these expressions of Hinduism to the notion of 'tradition'. At the time of writing, this study appears to be the first doctoral thesis dealing with Indian Hinduism in Britain from the point of view of the study of religion. It also constitutes one of the few phenomenological accounts of Hindu-related groups, seeking as it does to see them not simply as 'new' religious movements but as new forms of traditional Hinduism.
Introduction

In the city of Leeds Hinduism appears in two distinct forms: the religion of the Indian temple, the small Hindu mandals and sabhas and Indian homes, and the concepts and practices of the Hindu-related 'new' religious movements. Although both have in common their physical geography, the two represent very different interpretations of Hindu tradition, have separate historical roots, and a different social location. However, the presence of these two approaches to the Hindu religious tradition, and the many variations each incorporates, does not represent a clash of sectarian interests, or a debate on the question of orthodoxy. The historical developments of what is now known as 'Hinduism' ensure a valid place for both interpretations amongst the contemporary manifestations of tradition.

In order to appreciate the similarities and diversities of these two approaches it is necessary at the outset to have a clear understanding of what is entailed by the Hindu tradition. This raises the question of definition. It has been suggested that a considerable degree of care be taken in defining 'religion' for a non-Western society because of the inevitable consequences of either designating the term 'religious' to areas of life not recognised as such by the participants themselves, or of interpreting the participants' beliefs and behaviour as religious or secular in terms of the Western use of these categories (Cohn, 1969). To avoid this confusion a broad understanding of the dimensions of religion is required which bears a close relation to the Hindus' own view of their tradition or 'dharma'.

Several scholars have found it acceptable to consider not just religious belief and practice (the conceptual and behavioural dimensions) but, in addition, the social and psychological frameworks in which they occur (Pye, 1972, 1979). This multi-dimensional approach to the nature of religion provides a suitably broad basis against which we can examine
Indian definitions of Hinduism. Radhakrishnan, for example, stressed the social and behavioural dimensions, in seeing Hinduism as 'a way of life' concerned with 'conduct, not belief' (1964, p.55). Gandhi, as a 'Sanatani Hindu' (a follower of traditional Hinduism), articulated a belief in the centrality of sruti texts, in karma, the doctrine of the avatara, and the practice of varnashramadharma (1966, pp. 245-6). According to his understanding, Hinduism offered a philosophical or conceptual aspect as well as a concern with correct social and religious practice. In Leeds, Hindus also refer to 'eternal tradition' and call their religion 'sanatana dharma'. Local leaders, in a leaflet on the subject, stated that 'dharma means ethical and religious ideals, social and religious duty... Hinduism is a way of life and a highly organised social and religious system'. Their account also outlines in brief their acknowledgment of the major concepts attributed to Hinduism such as karma, avatara, samsara and moksha.

Both this interpretation and the one held by Gandhi may well owe their doctrinal orientation to the West's understanding of the nature of 'religion', and to its historical relationship with the Indian subcontinent. This influence is vigorously resisted by Chaudhuri (1980) who alternatively stresses the practical worldliness of Hinduism, the indivisibility of the religious and the secular, and the sheer diversity and complexity of the tradition. While seeing Hinduism as 'a human phenomenon of immense magnitude' (Chaudhuri, 1980, p.1), he acknowledges in particular its behavioural and social dimensions.

The formulas and themes used by these commentators in consideration of the nature of the religious tradition of their country relate in each case to several of the four dimensions mentioned above. At the same time there is a marked tendency towards inclusivism: 'in Hinduism no aspect of life is fully separated from any other' (Chaudhuri, 1980, p.17); Hinduism is 'a way of life' (Radhakrishnan, 1964, p.55); and 'sanatana dharma pervades and permeates every branch and department of life' (Leeds Hindu Temple, n.d., p.1). It is perhaps understandable, given the view expressed here that the Indian way of life and Indian religion are integral, that certain commentators have seen Hinduism as inseparable from its homeland. This is reinforced by Chaudhuri who stated that since Indians 'could never in any aspect of their life be separated from their religion the word 'Hindu' became religious, and the national identity became the same as adherence to a religion' (1980, p.24). If this is the case does Hinduism have any meaning beyond 'the true nationalism of the country' (Chaudhuri, 1980, p.24)? Can it operate in a different location?
It has been suggested that only if the term Hinduism is re-defined to apply to aspects of tradition other than those related to the Indian caste system the social dimension of Hinduism can be said to have meaning outside the sub-continent. One commentator, for example, has called Hinduism an 'ethnic religion' on the grounds that it has been decreed that Hindus cannot be allowed to move abroad because of their social roles, and obligations to the caste system. Added to this, they have shown no past interest in proselytising, in universalising their religious message. As a result Hinduism is not found outside India (Sopher, 1967, p.6). Another scholar, while recognising that this is not an entirely accurate characterisation of the state of modern Hinduism, nevertheless views one recent change - the contemporary popularisation by Hindus of aspects of their spiritual and intellectual tradition both at home and abroad - as a reaffirmation of a few selected elements of tradition rather than a reinterpretation of the Hindu religion as a whole (Saran, 1969). He appears unwilling to confer on modern Indian spirituality the status of a genuine religious message. In a sense, then, both these commentators are denying the authenticity of the exported forms of Hinduism.

Both approaches, however, fail to acknowledge the importance of the process and effect of religious and social change in India, and of the degree to which Indians have been affected by events and developments elsewhere. Neither recognises the additional, and nonetheless important, dimension of religious dynamism or change through which developments in belief, practice, experience and their social contexts can be understood. Since religion is subject to the passage of time religious leaders and believers are forced to respond to ever-lengthening perspectives. In particular the transmission of religion from one culture to another whether geographically or chronologically means that new cultural elements are introduced to the tradition and new demands are made upon it. (Pye, 1979, p.17)

Indian Hindus have moved abroad irrespective of caste relationships and caste decrees, and in their new locations they have sought to practice their religion, to pass on traditional myths and concepts to their offspring, and to continue to relate to one another through the system of caste. In addition, many contemporary religious leaders have been concerned to universalise the Hindu message, and many Westerners have responded by showing both an intellectual and personal interest. These forms are both seen as valid expressions of Hinduism by Hindus themselves: Hindus living in India do not cast out...
those who move abroad, and those Hindus who live abroad often see members of Western neo-Hindu groups as legitimate exponents of tradition.

It is only to be expected that changes such as these will take place over the passage of time. If however it is assumed that such changes represent alternatives to or deviations from the religious tradition rather than new interpretations of it, then the continuity of concepts and practices, experiences, and, in many cases, social forms will be ignored and eventually forgotten. By contrast, it is to be argued here that one should seriously entertain the possibility that both the religion of Indian Hindus abroad and of Western Hindu-related groups are legitimate forms of traditional Hinduism which have been given a particular impetus and form by the novel circumstances of their social, historical and geographical location.

The legitimacy of the forms of Hinduism abroad is a subject that may well be open to some debate, but there is certainly no doubt that the concepts and practices of the Hindu tradition are to be found in Britain. Indian Hindu males began to enter the country in the post-war period in search of lucrative employment through which to supplement family incomes back home. They were joined by their wives and children in the 1960s. Although both Punjabi and Gujarati Hindus (and some professionals from other parts of India) were represented in this population, Gujarati numbers increased greatly in the late 1960s and early 1970s with the influx of East African Asians forced to leave first Kenya and Tanzania, and then Uganda. By 1977 there were approximately three hundred and seven thousand Hindus in the United Kingdom, the majority of whom were Gujarati (70%), and the remainder Punjabi (15%) and 'Other Indian' (15%) (Knott and Toon, 1980, 1982; Knott, 1981). The origins, settlement history and lifestyles of these Hindus will be discussed in detail in relation to the Leeds population in Chapter 1. This particular community, however, has similarities with communities in other British cities in terms of its ethnic and caste composition, beliefs and practices, values and attitudes.

In the early accounts of South Asian settlement in the United Kingdom it was assumed that, unlike Sikhs and Muslims, Hindus did not establish places of worship here, and, in general, left the duties and practices of their faith to their relatives in India (Decal, 1963; Rex and Moore, 1967; Rose, 1969; Gay, 1971). Until the late 1960s this was an accurate assessment of a situation brought about by internal religious expectations and requirements, the small size of the Hindu population in this country at that time, and its ethnic and caste divisions.
During the sixties small groups began to meet in people's homes, and cultural societies began to be formed. It was groups like these that preceded the formation of organised temple trusts and bodies. The first temple was opened in Leicester in 1969, and by 1979 there was a total of at least ninety four temples throughout the country. This figure included only the larger places of worship. In addition there were also a number of small temples situated in private homes but open to the public. There were song and dance groups, discussion groups, youth organisations, caste associations and so on. A great number of Hindus also had small mandirs in their own homes at which they performed daily worship to the family deity.

Thus, in the late sixties and early seventies, when Hindu women and children from India and East African Asians entered the country, Hinduism began to be practised in a variety of locations. Contemporaneous with this development was the establishment and growth of a number of Hindu-related groups in this country. Although an interest in the concepts and pursuits of Hinduism had been shown among a social and intellectual elite earlier in the century it was not until the 1970s that such a phenomenon became associated with serious cultural and social change. Both here and in the United States these groups have since been seen as part of what has been described as 'the cultic milieu', 'the counter culture' and the alternative society'. They received their initial impetus from young people who were attracted to the paths of enlightenment, the possibility of self-transcendence, the techniques for personal improvement, and the novel cosmological and philosophical interpretations they offered.

Generally these Hindu-related groups, of which there were about twenty five in Britain in 1976, had a central London headquarters and additional branches or centres in towns and cities elsewhere in the country. Although not all of these groups were founded as recently as the 1970s, most tended to attract young white people from educated, middle-class backgrounds. Since then, however, as a number of the groups have become more firmly established, and the original location and membership patterns have become less rigid, some groups have decentralised, have chosen rural settings, and have become more attractive to people from different age groups and social backgrounds.

Despite the large scale media coverage which has provided the public with information about Hindu-related groups (and other new religious movements) the number of adherents is,
in fact, small. TM has had the largest impact in this country, and has had approximately ninety thousand people pass through its meditation course. This group, however, demands far less of those who show an interest in it than the majority of Hindu-related groups do. Most of the 'total commitment' groups have a very small membership. In addition, a substantial number of adherents of all the groups, irrespective of the nature of the demands made of them, leave the group or discontinue the practices they have learnt. However, those who remain often become active members, working hard in the service of the group, even rearing their children in its principles and practices.

Members of Hindu-related groups do not recognise themselves as 'Hindus' but as 'Raja Yogi's', 'members of the Ramakrishna Order', 'Divine Light Premis', 'Ananda Margiis' and so on. Each has been offered a Hindu message, generally pertaining to paths of spiritual progress or to aspects of Indian philosophy. The groups present this message either in a framework influenced by Indian society and culture, or in a Western context. Essentially, they are choosing aspects of traditional Hinduism which have been revived and restored in the modern period in India, and which have a value for those in the West who are seeking to find meaning in alternative ways of being.

This form of expression tends to focus on some of the 'conceptual' and 'psychological' aspects of the Hindu tradition, stressing karma and the paths to liberation, the Hindu doctrines of the self and God, and dhyana (contemplation) and samadhi (meditation). In 'sanatana dharma' or the Hinduism of the Indian population in Britain, although concepts and experiences are acknowledged, it is the social and behavioural dimensions which appear to be of most importance. Hindus have attempted, as far as possible, to continue to perform the practices and maintain the relationships which they were accustomed to in India and East Africa. Nevertheless, the new context has challenged them to reinterpret and reorder their traditions. Their reinterpretation is organised to suit a growing sense of their separate identity inspired by an awareness of religious and cultural pluralism within British society. The religion of Indian Hindus in Britain might best be described as an intensification of Hinduism as an 'ethnic religion' (Sopher, 1967), albeit an 'ethnic religion' removed from its original geographical and social location. This intensification is complex as it constitutes both a process of religious standardisation, and a coterminous awareness of internal ethnic - social, religious and cultural - differences. The results of this process of change may well appear to have many similarities with the way
of life of Hindus in India, but the differences which do exist are indicative of the emergence of a new form of British Hinduism. This new form is related to, but not identical to, modern forms of Hinduism in India.

Several general questions will be considered in this study in relation to the Indian Hindu population and Hindu-related organisations in Leeds. How do the two broad groups perceive themselves, and how do they choose to present themselves to others? What is the nature of the religious beliefs and practices sustained by the two groups? The particular focus for an examination of these questions will be the behavioural dimension. This dimension not only corresponds more closely than the others to contemporary definitions of 'dharma', but provides a vehicle for the discussion of some aspects of the other dimensions. Religious practices, for example, bring together specialists and participants whose roles and actions are determined by their socio-religious position and their personal 'dharma' or duty. They offer participants an opportunity for different types of experience, and they encapsulate traditional concepts, doctrines and values.

Prior to this examination it is necessary to provide some information on the demography and the social composition of these religious groups. In Chapter 1 this information is outlined for the Gujarati and Punjabi population in Leeds. The population statistics and settlement patterns for this group are considered, and material is provided on the identity and group identification of its members. The ethnic and caste composition of the Hindu population is also discussed in some detail in this chapter. In Chapter 2 the role of the Leeds temple and the religious attitudes of its leaders are examined. The temple's history is recounted, and its layout is described. An account is then given of the views and attitudes of local people to the Hindu religion and its representative institution, the Leeds temple. Chapters 3 and 4 discuss various aspects of religious practice at the temple: the first proposes a theoretical model and examines its application to Hindu ritual, and the second considers two regular temple services, Arti and Havan. A religious calendar of events for the Hindu year 2035, provided in Appendix C, is of related interest to the discussion of temple religion.

The discussion of India, Hinduism in the city is concluded in Chapter 5 with a consideration of religio-cultural interest groups and domestic religion. Religious practice again provides the focus for this discussion of the other forms of organised and unorganised Hinduism in the city. Chapters 6 and 7 are
concerned not with Indian Hindus but with the members of the various Hindu-related groups in Leeds. These groups, many of which grew up in the last twenty years, have combined aspects of Hindu tradition with a general dissatisfaction with contemporary Western institutions and ways of life. In Chapter 6, the beliefs and practices of the groups are described, and, in Chapter 7, two groups in particular are considered. In this last chapter the meditational practices of TM and Raja Yoga are described and discussed with reference to the theoretical model outlined in Chapter 3. The account of Hinduism in the city is then concluded with a final summary of its two general forms.

The final consideration concerns the utilisation by the two broad groups - the Indian Hindu population and the members of Hindu-related groups - of aspects of Hindu tradition. They are concerned not just to mimic tradition but to transform it to suit its new location, and to serve the needs of those who follow it.
I
The Indian Hindu Population in Leeds:
Composition and Structure

The majority of the people in Leeds who might call themselves 'Hindu' are from the Indian sub-continent or have Indian identity. They belong to one of several ethnic groups defined according to regional, linguistic and cultural patterns. These Indian Hindus are the subject of the first five chapters in which a portrait of their religion and its social context will be drawn. The aim of this chapter is to discover a useful categorisation for Indian Hindus, through which their thoughts and feelings, about themselves as individuals, as members of a general religio-ethnic group, and as adherents of particular interest groups, can be examined. This will form the background for a discussion in the following chapters of the meaning and function of their religious organisations, and the practices they prescribe. The composition of the Indian Hindu population in Leeds will be portrayed through a statistical analysis, a discussion of settlement patterns, and of the identity of the individuals who make up this population, and an examination of their allegiance to and identification with cultural and religious subgroups.

The statistical analysis is designed to show the size, ethnic composition and areas of residence of the group. This will be followed by a brief examination of 'identity', with reference to biographical information about Leeds Hindus. Through an exploration of the various aspects of identity comments can be made on the nature of the group as a whole. Following this, a study of their patterns of identification will show how the various features of identity are used by members of this group. It is interesting to see, for example, which characteristics, such as caste and age, are deemed sufficiently important to act as the central focii for subgroup identity, and which are able to appeal to Hindus as the basis for their own subgroup affiliation. In conclusion, the terms 'ethnicity' and 'community' will be examined in relation to the Indian Hindu population as a whole. Do the Hindus appear to be a homogeneous and cohesive group? If so, is this an
accurate assessment of their internal relationships, or are they, in fact, only loosely linked to one another by their common religious identity?

1.1 STATISTICS

At the end of the Introduction a brief outline was presented of Hinduism in Britain. It was estimated that there were, in 1978, approximately 307,000 Indian Hindus here, settled in major industrial cities. Preliminary studies have been published featuring caste, religion or ethnicity as a central feature. These works, small in number, have concentrated on the major group, Gujarati Hindus, and have largely ignored smaller groups of Punjabis, Maharastrians or other Indian regional populations.

This bias is reflected in the composition of the Leeds group. Most of the Indian Hindus in this area are Gujarati by birth or affiliation, although there are also a fairly large number of Punjabi Hindus and a small proportion of students and people in the Medical professions from other parts of India. Leeds also has a large Punjabi Sikh population, and Muslims from both Pakistan and Bangladesh. There is some speculation about the relative numbers of people in these religious groups in and around the city.

There are a number of difficulties encountered in a statistical analysis for the following reasons. First, there may be an incompatibility between the group's own estimate of its size, and the estimates by less 'interested' parties. Secondly, a problem arises in attempting to compare estimates based on 'number of households or families', 'number of temple adherents' and 'number of community members'. Thirdly, the administrative alteration in 1974, which led to the 'Leeds County Borough' giving way to the 'Leeds Metropolitan District', resulted in there being an extra 250,000 people in the Leeds Census division. Finally, problems are created by the total, inadequacy of relevant information available for assessment.¹

The problem of the size of these religious groups can be approached in several different ways. The religious groups themselves can estimate their own numbers, other interested groups such as the Council for Community Relations or Social Services can produce figures, the Census figures can be considered, or other research statistics can be employed. For Leeds, all of these sources can be taken into consideration, but none of them provides an accurate statistical portrait of the South Asian population as a whole. As a consequence,
it has been considered necessary to calculate the figures for this population in a way that bears most relevance to the particular questions of religion and ethnicity.

Before assessing these figures, it is interesting to note the estimates provided by just two of the agencies mentioned above, the religious groups themselves and the Leeds Council for Community Relations. (Census figures and population projections for Asians in Leeds are presented in Appendix A.) With regard to the first of these, it is important to bear in mind two factors. First, there may well be differences between an expression of size in terms of 'the community', the membership of the place of worship, and the number of its regular religious adherents. For example, if the Hindu Pandit or priest estimates the number of Hindu households, does he mean those he serves as domestic priest, those on the list of temple members or those which constitute the religious community? Secondly, it is necessary to be aware that a group may wish, for a variety of reasons, to give the impression to the indigenous majority that it is either larger or smaller than in fact it is. Thirdly, it is difficult to know what geographical area is described by the use of the term 'Leeds' or the phrase 'the Leeds area'. It is impossible to compensate statistically for these factors, but it is important to remember the effect they may have on the figures provided.

**Hindus** In 1977 the local full-time priest suggested that Leeds had four hundred families but that there were a further sixty in the Wakefield and Batley area, fifty in Huddersfield and three to four hundred in Bradford. In 1980 a temple committee member estimated that there were about three hundred families 'on the books' and a further two hundred unregistered by the temple but living in the Leeds area. Neither commented on the size of the other South Asian religious groups.

**Sikhs** The Sikh Information Officer estimated in 1978 that there were approximately five thousand Sikhs in Leeds. He also made no estimates for the other groups.

**Muslims** There are a variety of problems encountered in estimating the Muslim population of Leeds because of its mixed composition of Bangladeshis and Pakistanis as well as a large number of Middle Eastern university and college students. Muslim Leaders therefore have declined the task of assessing its size.
In 1978 the following figures for South Asians were given by the Asian Officer at the Leeds Council for Community Relations:

- Hindus ........................................... 4,000
- Muslims Pakistani ...................... 4,500
- Bangladeshis ......................... 1,000
- Sikhs .............................................. 5,000

**TABLE 1.1 Estimates for religious group size by Leeds Council for Community Relations**

Many of the same variables mentioned in relation to the group's estimates must be considered in assessing the accuracy of these figures. It is also important to note that while the Hindu and Sikh statistics are estimated according to religious community size, the Muslim figure is estimated on religio-ethnic group size but fails to take into consideration Middle Eastern Muslim students from Iran, Turkey, Jordan, Saudi Arabia and so on.

In addition to these two approaches to South Asian statistical analysis, there are population figures from the 1971 Census and research projections that bear some relation to this question. These figures are of limited use in this subject area, however, because of the strict relationship they bear to the analysis of nationality and birthplace rather than religion or ethnicity. The relevant tables are set out in Appendix A for the purpose of comparison.

To collect an accurate and relevant body of statistics on Indians in Leeds it was necessary to utilise the electoral roll, and to enumerate and categorise families according to their surnames. Using this form of analysis, it was possible to establish for the Hindus and Sikhs - but not for the Muslims, whose names do not indicate ethnic identity - their religion, social position and place of origin, often down to their home village or town.

In the past, however, the electoral register has been felt to be inaccurate by a number of fieldworkers who have declined to use it as a national or regional list of residents or as a sampling frame for research work. The Electoral Registration Officer for the Leeds Metropolitan District claims, however, that the register is 95% accurate at the date of qualification. Not only do the office send out forms to
individual households, they make up to six visits to the homes of non-respondents. In his opinion, the Indian population 'has nothing to hide', and is concerned to be law-abiding. In terms of registration returns, these considerations probably balance against those related to possible language problems.

In addition, the accuracy of the register has been academically verified. Gray and Gee (Moser and Kalton, 1971) in 1967 showed the national list to be 96% accurate on the qualifying date, although it became increasingly inaccurate with the passage of time. Only 4% of people failed to have their names on the register. Of this percentage a large number were under thirty years old, many not included by heads of household because of some confusion about the eligibility of youths under the voting age at the qualifying date, and some missed because they were moving home at the time. As the electoral roll is inaccurate to only 4% or 5%, and as there is no particular reason to suppose that Indians figure more highly than other groups in this percentage, no further qualifications need to be considered.\(^3\)

The following statistics, then, are the result of an analysis of _The Draft Register of Electors_ dated 10 October 1979 (Table 1.2). The register is for all wards in the Metropolitan District, but for the purpose of this study only the 'Leeds City' wards have been analysed.\(^4\) The wards correspond to the pre-1974 Leeds County Borough Boundary.

The electoral register represents a comprehensive list of all people aged seventeen and over who will be eligible to vote the following year. The names are recorded by address, and it is therefore possible to assess both the approximate number of households, and the approximate number of people aged seventeen and over for any particular group. Table 1.2 shows that in Leeds City there are about 1,400 Indian households. Assuming that the 'Hindu population of Leeds' includes Gujarati and Punjabi Hindus, and all 'Other Indian' families, it is possible to see that there is a total of 564 Hindu and 818 Sikh households.\(^5\) Below these figures the table shows a total of 1,618 Hindus (39%) and 2,563 Sikhs (61%) eligible to vote. An alternative formulation, the significance of which will become apparent later in the chapter, is by ethnicity, in this case, Gujarati, Punjabi and Other Indian.\(^6\) This formulation gives totals of 289 Gujarati, 986 Punjabi and 107 Other Indian households or of 918 Gujaratis (22%), 3,062 Punjabis (73%) and 201 Other Indians (5%) in the seventeen-plus age group (Appendix B).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total Gujarati</th>
<th>Total Punjabi</th>
<th>Punjabi Sikh</th>
<th>Punjabi Hindu</th>
<th>Other Indian</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Total Hindu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of Households</td>
<td>289</td>
<td>986</td>
<td>818</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>1,382</td>
<td>364</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Households [%]</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individuals over 16 years</td>
<td>918</td>
<td>1,062</td>
<td>2,363</td>
<td>499</td>
<td>201</td>
<td>4,181</td>
<td>1,618</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individuals [%]</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE 1.2**  Population figures based on the 1979 Electoral Register
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total Gujarati</th>
<th>Total Punjabi</th>
<th>Punjabi Sikh</th>
<th>Punjabi Hindu</th>
<th>Other Indian</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Total Hindu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total population</td>
<td>1,415</td>
<td>4,695</td>
<td>3,924</td>
<td>772</td>
<td>322</td>
<td>6,432</td>
<td>2,508</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total population [%]</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE 1.2** Estimates of total Indian population size

NB These total population figures are based on King's (1977) assessment of Indian population composition. The total of 6,432 was used as the base figure from which the other estimates were calculated.
Having calculated these figures for the over-sixteens it is necessary to calculate and add an estimated number of people under the age of seventeen in order to have some idea of the total population size. As children and young people under seventeen make up about 35% of the British Indian population we have a total figure for the city of 6,432 Indians. This estimate is tabulated in Table 1.3. This table shows a Hindu population of 2,508 and a Sikh population of 3,924. These figures are substantially lower than the estimates of the Council for Community Relations and have a higher degree of accuracy. The Hindus most recent estimate of the number of Hindu families (500) in the city supports the figures presented in this analysis.

1.2 SETTLEMENT PATTERN

In most accounts of ethnicity in the urban situation there is some discussion of settlement patterns. Although settlement is dictated by house prices, house types, house classes and mortgage availability perhaps the single most influential factor for the non-indigenous individual in deciding where to live is the whereabouts of his or her relatives, friends, and fellows from the same linguistic and cultural group.

An examination of the Leeds electoral roll clearly shows that Indian settlement is higher in some areas of the city than others. In particular, it is high in the Victorian 'Inner City' which includes areas such as South Headingley, Burley, Chapeltown, Harehills and Beeston (Wards 12, 14, 4, 9, 2 and 7) (Map 1.1; Figure 1.1). However, where it is highest, in the Harehills and Roundhay ward (see Table 1.4 for ward names and numbers) it accounts for only 4.7% of the total ward population. (This percentage does not include Pakistanis, Bangladeshis or West Indians who are also resident in large numbers in this area.) The Indian settlement in the city is determined more by ethnic than 'national' or 'race' boundaries. As can be seen from Figure 1.2, Gujarati settlement is concentrated in Leeds 4 and Leeds 6, Burley and South Headingley, while Punjabi settlement, largely Sikh, is concentrated in Leeds 7 and Leeds 8, in Chapeltown and Harehills. Within these areas, settlement has occurred in 'neighbourhood' patterns. This means that Gujaratis and Punjabis are found in particular complexes of streets. These streets are generally comprised of Victorian or post-Victorian terraced housing as opposed to newer private or council housing. In Leeds 7, for example, one of the neighbourhoods settled by Punjabis is the 'St. Martin's area' behind, and to the north of, the Sikh gurdwara on Chapeltown Road.
FIGURE 1.1 Leeds Electoral Wards 1979: Indians as a percentage of the total ward population.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ward No.</th>
<th>Ward Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Armley and Castleton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Beeston and Holbeck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Burmantofts and Richmond Hill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Chapel Allerton and Scott Hall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>City and Woodhouse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Cookridge and Weetwood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>East Hunslet and West Hunslet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Gipton and Whinmoor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Harehills and Roundhay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Bramley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Halton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Headingley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Kirkstall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Burley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Middleton</td>
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<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Moortown</td>
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<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Osmondthorpe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Seacroft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Stanningley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Talbot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Wortley</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE 1.4** Ward Names used in Draft Electoral Register for 1979
FIGURE 1.2 Leeds Electoral Wards 1972: Gujarati and Punjabi households in selected wards
Similar neighbourhoods, as Map 1.2 shows, can be designated for other Gujarati or Punjabi groups of residents within the main areas of settlement.

There is also some settlement in other Leeds areas. Armley and Beeston in the South, and Headingley, Lawnswood and Moortown in the North have small but significant numbers of Indian residents. Although no detailed work has been done from the electoral roll on Muslim settlement because of the complex ethnic composition of the group, it is possible to say that large numbers live in the Leeds 7 and Leeds 8 area, and, to a lesser extent, in Burley and Beeston.

The Hindu group, as has been mentioned, is comprised of Gujarati and Punjabi people with a small number of 'Other Indians'. The Hindu temple members list for 1978 shows a membership composed entirely of Gujaratis and Punjabis. The membership maps, 1.3 and 1.4, show that, although a large proportion are settled in Leeds 4 and Leeds 6, near the temple itself, a sizeable number come from Leeds 7 and Leeds 8, a lesser number from the outlying districts of Leeds, and the rest from the greater Yorkshire area. Members in Leeds 4 and Leeds 6 are mainly Gujarati, while many from Leeds 7 and Leeds 8 are Punjabi (Figure 1.3).

The places of worship provided by and for South Asian groups correspond largely to this settlement pattern (Map 1.5). Both permanent Hindu temples are in the Burley and South Headingley areas. The large gurdwara is in Leeds 7 and another has recently been opened in Armley. The mosques are spread throughout the inner City but also correspond to settlement and demand. In addition to these, Bradford has three Hindu places of worship, at least two gurdwaras and a number of mosques. There are also temples, gurdwaras and mosques in other West Yorkshire towns and cities with large South Asian populations.

In conclusion, Hindus in Leeds have settled along Indian state lines, Gujaratis in Leeds 4 and Leeds 6, Punjabis in Leeds 7 and Leeds 8, with smaller numbers from both groups in many other Leeds areas. There is one major temple for Hindus in the Gujarati settlement area. As this temple boasts the only permanent full time priest or Pandit in West Yorkshire it attracts Hindus from all states, from all over the surrounding area, from as far away as York, Scarborough and Harrogate. Some Leeds Hindus, particularly the Punjabis, attend worship at the Bradford temples, and some Bradford Hindus, with relatives in Leeds, attend the Leeds one. Most Yorkshire
MAP 1.2 Leeds electoral wards 1972:  
Indian neighbourhoods:
A Tinshill (mixed)  
B Headingley (Gujarati)  
C South Headingley and Burley (Gujarati)  
D Armley (mixed)  
E Beeston (mixed)  
F Chapeltown and Harehills (Punjabi)
FIGURE 1.2 Leeds Electoral Wards 1979: Gujarati and Punjabi households in selected wards
MAP 1.5 South Asian religious institutions in Leeds

1. Hindu temple, Leeds 6
2. Satya Sai Baba Mandal (1979), Leeds 4
3. Sikh gurdwara, Leeds 7
5. Islamic centre, Leeds 7
6. Jinnah mosque, Leeds 7
7. Abu Bakr mosque (1980), Leeds 2
8. Muslim council, Leeds 6
9. Satya Sai Baba Mandal, Leeds 12
10. Mataji's mandir, Leeds 6
Hindus, however, retain some link with the Leeds temple in order to make use of the services of the full-time priest for birth, marriage and death rites.

1.3 IDENTITY

Having estimated the size of the Hindu population, and briefly assessed its ethnic composition and settlement patterns, it is necessary to move on to a discussion of more specific questions about the nature or identity of this group. Any examination of personal identity would be expected to portray biographical information such as name, age, sex, place of birth, ethnicity, social class and religion. The value of such data for this study is that the information proffered by individuals, when analysed, may form patterns or display trends from which speculative generalisations of the group as a whole, or of sections of the group, can be made. Such generalisations, apart from being interesting in their own right, are important for two reasons. First, because they may be sufficiently important to explain the formation of the small interest groups to which the individuals may belong. Secondly, because they show the religious factor in perspective with other features of identity such as caste and ethnicity.

Identity refers to who or what a person is. It is something we construct through our interactions with others. It could be said that identity is the series of categories by which we identify ourselves and others, and by which others identify us. It has been said that ‘identity may best be understood if it is viewed first as a higher order concept, i.e. a general organising referent which includes a number of subsidiary facets’ (Dashefsky, 1972, p.240). These facts or categories would include age, class, occupation and so on. Social roles are included but, generally speaking, feelings, sensations or states of mind, which are largely impermanent and unknowable to others, are not. Identity, then, concerns features which have at least some element of permanence, and which are known by a person through his or her self-perceptions and interactions with others. Identity might generally be said to concern answers to the autological question 'who am I?'.

Identity and identification are related concepts which refer to individuals and groups. They influence each other, but it is impossible to say which is logically foremost in a person's self-understanding: identity, those categories which make up who or what a person is, or identification, those ways of being, values or organisations with which a person chooses to identify. This problem is exacerbated by the fact
that identification seems to refer to two processes. First, it relates to the act of identifying a person or group, or mentally assigning them to a position, category or set, and secondly, to the practice of allying oneself to a group or organisation. These two meanings correspond to what Stone (1961) classified as 'identification of' and 'identification with' persons or groups. It is the process of 'identification with' lifestyles or interest groups that is the major concern here.

The patterns of identity, and of identification with small social groups of the Hindus in Leeds have been researched informally in this study. It has been assumed that such patterns would include information on age, sex, occupation, caste or class, religion, political persuasion and education. In consequence a general portrait of these areas has been drawn for this population.

The first category of data concerning identity includes details which relate to personal information such as name, age and sex. The 'names' of Indians, for example, inform us about their state of birth, religion and caste. These features will be discussed in the context of ethnic information. 'Age' and 'sex' however are important in their own right as features of identity.

Popular Hinduism provides its own answers to autological questions. It presents a system which tells individuals about their roles according to their stage of life and social position (varnashramadharma). This system continues to operate in British Hinduism: Hindus are particularly aware of their caste allegiance (varna and jati), and, to a lesser extent, of their ashrama or life-stage. Varna and jati will be discussed later with the other aspects of ethnic information. Ashrama, however, is worthy of some consideration here. In theory, the four stages of life, though not obligatory, provide guidelines on the duties and obligations of individuals according to their age. Both here and in India, it is the stage of the grhastha or householder that is of most importance to ordinary people. It is at this stage, rather than the ascetic stages (brahmachari, vanaprastha and sannyasi) that the social and religious obligations to deities and ancestors come into operation. These include temple worship, the enactment of life-cycle rites for family members, domestic religion, pilgrimage, familial responsibilities, provision of food for ascetics and so on. Obviously the responsibilities of the householder have altered in the transplantation of Hinduism to a new location. They are nevertheless present in the British
community, and are carried out as far as possible in a traditional manner. The other stages, however, have become less important: children go to school but not to a guru, and older people internalise the later ascetic stages. They remain in the family but are said 'to think of God'.

The system of *varnashramadharma* continues to inform people of the behavioural norms of Hinduism. These, however, have to fit in with the expectations of the host society concerning age and stage of life categories. Children, for example, are expected to go to school until the age of sixteen, and old people can retire at sixty or sixty five. There are facilities, and benefits for the young and old. These aspects do not necessarily support the classical stages of *ashramas*: young people in the host society are not always encouraged to be dutiful in the family, and old people are not automatically treated with the respect given to them in India after they have finished exercising their domestic duties. Thus, although the stages often conflict, an attempt is made to retain the traditional system as it is generally felt to be superior to the Western alternative.

In the 1960s, it was possible to speak of a dominant adult male Asian population. Since that time women and children have come from India and Africa and children have been born here to Indian families. There are people of all ages and both sexes in the Hindu population. Although a fairly high fertility rate has meant a high percentage of children in this group, the rate is falling and is now likely to be much the same as the rate for the indigenous population. Men outnumber women but not to an excessive degree.

'Age' and 'gender' though essential aspects of one's self-portrait, are not of equal importance to all people. Young people, for example, feel strongly about their age group, like to mix with others of the same group to the exclusion of other people, and make a feature of age-group interests. The gender category, particularly amongst women is increasingly becoming a feature of identity in the population as a whole, although whether or not this is the case for the Hindu population remains to be seen.

Ethnic information is also important in the self-understanding of Hindus. Although most South Asians are caucasian, racism and racialism nevertheless play a part in determining their degree of participation in British society. Indians reluctantly identify to some degree with the terms 'Asian', 'Paki', 'black' and 'coloured' as well as other less polite terms. At more
subjective levels the reference group 'Indian', the country of birth category, is of little significance to them.

Of far greater importance is 'state of birth' or 'ethnic identity'. In India language and culture, by and large, are regionally defined. In any study of Hindus in Britain the focus of attention is on people from North and West India, from the states of the Punjab and Gujarat. The analysis of the Leeds electoral register showed that there were approximately two thousand five hundred Hindus in the city. These are mostly Gujarati (57%) and to a lesser extent Punjabi (31%) and Other Indian (12%) (Table 1.3). Because very little is known as yet about the mixed population from the other Indian states, and as none of these people are registered temple members, or have formed any representative sub-groups of their own, they unfortunately must be ignored in this study.

The two main groups, the Gujaratis and Punjabis, are linguistically and culturally distinct although they are both defined religiously as Hindus. Punjabis speak Punjabi, Urdu and some Hindi. Gujaratis speak Gujarati and Hindi. The two groups communicate through the common language, Hindi. They have different cultural habits. They eat different food, many Punjabis being meat eaters and many Gujaratis vegetarians. High caste Gujaratis do not eat garlic, onions, meat, fish, eggs or hot spices. Most Indian men dress in a western style for work although at home many of them wear dhotis. Indian women have retained traditional dress: most wear the sari, although many Punjabi women wear shalwarkameez. Both groups have their own distinctive styles of singing and dancing. Many Punjabi men drink and smoke openly in pubs and at home; the majority of Gujaratis do not. Punjabi Hindus and Sikhs may intermarry within the same caste, but Gujaratis marry strictly according to ethnicity, religion and caste. Generally, Gujarati women spend longer in devotional worship than Punjabi women. The state groups are also religiously different in a number of ways. This will be discussed at length in later chapters.

Both ethnic groups have stereotyped attitudes about both their own group and the other group. Punjabis think Gujaratis are smug about their religiosity. They think they are unfriendly, suspicious of one another and of outsiders, and they think that they do not know how to enjoy themselves. Punjabi men think of themselves as hot-tempered, fiery, and funloving. When they acknowledge them as Hindus at all, Gujaratis think Punjabis are immoral and poor representatives of their faith. They think of themselves as morally good, devout, competitive
and wily. Both groups think of themselves as close family and home-loving groups, as people who support their own kin, and lavish time on their children. Neither would credit the other with this virtue. This bantering continues in fairly good spirits in much the same way as it does amongst friendship and kin groups in the indigenous population.

These differences have been influential on the Hindu population in Leeds. Because of the system of patronage that existed from the earliest period of settlement, Punjabis and Gujaratis have settled with friends, relatives and common language speakers. Punjabi Hindus have come to settle, not with Gujarati Hindus but with culturally similar though religiously different Punjabi Sikhs with whom they eat, socialise and sometimes inter-marry, and although some Gujarati families have settled in more outlying Leeds areas like Adel, Beeston and Armley most of them have settled in about sixty streets in Leeds 4 and Leeds 6, with only a few dozen families living in the intensive Punjabi residential areas of Chapeltown and Harehills (Figure 1.2; Figure 1.3).

Having mentioned the differences between these two ethnic enclaves it is important to look in more detail at their settlement background. Map 1.6 shows the two states of the Punjab and Gujarat, and Map 1.7 the major areas from which immigrants have come within these states. Many Leeds Punjabi Hindus have relatives in Delhi, and lived there themselves before coming to this country. The older ones were not born in Delhi but moved there with parents and relatives after the partition of India and Pakistan in 1947. Before this they had lived in the area now known as Pakistan. Some of these people settled temporarily in Jullunder district before going to Delhi, others moved directly to the capital. Other Leeds Punjabi Hindus came directly from Jullunder and Ludhiana although many only settled there in 1947. The majority of Punjabi Hindus did not migrate to East Africa but came straight to Leeds, some as early as the first half of the 1950s.

Gujarati Hindus came originally from three areas (Map 1.7; Map 1.8), from the far west of Gujarat, known as Saurashtra, from 'Charotar' region (Kaira District) in Central Gujarat, and from the southern part of the state. Although there are people here from Porbandar and Rajkot in the West, and from the cities of Ahmadabad and Baroda (Vadodara) and surrounding central areas, most Leeds Gujaratis are from the South, from villages in Surat district (Map 1.8). Due to the tradition of migration from Gujarat to Africa, and recent trends in industrialisation and urbanisation many people left to settle
in East Africa. Gujaratis have settled in Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania, Zambia and Zanzibar (Map 1.9). Most of the Gujaratis in Leeds are from Kenya with a smaller number from other East African states. For example, of the Mochi or shoemakers caste group, which accounts for 43% of all Leeds Gujaratis and is one of the largest jatis in the city, 75% are from Kenya and only just over 5% from Uganda.\footnote{13}

Some Gujaratis came directly to Leeds from India, a few as early as the late 1950s. Most came from East Africa in the late 1960s and early seventies, pressurised to leave by African nationalist policies. Wives, children and other relatives have joined families already settled here over the last twenty years. Many Gujaratis have followed very similar patterns of chain-migration, coming from the same Indian village, settling in the same African town and living in nearby streets in Leeds. There are, for example, shoemaker families with the same surname, from the same village in South Gujarat, who all settled in Mombasa and then came to Leeds. Four 'Parmar' (Mochi) families from Khaparia in South Gujarat, settled in the same African town and then in South Leeds, in Hunslet and Beeston.

Because of their migration history many immigrants are accustomed to resettlement and upheaval. They have already experienced different educational systems, political and commercial frameworks and urban situations. It is thus important to be aware not only of the influence on life in this country of Indian traditions but also of the way in which these traditions were either abandoned or reinforced by Asian minority groups in East Africa.

Another aspect of ethnic identity is caste. In much of the literature on Hinduism and India it is varna rather than jati which is discussed. The four broad social groups (varna) and the duties and rituals which are related to them are considered in some detail while the small occupational subgroups (jati) are often neglected. Few people in Britain, therefore, have a realistic knowledge of the Indian social system. The problems this brings about in the relationship between local Hindus and the indigenous majority are further compounded by the disparaging attitude the British took to the caste system in the nineteenth century which greatly influenced the thinking of many contemporaneous Indian social and religious reform groups. Despite the attitudes and fears engendered by these influences caste in general (varna and jati) is still important as a means by which Hindus are able to understand their own social position, to know how to interact with acquaintances and neighbours, and to practise their social obligations.
MAP 1.8 Areas of origin 3:
South Gujarat
It is not the four varnas but the castes or jatis (Gujarati gnatis) which are the significant social categories both in India and in this country.\textsuperscript{14} Although broadly the same caste groups are found all over India, it is the regional caste framework rather than the national system which informs people of their status (Mayer, 1960). A carpenter, for example, may rank fairly highly in one Indian village and much lower in another several hundred miles away. It is, therefore, the village hierarchy and the regional situation which determine rank.\textsuperscript{15} In this country, where people come from different states, and from different areas within states, people's knowledge of their own position vis-a-vis others is fairly limited. The movement of caste overseas has clearly affected the normal operation of the system.

Caste is best understood in relation to ethnicity. Punjabi Hindus in Leeds, are, in general, either from the Khatri or Brahman jati (Table 1.5). The Brahmans tend to carry the surname 'Sharma' although it must be remembered that 'Sharma' is used by many Arya Samajis as well as true Brahman-born Punjabis (Bharati, 1972).\textsuperscript{16} Both Khatris and Brahmans are generally in business, many Khatris having become market traders. Although most of the Punjabi Sikhs in Leeds are Ramgarhias or Jats (artisans and farmers), Hindus and Sikhs form friendships regardless of caste and have been known to intermarry, although this is done strictly according to caste.

Gujaratis in Leeds are also from a number of caste groups. Of the Gujaratis on the electoral register 43% are Mochi, 30% 'Patels' - Patidar and Kanbi - and 27% from other caste groups including Brahman, Lohana and Suthar. Of Gujarati temple members the percentage of Mochi is higher at 55%, and there are a smaller number of Patels (20%). In most British cities with a large Gujarati population one caste group tends to be numerically dominant. In Coventry, for example, there are a large number of Suthars or carpenters, and in Leicester the Lohana, a trading caste, predominates. In Leeds the shoemakers caste or Mochi is highest in number. They have settled here since the late 1950s most arriving, however, in the late 1960s from Kenya. Traditionally they are Sudras rather than untouchables - those beneath the four varnas of Hinduism - even though they work in leather. (It is the Chamar or Khalpa who skins and tans the hide of the cow.) They are low in terms of ritual status, and many of them remember suffering what they felt were social injustices in India in the past. Most are from South Gujarat, from small villages near Naysari, Surat and Bulsar (Valsad). They are known as the 'Surti Mochi'. The remainder, the 'Kathiavadi Mochi', are from Saurashtra.
Mochi names, Parmar, Solanki, Champaneri, Chavda, Gohil and so on, are the names of Rajput clans. A number of artisan and untouchable groups have these surnames. They are all said to have been descended from 'fallen Rajputs', from those who took up service trades when the wars ended and it became unprofitable to be a warrior. Because of this many Mochi groups still call themselves 'Kshatriya Mandals' or warrior associations although by occupation they are of Sudra rank (Census of India, 1932, p.435 and p.451).

The 'Patels' are the second largest group amongst the Leeds Gujaratis. Like most Patels in this country they are Patidars rather than Kanbis (both divisions come from the Leva Kanbi group). They have been settling in Leeds from the mid-1950s. Most are from Charotar in Central Gujarat, and others, generally the few Leeds Kanbis, are from the South. They have retained the name 'Patel' from the days when many of them were employed by the British as local administrators (Pocock, 1972). Patels and Parmars do not go out of their way to form friendships in Leeds although there is no open caste hostility between them.

Other Gujarati Hindus include about one dozen Brahman families, approximately a half of whom are Shrigaud Brahmans originally from Kaira District in Central Gujarat. There are also a number of Suthars, carpenter families who rank above Mochis but beneath trading and landowner castes, and some Lohana families who vie with Patels for power and status, and who frequently refer to themselves as Brahmans to outsiders. The Lohana jati is from the West of Gujarat, from Saurashtra. Although Brahman families in India are ritually superior to all other groups, it is the Lohanas and the Patidars in Gujarat who are in prestigious and powerful positions as traders and landowners. In Leeds, because of the small number of Brahman families it is impossible to generalise about their ritual status and class power.

The question of endogamy is too lengthy to be discussed in this study. In short, marriage is still conducted largely according to caste tradition. There are very few marriages between members of different castes or different regions, and where these have occurred there is generally a great deal of antagonism. Brides are still occasionally brought over from Africa and India, and some British-born brides take up residence in India and marry caste-males in conformity with the wishes of their parents. Husbands and wives of the same caste are also found in other British cities like Leicester, Birmingham and Preston.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State of Origin</th>
<th>Caste Name</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Approx. No. of people</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gujarat</td>
<td>Mochi</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'Patel' Patidar/Kanbi</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>425</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lohana Suthar Brahman</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>375</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>Khatri</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>650</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Brahman</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Indian</td>
<td>Miscellaneous Castes</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>325</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE 1.5 Hindus in Leeds: Estimates of Caste Size**

Caste in Britain seems to correspond, to a certain extent, with other social variables. Mochis tend to be less financially secure than higher caste Hindus, and are generally found in working class occupations. Many, for example, are still shoe-makers in a local firm of surgical boot-makers. They tend to live in poorer housing than many Hindus from higher castes. It is often the Patidars and Lohanas who came from East Africa who live in Leeds 16 and Leeds 17, and are employed in professional occupations.

In addition to its effect on settlement, marriage and occupation, caste is also influential in a number of religious areas. These will be discussed later.

Religion itself is an important feature of identity. All the Indian subjects of this study define themselves religiously as Hindus, and describe their religion as 'dharma', 'sanatana dharma', or Hinduism. Hinduism is an umbrella concept for a number of different groups and a host of different beliefs.
and practices. These differences are determined by ethnicity, regional diversity, migration patterns, caste and sex. There are numerous examples of such diversity including the devotional patterns of Gujarati and Punjabi women, their choice of deities, the different festivals celebrated by the two state groups, sectarian affiliation and so on.

The religiosity of individuals varies from 'non-committed' to 'devout'. Some Leeds Hindus, who were born into caste society in India, do not keep religious festivals, do not worship in the home or go to the temple. However, they do use the services of the full-time priest for births and other life-cycle rites. In addition they often have bright posters of Indian deities in their homes, and retain a great number of religio-cultural practices including fasting, *Raksha Bandhan* (the tying of a thread around the wrists of brothers and other male relatives), food preparation and caste behaviour. A number of other people, particularly women, are extremely devout, spending hours in home worship, obeying strict dietary practices, serving at the temple, giving money on a regular basis, belonging to devotional groups and visiting other temples. For all people, other than the full-time priest, religion is carried on in conjunction with other daily functions such as domestic chores and childminding, or a job. For some people it has the status of a 'compartment', or one of a number of aspects of life. For others it is inextricably related to the other roles they perform and beliefs they hold.

The religious identity of the individual has been influenced not only by Indian traditions and the African situation, but also by religion in Britain. Many Hindus in Leeds are only too aware that their religion is one amongst others. Not only are there indigenous faiths, generally grouped together by Hindus as 'Christian', but there are also other South Asian faiths. Most Gujarati Hindus, for example, have come across Muslims and Jains in India, but always as minority groups. In this country Hinduism is just one minority faith amongst others. An awareness of religious pluralism has affected the way Hindus think about themselves and their faith. Some are beginning to think of Hinduism as many people do of Christianity, something to be remembered during large festivals and at births, marriages and deaths. Others have retained a more traditional view of Hinduism as 'a way of life'. A large number of people, however, are not self-conscious in their understanding of their religion, and they continue to behave in much the same way as their parents did in India but in their new and different environment.
Hinduism, although it is an umbrella term for a number of groups, beliefs and practices, and as a term of reference for about a quarter of the South Asians in Leeds, tends to hide a number of significant differences. The most obvious and influential of these are those related to the issue of ethnicity, a feature of identity which not only determines language, and culture but also, to a lesser extent, attitudes, practices, experience and beliefs. Caste and settlement history also determine behaviour and association, and, as such, challenge any misconceived understanding we may have of Hinduism as a consistent and homogeneous religion. Further discussion about the role of Hinduism and its relationship to other features of identity will follow in later chapters.

Although information about political interests, occupation, local community involvement and so on may well be linked with the ethnic information outlined above, it may also serve to show in what areas, if any, Leeds Hindus have involved themselves in non-ethnically related local and national institutions, and have mixed with groups other than their own.

Occupation is a feature influenced by age, by sexual and racial discrimination, and the economic climate of the time. For the Indian population as a whole, it is true to say that, in the past, there has been very little unemployment, young people without jobs being subsumed within the system of small shops and businesses owned and run by and for Indians. When children are in school their parents often see them as potential doctors, engineers and dentists. Although some are able to make it to colleges and universities many would be unemployed at the end of their schooling but for the system of patronage that operates in the ethnic community. Ideals are not only reserved for children of school age and their parents, they are also held by many Indians who dream of self-employment replacing the daily drudge of factory work. Indians are employed in the full range of occupations, although Gujaratis and Punjabis seem more often to be in semi-skilled jobs in industry and small businesses, rather than unskilled jobs and the professions. Some artisans have retained their caste occupations, working in bootmaking, joinery, tailoring and jewellery-making. Those who owned and farmed land have generally gone into business: the Patidar, Kanbi, Lohana and Punjabi Khatri are now traders of one sort or another. A number of them have their own licensed or unlicensed grocery shops, insurance businesses, driving schools, market stalls and so on.

Although a number of Indian Hindus work alongside people of different backgrounds, participate where required in trade unions
and work for non-Indian employers, there is a general desire, particularly amongst Gujaratis, to work for oneself or for other members of one's ethnic group.

Class, status and caste in Britain are related but not necessarily interdependent systems. In modern India it is not simply one's position in the system of varna and jati that determines one's economic and social well-being. Although the Brahmans are the highest group in terms of ritual status it is generally the landowners that determine employment and food supply to the other villagers, and thus have the most political and economic power in the locale (Srinivas, 1952). In this country there are a number of added complexities to consider. Not all people follow their caste occupations. Language, capital, prejudice, East African settlement and the British labour market all affect the jobs Indians are able to have here, the wealth they can procure, and the occupational class they are in. Despite this a number of Indians do continue in their traditional caste occupations, although there is a shared ideal that self-employment is one of the highest goals for an Indian in British society. It is true to say that, in general, those from lower castes are lower on the social scale in occupational and economic terms than their high caste peers.

Personal status is sometimes linked to traditional caste standing or economic class position but this is not always the case. The business man with a good white-collar job, a home in a better area of Leeds, a good knowledge of English and the confidence that goes with these assets, certainly commands respect amongst his relatives, friends and 'white' associates. But for people of Gujarati ethnicity in particular, it is often also the religious person, who may be both poor and of low caste who abides by dietary regulations, serves at the temple, gives money and is upheld as a model of virtue, who is admired. The third type to be revered is the 'spokesman', the man who is willing to be in the public eye, and to speak out to the indigenous majority on behalf of the religious 'community'. Personal standing within the group, then, depends on a number of determinants, and is not necessarily linked solely to caste or class.

Although certain individuals are regarded highly as natural leaders these men are rarely, if ever, employed to represent the religious or ethnic group in the arena of local or national politics. In general, Hindus have Labour Party sympathies because of Conservative policies on immigration. The Hindu temple has been used for 'election hustings', and one or two people have canvassed for local white Labour Party candidates. Local interest and involvement, however, tends not to revolve around
political issues but rather around participation in religious 'dialogue', and community relations schemes. There may be some limited Punjabi Hindu interest in the Indian Workers Party or the 'Akali Dal' reform group although it is generally Sikhs who are involved in these. Gujaratis have no interest in either of these two parties, and express very little concern for local, national or Indian politics, although the nationally-produced Gujarati and Hindi newspapers do keep them up-to-date on Indian affairs.

Education is the one area where contact with the indigenous majority and other ethnic and religious groups is unavoidable. Indian children mix with other children from a variety of different backgrounds, and their parents meet with teaching staff and headteachers from time to time throughout their children's school lives. Indian parents are often dissatisfied with certain aspects of the English system of education. One is the absence on the curriculum of Indian religion and languages, and the other is the problematic area of parent-child relationships, brought about while the child is a product of two separate cultures. They see these factors as a threat to the Indian way of life over here, a threat which many of them are eager to resist.

Children who are educated in the English system, although they are often very willing to behave in accordance with traditions relating to marriage, temple practice, and so on, are bound to have certain different values and feelings from their parents as a result of their school interactions. They have a better knowledge of English, and of relationships with people from different backgrounds. They will have imbibed, to some degree, the morals, manners and values of both cultures. Many will never have seen India or Africa, and would find these continents initially bewildering. When they become adults they may well have a different set of priorities and interests from their parents, although they may continue to relate closely to their ethnic and religious identity.

Of the features of identity which have been described, it is ethnicity rather than the aspects related to involvement in British society which seems to be of central importance to the Hindus.

It is the allegiance to the state of birth or parents' state of birth that defines and influences the identity of local Hindus. In addition, ethnicity is an important determinant in the other areas of identity above.
In order to ascertain a clearer picture of the importance of these aspects of identity it is necessary to look at the subgroups which have been formed and joined over recent years by local Hindus.

1.4 IDENTIFICATION

Hindus in the city identify with a number of small groups which focus on social, cultural and religious issues and interests. These can be ordered and discussed in relation to the various features of identity outlined above. Both age and sex, for example, determine patterns of association within the family, in the temple and in the formation of small groups. The Hindu Swayam Sevak Sangh is a boy's youth group with branches in this country and in India. The local group was started in 1976 with a major interest in sport but with religion and ethics as an intrinsic part of its self-image. More recently a mixed-sex Indian dance or Garaba group has been initiated, although both this and the Hindu Swayam Sevak Sangh, despite being apparently all-Indian, have only Gujarati members. Gujarati girls also attend a special evening sewing session at a local school, and a local youth club strives to cater for Indian boys by offering weight-lifting, badminton and table-tennis. Both Gujaratis and Punjabis have made some use of these facilities. Gender differences influence the membership of a variety of groups although the Hindu Swayam Sevak Sangh is the only group restricted solely to one sex. The Pragati Mandel, a caste group for Mochis, has a special section and committee for women members, but in fact most of the decisions are made at the all-male committee meetings.

In Leeds as in most British cities there are small groups of an all-Asian or all-Indian nature. Except in cities or towns where the number of immigrants is small, and where a need is felt for similar people to meet together, these groups have no particular popularity. In Leeds there is an Asian Association in Chapeltown, and another at the university but both are superseded in importance by more specific religious or ethnic subgroups.

In the section on identity, ethnicity or identification with the state culture showed itself to be of major importance to individuals. It also has an overriding influence on the formation of interest groups. It is not often a defining feature of these small groups, that is to say, in many cities there is no general Punjabi or Gujarati organisation, but its influence is of a more fundamental nature, determining people's desire and motivation to associate with others. Most of the
subgroups formed by members of the Hindu population in Leeds are non-overt, single-state groups joined by people of common ethnicity. Groups like the Swadhyaya Mandel or inner study group, and the Satya Sai Baba Mandal are examples of this.

There are also some small groups more overtly concerned to represent the interest of one ethnic group as opposed to another. Both Gujarati and Hindi, for example, are taught at the Hindu temple. Only Gujaratis attend the former, and only Punjabis the latter (their own gurumukhi script is not taught outside the Sikh gurdwara). Punjabi Hindus have recently started (1979) their own group called the Punjabi Sabha in order to meet together as both state-fellows and co-religionists and to stand against the power and weight of the Gujarati interest at the local temple.

In Britain, caste is very influential in group formation. Coventry provides a good example: there are not only two places of worship for untouchable groups but at least half a dozen non-religious caste organisations for Suthar, Mochi, Lohana and Patidar groups. Although caste in Leeds is a factor in the membership of a variety of groups there is only one caste organisation, the Pragati Mandal which represents the interests of the Mochi jati. It produced its first directory in 1980, in which all adult male caste members were recorded by name, address and settlement background. As a group, it is able to raise large financial assets with which to support temple issues, to help caste members with problems, and to provide group entertainment.

Caste, settlement history and ethnicity are of particular importance in the formation of religious groups, and in people's affiliation to them. Two examples of this are the Ramakrishna Bhajan Mandal which is composed almost entirely of Gujarati Mochis, and the Punjabi Sabha.

Although all the Indian subjects of this study are 'Hindu' by birth, not all identify themselves with the representative Hindu group. A large number belong to the Hindu temple, the main centre for worship for Hindus in Leeds, and most use the services of the full-time priest for annual rites and life-cycle rites (samskaras). There are also a number of smaller sub-groups offering a variety of religious interests: the Ramakrishna Bhajan Mandal and the Gujarati Garaba Group combine ethnic, cultural pursuits with religious involvement, and the Swadhyaya Mandal, though solely a discussion group, is concerned with Indian religious and philosophical issues such as karma and the texts of the Hindu tradition.
There are two remaining groups of a more general religious nature. One of these is the Leeds University Union Hindu Society which competes with other university South Asian religious societies, and seeks to represent the interests of Hindu students in Leeds from all over the world, organising for them to meet together, introducing them to the local temple committee members and temple facilities, and organising festival programmes, trips and meals. The other is the Shri Satya Sai Baba Mandal, a Gujarati group which follows the teachings of a South Indian religious leader, and conducts weekly programmes of worship. Both of these groups have close links with the local temple, and neither could be described as heterodox. These groups are all discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.

As might be expected from the discussion about identity, identification with non-ethnically related groups is of little importance for the Hindu group as a whole. Some individuals belong to unions, and one or two are on local committees, or are Labour Party members, but these are exceptions to the rule. Interest in such identification is related to various aspects of identity such as status, occupation, ethnicity, and settlement history. Punjabi Hindus are generally more open to British ways than Gujaratis, and professional people with an East African background are often more keen to socialise with the indigenous population than their fellows. The limited interest in subgroup affiliation of this kind affirms the suggestion that non-ethnic features of identity are of far less importance to Hindus than are ethnic features.

From what has been said with reference to group identification, it would seem that both religion and ethnicity are important determinants of association. At one level, there is a case to be made for the overriding importance of religion as the subject of group formation: there are at least half a dozen of such groups initiated by Leeds Hindus. At another level, it is ethnicity which seems to be the more significant factor, because it is the chief determinant in most informal association, and an underlying cause of single-state group membership or membership unrest in mixed groups. In order to gain a full understanding of the Hindu population it is necessary to conclude this chapter with a brief discussion of the identity of the Hindu population as a whole with reference to religion and ethnicity.

The South Asian population in this country is generally identified in two ways by the government, the press, the Church and community relations bodies. One is as 'Indians, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis' (commonly called 'Asians'), and the other
is as 'Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims'. In Leeds, local bodies use this second system of classification for their interactions with the South Asian population, and as a result it is the representative religious bodies which have been authorised to receive local government urban aid and deprivation grants for the ethnic groups. The Council for Community Relations, local 'dialogue' groups such as the Justice and Peace Commission and Concord, and the press refer to the Sikhs, Hindus and Muslims as religious 'communities'. However, although the term 'community' is used in a spirit of polite goodwill it is, to some degree, inappropriate and inaccurate as a description of the South Asian groups concerned.

'Community' is a term with a number of specific uses, but which could generally be said to mean a group or collectivity with common characteristics or a common aim which sets it apart from other groups. The term is used to describe such areas as rural village life, monastic collectives, urban 'community associations' seeking to improve local conditions, and ethnically-related minority groups living in British cities alongside the indigenous majority. The monastic group and the 'community association' are self-defined 'communities' whose members are aware of having set themselves apart for some particular reason. Both the terms 'rural community' and 'ethnic community' are coined by outsiders to describe groups set apart by what they see as geographical or racial boundaries. Some ethnic groups may see such a boundary as artificial, desiring to participate fully in British society and to be given full rights and opportunities. Others may see the boundary as an appropriate acknowledgement of their cultural, linguistic and social differences. The term 'Hindu community', therefore, may not necessarily be one chosen by Hindus to describe and present themselves to others.

Despite ethnic and religious diversity, a number of Leeds Hindus in the 1960s considered it important for the religious and educational well-being of the group to start a representative trust or society with a view to opening a temple. The Hindu Charitable Trust was formed in 1968 for the purpose of collecting and banking funds donated by members for the purchase of the temple estate. The Trust is a registered charity and, as such, receives grants, and donations for the local Hindu population. It is run from the temple premises, and many of the Trust's past committee members have sat on the Temple Management Committee. The temple itself openly attempts to serve all Leeds Hindus, and although the priest is a Gujarati, committee members until 1980 were of mixed caste and ethnicity. The membership totals over three hundred families (over half of the Hindu families in Leeds) although only a small percentage attend regularly.
Large numbers of families, however, use the services of the full-time priest, and attend festivals in the temple. In addition to serving the Hindus the temple also seeks to represent them to the local 'English' population both in religious and social terms by inviting church and school groups to services and discussions, and by liaising with police, health panels and so on.

The temple's presentation is one of friendly and law-abiding co-operation combined with a desire for non-interference by outsiders, and the opportunity to maintain traditional religion and culture. This local interaction is not something which has been particularly sought by the temple and its committees but something that other non-Asian religious groups, and local administrative and educational bodies have desired in order to maintain community relations. The temple's presentation ably hides a multitude of divisions within the Hindu group including those brought about through ethnic and caste diversity as well as those brought about as a result of the complexity of the Hindu religion itself.

To view ethnically-related groups as religious 'communities' may therefore give a misleading picture of cohesion and unity. However, the major South Asian religious groups do differ considerably in relation to this. Rose (1969, p.452) wrote 'of the three main constituents of the coloured immigration from the Commonwealth, the Sikhs are the most homogeneous, the most cohesive and the best organised'. Not only are the Sikhs all of the same ethnic group, speaking a common language and sharing a common culture, but as Rose goes on to say, they have a sense of 'belonging to a brotherhood which was forged in persecution'. Their religion has a comparatively recent development, a tradition of struggle against oppressors, of the need for historical legitimation, and of brotherly or community spirit. In Leeds, the gurdwara, until recently the sole representative body for Sikhs, has a regular attendance of about a thousand people each of whom may attend once every three or four weeks, giving a weekly adherence of three or four hundred which far exceeds regular attendance at the Hindu temple where ethnic and religious factors combine to dissuade attendance on this scale.

Another local example of the relationship between religion and ethnicity is Leeds Jewry. In the early days of Jewish settlement here, ethnic groups from Germany, Russia and Poland set up 'landsmen chevras', small ethnically-based synagogues, and it was not until later that the united congregations were formed as the population moved further north in the city, began to speak a common language, and became financially less able
to purchase and maintain conveniently situated, ethnically-based places of worship (Krausz, 1964). Due to the small size of the Hindu population here, it has not been possible for different ethnic groups or castes to have their own places of worship like the early Jews, and instead they have had to meet together, and share a single religious centre.

Although the Hindu temple presents a religious unity compatible with the understanding of government and community relations agencies of South Asians as religious groups, there is every possibility that it would be more accurate to describe them in relation to ethnic rather than religious identity. Obviously the two overlap to some degree: ethnicity is a determining factor in religious belief, practice and attitude, and religion is an integral part of ethnic identity. What has happened in the field of community relations and local politics, however, is that religion has been assumed to be identical to ethnicity. For Sikhism this is not entirely inappropriate, although for the Hindu and Islamic faiths, which incorporate people of several ethnicities, the situation is more complicated. Both Desai (1963) and Rose (1969), two early writers on race and the ethnic question, seem to equate Hinduism in Britain with Gujarati ethnicity.

If a leader emerges he is bound to press for their needs as Gujaratis and to emphasize what distinguishes them from the native British. They were from the start less inclined than the Sikhs to accommodate themselves to British ways ... (Rose, 1969, p.471)

Gujaratis are compared here with Sikhs, an ethnic group with a religious collectivity, a comparison which in itself expresses some of the confusion that exists in this area. It is true to say that most of the Hindus in Britain are Gujaratis - this is also the case in Leeds - but it is also important to remember that in many cities there are Hindus from the Punjab with their own places of worship, or participating in joint Gujarati-Punjabi ventures. In Leeds the Hindu Charitable Trust was set up in 1968 by a mixed group of ten Punjabis and six Gujaratis. It is this mixed ethnic situation in Leeds that accounts, to a large extent, for the lack of unity and cohesion in the population; it is not just the lack of interest by the two groups in a sense of 'community'. In fact, as we shall see in the next chapter, some effort is made by spokesmen for the Hindus to present a unified religious front at the temple.

Ethnicity involves the use of traditional culture and customs in a new environment. Gujarati ethnicity, for example, is not simply the Gujarati way of life transplanted to a British city. It is Gujarati tradition adapted to the British experience, and used to represent and express the interests of Gujaratis as a
minority group in this new situation. Religion, like business, politics and traditional patterns of social stratification, is an aspect of ethnicity commonly used by members of different minorities to express their common interest and aims to the wider public. It can be said that both Sikhs and Hindus use their religion in their new location in order to express these interests and aims. In other contexts, where the form of expression has been political or cultural, this process has been called 'retribalisation' and 'creolisation' (Cohen, 1969; Foner, 1977). Its religious counterpart might best be described as 'retraditionalisation'. Both Sikhs and Hindus then, attempt to 'retraditionalise' their religion in its new environment. In order to do this, they might be assumed to use their ethnic identity as a vehicle for expressing the differences between traditional culture and religion, and the comparable institutions available in the host society. This certainly seems to be true for Punjabi Sikhs whose religion is not challenged by the ethnic interests of the group but is compatible with them. They express their ethnicity in the gurdwara. How might such a process of 'retraditionalisation' be understood in relation to the more complex Hindu religious tradition in Britain, which incorporates adherents from more than one ethnic group?

It could be argued, for example, that many Hindus, particularly the Gujarati Patidars or even the Punjabi Khatri, have abandoned religion as a force for expressing the group's interests, and that instead they have developed their business identity (Tambs-Lyche, 1980). While this may well be true in some Hindu communities in Britain, in Leeds the historical role of the temple suggests that some groups, particularly the Gujarati Mochi and the Punjabi Khatri, seek to wield power and display wealth through the machinations of temple politics and religion.

Hinduism, as a religion of great diversity, is capable of providing institutional expression for a number of different ethnic groups. In a city where the Gujarati and Punjabi populations were sufficiently large to afford to fund separate temples or centres for religio-ethnic expression these attitudes could be channelled separately. In Leeds this is not possible, and in the temple a healthy sense of competition, and an overall lack of unity are the consequences of the somewhat turbulent combination of the various ethnic and caste groups. As Gujaratis are numerically dominant, the temple has a tendency to express Gujarati culture. This has not always been the case, however: before the Indian exodus from Africa, when a Punjabi priest was resident at the temple, the situation was reversed, and now in 1981, the Punjabis have again gained
control of temple management.

Despite these differences the two groups have had to learn to exist side by side in the temple. They have each, on occasions, sought to stress their ethnicity in its varied forms, but they have also had to come to terms with sharing a temple programme, and presenting a unified front to outsiders. Their retradition-alisation, therefore, has been comprised of a selection, not solely of ethnic elements, but of shared aspects of tradition with importance and meaning for both groups. To these aspects, which include such practices and beliefs as the major festivals, Puja and Arti, 'dharma', 'avatara' and 'karma', have been added others with a more specific relationship to the particular interest groups. Examples of these are the festival of Navaratri and the practice of Havan. Thus, on the one hand, these two ethnic groups have chosen to express their common religious interest to the indigenous population over and above their ethnic interests. On the other hand, each group has satisfied its own requirements by supporting different aspects of this common interest, and by continuing to meet ethnic needs in small groups and in the home.
The Role of the Hindu Temple

In the last chapter the use of the term 'community' was briefly discussed with reference to Hindus in Leeds and their representative institution, the Hindu temple. The discussion raised questions concerning the relationship of ethnicity and religion, and was concluded with an expression of some doubt concerning the unity of the group 'Hindus in Leeds'. In this chapter it is intended to present a detailed discussion of the role of the Hindu temple and its related committees.

As the largest and most long-standing organisation for Hindus in the city it satisfies, to some degree, a number of different needs and desires, most obviously religious, but also social, cultural and civic in nature. In most British cities with a population of Gujarati or Punjabi Hindus, a parallel development of a temple or 'cultural centre' has occurred. This agency generally serves as a meeting place for like-minded people of one or more ethnicities: it represents the whole group to local administrative bodies, raises funds, and provides entertainment and instruction. Like the Leeds temple, these central bodies often conceal a degree of tension and disunity. Despite this, however, a study of their functions and structures, their compositions and histories, the services they perform, in addition to their short-comings and inadequacies, is invaluable in a consideration of British Hinduism.

The Leeds temple is situated in the major Gujarati settlement area (Map 1.2; Map 1.5) in Leeds 6. As we saw in Chapter 1, the Hindu population in Leeds city totals approximately five hundred and fifty families or two and a half thousand persons of mixed Punjabi, Gujarati and 'Other Indian' ethnic origin, and is spread throughout the city but concentrated in the Inner City area in Leeds 4, Leeds 6, Leeds 7 and Leeds 8. Gujaratis tend to live in Burley and South Headingley, and Punjabi Hindus in Harehills and Chapeltown with common language speakers. As the temple members list for 1978 showed (Figure 1.3; Map 1.4), the Leeds 4 and Leeds 6 area, where the temple itself is
situated, has the largest proportion of resident Hindus. The area, according to the First Urban Programme Report (Leeds Metropolitan District Council, 1978) is predominantly composed of Victorian terraced dwellings about one third to one half of which are of the 'back-to-back' variety.' The temple and proposed cultural centre occupy one of the largest sites in the area, and are to be found in Alexandra Road, between Burley Road, Cardigan Road, Hyde Park Road and Royal Park Road.

This district, with its large student and immigrant population, has always been the settlement area for people of Gujarati origin. The first Gujaratis arrived in the late 1950s, sometime after the beginning of Punjabi settlement in the Chapeltown area of the city. One Gujarati, who came directly from Bulsar (Valsad) in South Gujarat in the late 1950s, used his home as a base for Mochi caste fellows arriving from India and Africa in the early sixties. One of the men who stayed with him came from Kenya in 1962, and remained at his house in Chestnut Avenue until he was able to buy his own home in Walmsley Road. At this time there were very few Gujarati Mochis or shoemakers in Leeds although there were a small but growing number of 'Patels', landowners from the Patidar or Kanbi castes. One Patel informant states that he came to Leeds from Baroda (Vadodara) in 1958, and remained until 1978 when he returned home. In the earliest days of his residence here he remembers there being only ten to fifteen other Gujaratis in the area. As early as 1960 it is possible to find the name 'Patel' in the Leeds telephone area directory (Post Office, 1960, p.2227) but only as residents of Bradford, Batley and Dewsbury. It is not until 1964 that a 'Patel' was registered in Leeds itself. The earliest entry, however, refers somewhat significantly to the owner of a grocer's shop in Leeds 2, who, in all probability, served a small community of local people of Indian background. At this time, in 1964, the directory records a total of eleven 'Singhs' (Post Office, 1964, p.2223 and p.2264) with telephones in Leeds city, a figure which reflects the larger size, and earlier settlement of the Punjabi ethnic group.

Price (1963) described four stages of European settlement in Australia. These stages were then employed by Thompson (1970) in relation to the settlement of Coventry Sikhs. In the first stage 'pioneers' became established as early as the last century as peddlars and seamen in British cities and ports. These individuals were the nuclei for the mass all-male migration that began to take place after World War II. Stage three, which began about 1960, was marked by the large scale entry of wives and children, and stage four, from 1970 onwards, constituted
the move to more salubrious dwellings, and the coming of age of a second generation.

It is possible that some Punjabi Hindus also followed this pattern, although informants interviewed for this research only came to Leeds from India in the second stage, in the mid-1950s, some arriving as late as the late sixties. In general Punjabi Hindus settled here earlier than Gujaratis, a fact which is supported by the early Punjabi interest in a centre for Hindus, and the numerical dominance of Punjabi trustees on the original Hindu Charitable Trust. Apart from the few early Gujarati settlers who arrived in the late fifties and early sixties the majority arrived after 1967, either wives and children of those already resident here, or refugees from African states pursuing policies of Africanisation. Most of the Mochi or shoemakers' caste, who account for 43% of Gujaratis in Leeds, came from Kenya to Leeds in the late 1960s. In general, one family member came first and stayed with a caste fellow, and was later followed by his immediate family, and the families of brothers or sisters with their children. This continued until the group was established and dispersed in the Leeds 6 area. One particular family from Vihan near Surat in South Gujarat are an excellent example of this. Two Mochi brothers moved to Kenya in the 1940s leaving their parents in the home village. They settled down respectively in Mombasa and Nairobi, had families and laboured at their caste occupation, one changing later to railway work in order to save money to improve his own status and the position of the family back home. In 1966 the youngest brother came from Mombasa to Leeds with his family, and was closely followed in 1967 by the eldest son of his brother who came to complete his education. The son stayed with his uncle’s family, and made arrangements to buy a house for his own father and the rest of the family. They then came over to join him in 1968 when migration from Kenya was at its height as a result of the government's policies of Africanisation. Gujaratis from all castes continued to come to Leeds from Africa until after the Ugandan crisis in 1972 to 1973.

Despite the late settlement of Gujaratis in comparison with those of Punjabi ethnicity, the Leeds Gujarati group has been important and influential in two ways. The first of these relates to the establishment in this country by a local Patidar of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad. This pan-Indian organisation had been set up in 1965-6 to sponsor and encourage the Hindu religion both at home and abroad. Since that time, through the influence of interested members of the Leeds community (and in the 1970s London and Leicester Hindus) this Parishad has become a central agency for Hinduism in Britain. Secondly,
the Pragati Mandal, set up in January 1964, was the first caste organisation for Mochis in this country. The total number of these has now grown to about a dozen. The Leeds settlement, which numbers about one and a half thousand Gujaratis, is small in comparison, for instance, with the settlement of Gujaratis in Coventry which totals some five thousand, or in Leicester where there are seven thousand of the Lohana jati alone (Jackson, 1981; Michaelson, 1979). The Leeds group, however, has not been without influence at a national level. These two developments suggest the group has an awareness of its common issues and needs, and of the value of representing these priorities through the organisation of interest groups.

2.1 THE HISTORY OF THE TEMPLE

Of purely local importance, but in parallel to the evolution of Hinduism in other cities in Britain, was the formation of a society to celebrate Indian culture and religion. The first Leeds group was formed in 1966 at about the same time as other city groups like those in Coventry and Preston. (Jackson, 1981; Harrison, 1978). The Leeds group was known first as the Hindu Cultural Society, and was formed at a time when the Hindu population was largely male and predominantly Punjabi. The outcome of these early meetings was the decision by members to form a trust organisation, and to raise funds for the purchase of premises for the establishment of a religio-cultural centre. The Hindu Charitable Trust was formed in 1968 and was composed of sixteen original trustees from mixed castes, ten of whom were Punjabi and six Gujarati. Its aims were 'the advancement of the Hindu religion in the City of Leeds and the advancement of education of persons of the Hindu faith in the said city' (Leeds Hindu Temple, 1968, p. 1). It was affiliated to the Vishwa Hindu Parishad, which stood to inherit all its funds in the event of a collapse of the Trust or a breakdown in relations between the trustees. As a registered charity it was able to collect and bank funds raised for the above aims which, in the early days, meant amassing capital for the purchase of the Spring Grove Estate in Alexandra Road, the site indicated for the first Leeds temple.

Although the centre of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad is now in London, the early development of the organisation in this country, as we have seen, was due particularly to the interest and effort of a Leeds Gujarati. The Parishad convened for the first time in India in 1966 to protect 'Hindu society from the insidiously spreading clutches of alien ideologies' (Vishwa Hindu Parishad, 1979), and its plans and activities were followed by the Leeds group under the guidance of this Patidar. The Indian organisation
sought to administer and care for Hindu communities abroad,
To open up Halls of Prayers, where once a week
you and your family can come around and meet
other members of the community, in one common
place, not for the purpose of mere socialisation,
but in an atmosphere of prayerful dedication to
the Lord. For this we need an altar and an in-
spiring shelter, wherein our children can be taught
to pray and to invoke. (Vishwa Hindu Parishad,
1979, p. 102)

The Leeds temple and trust have risen to these aims, and have
incorporated 'Vishwa Hindu Parishad' into their official title.

The Trust, in 1968, laid down a constitution declaring that
its 'trustees may as and when they think fit utilise the capital
fund for or towards the provision of buildings for temples,
schools or other religious or educational institutions' (Leeds
Hindu Temple, 1968, p. 1). By early 1970 they had decided
upon, and paid for the Spring Grove Estate in Alexandra Road
which they purchased from the Salvation Army who had used
it as a hostel for girls. The large site consisted of a Vic-
torian detached house with two separate outhouses. A part
of the house was opened as a temple in February of that year
and a statue of Krishna, brought over from India, was ritually
installed in August in a Pratistha ceremony. A Punjabi priest
was employed to perform services. In these early days the
mandir was very popular amongst local Hindus, a fact witnessed
by the vociferous complaints by neighbours who wrote to the
local papers about the late arrivals and departures of the
adherents, and their parking habits. It ran smoothly for
several years, ignoring pressure from neighbours and local
council officials who wanted the temple and its members to
find another site for their supposedly 'noisy' religious
practices.

In September of 1972 there was the first of two fires. It
was started, it was thought, by a ceremonial candle left alight
after the birthday celebrations for Lord Krishna (Janamashtami),
and caused £6,000 worth of damage. It temporarily trapped
the second Punjabi priest, his children and a guest speaker
in the upstairs living quarters. As a result of this the
mandir had to be moved from one end of the building to the
other, and the statue of Krishna, installed two years before,
was taken to Scarborough and ritually disposed of in the sea
as it was no longer fit to receive the deity. Attempts were
made to decorate a new mandir room, and a colour photograph
of the old statue was used for the purpose of worship until
a second fire in February 1973. There was some speculation
about the cause of this fire, and both faulty wiring and arson were not ruled out. This fire was not discovered until morning, and, in consequence, smoke had caused irreparable damage. The house was no longer suitable for the purpose of worship, and was abandoned.

In desperation members decided to decorate and prepare one of the smaller buildings on the site. Voluntary work began on the 'stables', financed by insurance money and members' contributions. It was a full two years before formal worship began again in the new building. A third priest, this time a Gujarati, had been offered employment at the end of 1974 when he had come to Leeds from Leicester to perform a marriage (Vivaha) service. Since that time he has been paid a small salary to live and work at the temple with his family.

This situation distinguishes the Leeds temple from other temples in West Yorkshire where there are no resident full-time priests. Temples throughout the country have access to part-time Brahman with some knowledge of the relevant procedure for daily practices and life-cycle rites (samskaras) but not all have their own Pandit or full-time temple priest. Despite this attraction, however, the temple had lost much of its popularity. In the early days, in 1970 and 1971, it had had a fine statue of Krishna, and good, well-decorated premises. The substitute mandir had a feeling of impermanence - it was always intended that it would be moved back into the other building at some future time - it was sparsely decorated and had only a photograph as a focal point for worship. Punjabi Hindus ceased to attend almost entirely because they were used to a Punjabi priest, and the Pandit at that time was a Gujarati. Generally speaking, many of them made an effort on important festive occasions to go to the more richly endowed Leeds Road temple in Bradford, and to use the services of a part-time Punjabi priest for life-cycle rites.

It was not only the religious provision that had deteriorated but also the secondary cultural and social activities. When the temple had first opened guest speakers had been invited, language classes in Hindi, Gujarati and Punjabi had been offered and devotional groups had been formed, but the fires, and the consequent upheaval, meant that these had to cease. In 1975, when the temple was reopened, it offered a minimum of services at first although since that time the repertoire has been extended. In May 1975 the library was opened by Swami Gangeshwarandji from the Vishwa Hindu Parishad of India who was on tour presenting copies of the texts of the Vedas to British temple organisations. In 1976 the Hindu Swayam Sevak Sangh youth group was formed, followed in 1977 by the Shri Mandir Bhajan Handal, a
singing group, and temple Gujarati classes. At this time relations with the white population were improving, with the commencement of English language classes, the Third Council for Community Relations Festival, the temple children's summer play project and the first issue of the Temple News, a monthly paper for Leeds Hindus written in English. In 1978 Hindi language classes were reintroduced, and the Swadhyaya Mandal, a philosophical discussion group, several Garaba dance groups and the Ramakrishna Bhajan Mandal were started.

As well as the increasing social, cultural, civic and religious repertoire offered at the temple over recent years, some effort has been made to make full use of the whole of the Spring Grove site. In 1976 planning permission was granted for the redevelopment of the third building in the estate grounds as a dining room with kitchen and toilet facilities. The financial demands of this plan were met by the 1975 Ugandan Aid Grant of £18,000. A further Deprivation Grant of £21,000 in 1977 was used on the existing temple building, and, in addition, to begin work clearing and rebuilding the large detached house with the intention of reopening it as a cultural centre. It had been hoped to have this work completed by 1978 but, with the contractor disappearing overseas with 'personal problems' a later date of 1980 was set. At the end of 1978 it was decided to install statues in the mandir. A marble Hanuman had recently been donated by a Punjabi couple and statues of Radha and Krishna had been bought in India, transported to Leeds, and stored several years before. A partial installation or Chalat Pratistha was carried out by the resident priest as there were no Indian spiritual leaders in Britain at that time who might have been able to perform a full installation ceremony.

By the end of 1978 it was apparent that Punjabi interest in the temple had revived. Hindi classes were started which attracted Punjabi children and encouraged their fathers, who drove them to the temple, to attend the weekly Havan service which took place cotemrinosly. Then, in 1979, a group of Punjabi Khatris formed the Punjabi Sabha, an organisation based at the temple, which represented the interests of the Punjabi Hindu minority in temple affairs, and sought to collect money to improve the facilities and Services for this religio-ethnic group. In 1981, as a result of renewed interest by this group, the Punjabi candidates at the Temple Management Committee elections were voted in, and the Gujarati period of administration was brought to an end.

2.2 THE LAYOUT AND APPEARANCE OF THE TEMPLE

The Spring Grove Estate lies at the top end of Alexandra Road.
FIGURE 2.1 Hindu temple: Spring Grove Estate

CULTURAL CENTRE

DINING ROOM

TEMPLE

ALEXANDRA ROAD
The area of the site is some four thousand square yards in which there are three buildings and a quantity of open land. The main building is set back from the road. Its shell is late Victorian although the inside is now completely rebuilt, rewired, and redecorated. The current temple building, once the stable, lies to the right of this with its front on Alexandra Road itself. Most activities take place in this building although some groups meet, and meals are prepared and eaten in the redecorated 'cultural centre' and in the separate dining room which lies behind the temple building (Figure 2.1).

Worship has taken place in the 'stable' building since 1975, and the interior has changed in layout on a number of occasions since that time. The interior as it appeared in 1977 was described in an M.A. thesis on evening Arti in the mandir (Knott, 1977). At that time the first floor was used entirely as living quarters while the ground floor housed the reception area and mandir. The mandir itself was a large room to the left of the entrance hall, painted white and sparsely decorated. The 'focus of worship' at that time consisted of a photograph of the statue of Krishna which had been displayed originally in the 1970 mandir. This picture was placed centrally on the far wall of the room, and was surrounded by the instruments used in daily rituals including a tin of ghee, the bell, conch, the Arti lamp and so on. Pictures of other deities and saints were hung around the walls, and colourful decorations adorned the ceiling. There was a library of religious books and novels in Gujarati, Hindi and English on the left hand wall. Posters of the words for evening Arti were mounted on the wall to either side of the focus of worship.

In recent years many changes have occurred, and the appearance in 1979 and 1980 was as follows. The front wall of the mandir had been decorated with bright wallpaper and tiles and the photograph of Krishna had been exchanged for a range of religious statues and pictures placed on wall-to-wall shelving. From left to right there were two framed pictures of Ganesh, and Shiva, Parvati and their sons, a marble Shiva lingam in a yoni, installed statues or murtis of Krishna and his consort, Radha, Balaji, the baby Krishna, together with an adult Krishna in a cot, pictures of Ambamata and Mahalakshmi, and a statue of Lord Hanuman.

In October 1978 a partial consecration or Chalat Pratistha ceremony was held to install the statues mentioned above. After the rite, the images had to be cared for by the wife of the priest who became responsible for washing, dressing and preparing food for them each day. The installation ceremony
had prepared the statues to receive the divine power of the deity, and from this time onwards they had to be treated with great respect and care.

Other decorative features in the mandir remained much the same in the late 1970s. Pictures of the Hindu deities and of non-Hindu figures like Jesus Christ, Guru Nanak, and Vivekananda still adorned the walls. Religious instruments and symbols were still placed near the focus of worship. These included a bell, ghee or clarified butter, kankum powder, a conch shell, an Arti lamp and so on. Fresh flowers and house plants, bright foil decorations, Indian mobiles and coloured lights continued to add colour to the mandir, and cards still reminded participants of the words of songs (bhajans) and prayers (prarthanas) in the languages of Gujarati and Hindi. In 1980 the renewed Punjabi interest in the temple encouraged a Punjabi member to donate a large photograph of a North Indian saint, Guru Jagjit Singh Ji, generally associated with the Sikh Namdharis. Despite its sectarian overtones it was displayed in a prominent position in the mandir. The Gujaratis also added to the temple's collection of pictures and statues at this time with an image of Shri Jalaram, a nineteenth century Gujarati saint remembered in particular for granting the wishes and vows of his devotees.

Outside the mandir room changes also occurred. The room to the right of the entrance hall, opposite the mandir, was still used as a reception area where individuals met the Pandit and arranged dates for visits, events and rites. Upstairs, however, the residential area was reduced to two rooms, and the room to the far left was used in the evenings and at weekends for classes in Gujarati, Hindi and English. Toilets for men and women were decorated, and clearly labelled for Hindu participants and non-Hindu guests (Figure 2.2).

The interior is similar to other British Hindu temples which all have much in common with small temples in India. One writer on Hinduism in Britain suggests that temple worship in this country owes a great deal to the growth in importance of temple worship in East Africa (Jackson, 1981). To some extent, this is true. It was in Africa rather than India that temple worship was popularised as part of a common desire to retraditionalise Hinduism in a new environment, and to bring together those of the same ethnicity for social, cultural and religious activities. However, the internal appearance of temples in Britain is closely related to their Indian counterparts in which bright decorations, marble statues, flowers, kankum powder, calendar pictures of the deities and saints, and silver, copper and stainless steel ware are also used. In 1980 there were no purpose-built Hindu temples
in this country – one was in the process of being built in North London for the Swaminarayan Mission – consequently no temple organisation has been able to reproduce the particular geometry and form employed in Hindu temple building. However, attention has been paid to the internal religious requirements of the temple, and these have been met, as far as possible, with the correct decorations, designs and instruments.

Early in Indian religious history worship took place in the open air or in the home, and it was not until the late Puranic period that temple worship began to become a valid focus for Hindu religious practice (Hopkins, 1971, p.108). Since that time worship in the temple has continued to be of secondary importance for the majority of Hindus who perform their daily rituals in the home at the domestic mandir or deri. Perhaps because of this, Indian temples have always been decorative rather than functional, unlike churches, mosques and synagogues where the regular forms of worship have made demands on the physical layout and appearance of the buildings.

However, in Indian Hindu temples, as in other places of worship, there is a focal point on which attention is centred. There is generally a representation of the deity to which the temple is dedicated. For most deities this representation takes the form of an animal or a human. Shiva, however, is worshipped in the form of a lingam in a yoni, although pictures of Shankar Bhagwan, the mountain-dwelling ascetic, often appear on the walls of Shaivite temples. The focus of worship or murti, is divided from the area set aside for participant worship by a rail and a curtain. This curtain is pulled back for darshana when the deity is revealed to the worshippers. It is immediately surrounded by any relevant items such as cloths, dishes of food, a vehicle or gadi such as a cow, bull or tiger, and by instruments used in worship like the bell, the conch and so on. Both the focus of worship and these important additional religious instruments and symbols, inhabit a sacred area or garbhagṛha set aside from the participants. The space they occupy when they attend has no particular distinguishing features. It is a hall, the size of which is determined by the temple’s popularity, importance, and physical geography, in which worshippers, having bathed at home and removed their shoes outside, sit or stand, make offerings and perform pranama or obeisance. Only the priest and his assistants are allowed to enter the sacred area behind the rail and curtain, and to touch the murti or image and the objects that surround it, although all the participants are entitled to circumambulate the sacred area during worship. In general, it is only the priest or Pandit who communicates with the deity present in the murti, who purifies the instruments.
and makes offerings and requests on behalf of those present. The congregation pay him money for his services, and show their gratitude by performing pranama and giving donations of money and food for the upkeep of the temple and its officiant. In small temples participants make their own personal offerings and show their respect by putting a tilaka mark on the forehead of the murti.

From this short description of the layout and internal relationships of the temples in India it is possible to appreciate the important physical and structural similarities between them and their British counterparts. A further comparison might be made between private and public mandirs. The domestic mandir, although of varying kinds and sizes, has a place in the homes of a large number of Leeds Hindus. These mandirs or deris have a number of similarities with public temples. Their styles of decoration, the instruments and symbols used in them, and the prints and images with which they are adorned have much in common with the contents of a temple. The domestic mandir has no priest, and its images are not prepared to receive the deity in a Pratistha ceremony. Women, generally, make the offerings and perform the rites of purification but their roles and relationships with the supernatural are clearly not of the same nature as those of the priest and the temple murti. The domestic mandir is always treated with respect and is curtained off when not in use. It does not have the same ritual status as the temple mandir though. Daily worship in the home is different in tone from other daily tasks although, to some extent, it is a religious enhancement of them: it takes place in the same physical space, in the family unit, and employs the implements used in conjunction with profane activities. Temple worship takes place in religious or sacred time and in religious space, and, as such, stands apart from the normal activities of work and leisure; home worship occupies a space and time 'within' ordinary life.

It is not structurally different from normal activities. A 'centre' represents an ideal point which belongs not to profane geometrical space, but to sacred space; a point in which communication with Heaven and Hell may be realised; in other words, a 'centre' is a paradoxical 'place' where the planes intersect, a point at which the sensuous world can be transcended. (Eliade, 1961, p.75)
Bracketing opinions as to the truth or falsity of Eliade's cosmological claim, his quotation provides us with a useful description of the function of the temple as a sacred space. It is a place where people are able to go to experience the presence of a deity in the form of an installed statue or murti. Not only
can the Leeds temple boast such a murti - of Krishna with his consort, Radha - but it can claim to have the only full-time priest in Yorkshire. For these reasons it is attractive to local Hindus. Because it serves their traditional religious needs it is also able to function in a number of other ways, not least of all as a social venue where people can meet together either as interest group members or as participants of temple events at which they can exchange family news, plan events and keep up-to-date on temple affairs. To use Eliade's term, then, it acts not only as a sacred 'centre' but also as a social centre, as it is placed in the main area of Hindu settlement and as it attracts large gatherings for marriages and festivals. To some extent it also acts as a cultural centre for the local Gujarati Hindu population who attend language classes, meet to dance and sing, and to discuss caste issues in the temple building. The main building on the estate is also planned to reopen for use as a cultural centre for the Hindu population as a whole. These secondary social and cultural activities, however, are only able to take place in the temple because it is first and foremost a religious centre. The sacred space and those practices which take place within it are a functional necessity for the social and cultural activities. Those who attend the temple, however, may not acknowledge this, and may not see their adherence as primarily religious. The meeting of kin groups or of cultural interest groups may be a major priority for a large number of temple members. It is the temple as a sacred centre, however, which allows these other priorities to be fulfilled. This is not the case in all the cities where Hindus are settled. In some, the fulfillment of religious requirements takes place as part of a wider 'cultural' programme, with the temple just occupying a small area in a cultural centre. In Leeds, however, the priorities of the Hindu population have been seen to be religion and education.

Before moving on, in the next chapter, to a discussion of religious practice at the temple, it is important to discuss in more detail the relationship between the temple and the Leeds population. In particular this concerns the way in which the temple as an institution understands its function in the community, and presents itself as the representative agency for Hindus in Leeds. The perception and presentation of the temple by those who run it derives from a combination of several view-points. These include the intentions and attitudes of the temple's key members, the needs and requirements of all local Hindus, and, to a lesser extent, the pre-conceptions and views of the wider non-Hindu public. Through different types of contact with Hindus and non-Hindus, the key members, those centrally involved in temple and Charitable Trust
management, are informed of the nature of Hinduism and the function of the temple. These reflexive encounters are similar to those described in the last chapter which informed individuals of their personal identity. In a similar way, then, the understanding and presentation of the role of the temple by its spokesmen is derived from both private and public information and views.

In order to examine religious practice in the temple a preliminary discussion of the role and function of this religious and social centre is necessary. It is most unlikely that Hinduism has come to Leeds unchanged. How, then, does its representative institution understand its role in the community, and how does it seek to present itself both to Hindus and to the indigenous majority? The 'identity' of this institution, that is, the roles it has and the functions it sees itself fulfilling, provides a context for its religious practices. They are chosen and interpreted with regard to this 'identity'. In the remainder of this chapter the different views and attitudes which create this common perception and presentation of temple Hinduism will be considered.

2.3 THE ROLE OF THE TEMPLE: PERCEPTION AND PRESENTATION

2.31 Key Members

The institution described and known as the temple is composed of a group of concerned people with designated duties who work on a voluntary and part-time basis to provide services for local Hindus. These individuals make up the Temple Management Committee and the Hindu Charitable Trust, and also include the priest and his wife who work full-time for the temple. These people are the chief or key members, those centrally involved in interpreting the wishes and needs of local Hindus into a practical form. The responsibilities of running such a venture are distributed between these various people: Charitable Trust officials handle the issues of fundraising and community representation; Management Committee members undertake tasks of a day-to-day nature such as organising programmes for festivals, and cooks and cleaners for weddings, and communicating with the leaders of interest groups; the priest and his wife deal with all religious matters, including life-cycle rites, regular daily services and festival programmes. Within the two committee structures responsibility is shared between the president, chairman, treasurer, secretary, publicity officer and other non-specific roles. In the Hindu Charitable Trust there are five trustees who remain in office for an unlimited period, and whose responsibilities, arising
sporadically rather than regularly, do not demand large periods of time or effort. The Management Committee, by whom the continuous practical work is carried out, is elected each year at the Annual General Meeting at the time of Holi in March. Seven members are elected and they decide between them who are to occupy the five named posts. Ex-Management Committee members often go on to become Hindu Charitable Trust members, moving from a busy and active post to a less demanding but nevertheless highly respected one. The seven members in any year tend to be those most committed to the temple, and its religious and social aims. This is sometimes a mixed group comprised of Gujaratis and Punjabis from different castes, although in the 1970s all-Gujarati committees were frequently elected, and in 1981 the posts all went to Punjabis. As yet, no women have been appointed. In 1979 two women, who had been active in educational work at the temple, stood for election but neither received a sufficient number of votes. There is no constitutional reason why women should not hold temple management committee posts, but as none have been elected as yet they have not been able to make a full contribution to temple decision-making, and the work and effort they have put in has not been officially rewarded or recognised.

Of the men and women who expend time and effort, and exercise power at the temple it is the priest and his wife who take care of the daily religious tasks. The current priest, known as 'Pandit', Pandiji', 'Maharaj' or 'Acharya', is a Gujarati Shrigaud Brahman born in Kaira District but latterly from the city of Baroda. His family have not followed their traditional occupation of family priest (purohit) for a number of generations, and it was felt to be "luck and good fortune" which allowed the Pandit to come to this country and serve as priest to migrant Gujaratis, first in Leicester and then in Leeds. Because of his lack of training and formal education there have been occasional light-hearted complaints about his ability to perform his role adequately. Such complaints are an integral part of Hindu culture, and accounts of contemporary Hinduism often mention priests who know little about the rituals, the Sanskrit language, and Vedic tradition or who are immoral and unreliable. Despite such comments the priest is constantly in demand in his role as astrologer (jyotishi), teacher (acharya), domestic priest (purohit) and temple specialist (pandit). He combines a number of traditional roles which, in India, would have been performed by separate practitioners. His family deity or ista deva is Mahalakshmi, and he has no obvious religious or sectarian bias. As he has not come through East Africa he has had less opportunity than most to be introduced to Hindu sects like the Arya Samaj, the Sanatanists, and the Swaminarayan
However, he would probably be classed as an orthodox follower of 'sanatana dharma'. Whenever possible he performs Arti twice daily, Havan on a Sunday, festival services throughout the year and life-cycle rites (samskaras) at hired halls, in the temple or in the homes of local Hindus. He calculates astrological charts from a Gujarati 'panchang' or list of tables at birth and marriage, assists in the choice of names, says prayers for the dead and performs marriage ceremonies or Vivahas. There are other Gujarati and Punjabi Brahmans in West Yorkshire. They work solely on a part-time basis and exclusively perform life-cycle rites and no temple services. All priests charge for their work, and the Pandit himself keeps the money he earns from performing samskaras and adds to this what he makes from donations in the temple to complete his weekly earnings. Unlike part-time priests he lives on the temple premises, and is thus often asked to speak on behalf of the temple on the subject of the Hindu faith. His wife, who is well-loved by local Hindus, also has a role to perform, preparing food (naivedya) for the deities, dressing and washing the images in the Puja ceremony, and taking over some of her husband's work in his absence.

Apart from the priest and his wife, who have been in Leeds since 1974 and 1975 respectively, there are a number of other people who have been influential in the development of the temple as the central institution for local Hindus. Several of these, though active in the past, have either moved from Leeds or taken up other interests. Some have remained in key positions over the period of their residence, and others have gradually developed an interest with the passing of time.

Perhaps the most well-known figure, now a Hindu Charitable Trust committee member, is a Mochi who has lived in Leeds since the earliest years of Gujarati settlement and who gave hospitality and patronage to relatives and caste fellows at his first house in Chestnut Avenue. He has held a committee post in the Pragati Mandal, has belonged to devotional groups, and has represented the temple as spokesman on a number of occasions. More importantly, he performs a variety of different religious rituals when the priest is absent including Arti, Havan and Vivaha services for his own caste group. Newcomers to the temple are often surprised to see a non-Brahman undertaking services, especially a man of such low caste, but he is very well-respected by local Gujaratis, and is said to be a 'good man' with a concern for moral duty and devotion. If local Hindus had not been able to come to terms with and tolerate a non-Brahman performing temple rites, the community would have had to do without regular ceremonies on many occasions. This would be unheard of in India where many groups, including
untouchables, have their own priests to act on their behalf. In countries where the proportion of practising full-time Brahmins is small - many have gone into other occupations where the financial motive for migration can be more ably fulfilled - alternatives have had to be sought, and participants have had to moderate their concern for the skills, habits, social bearing and education of their scarce practitioners.

The major influence this man has had has been in the area of ritual practice. Two other men who have exercised an influence in temple life have been known for their roles as spokesmen. Both are Gujaratis, and both have been Hindu Charitable Trust members. One was brought up as a Theosophist in East Africa and is now a Christian, although he has an interest in all religions and a personal affection for Gujarati culture and Hinduism. He became interested in the Hindu temple in 1975, and became involved in the temple garden and in the production of the monthly Temple News, a task he now performs single-handedly. When school, church or college groups visit the temple to experience Hindu worship and to hear about the faith, he is the first to offer assistance in preparing food, and is always prepared to speak in his witty style on the myths and doctrines of Hinduism to those who attend. He, like other key members, feels strongly that the Hindu 'community' should be well-represented to the indigenous majority. He feels that local bodies should be aware that many Hindus are devout practitioners, knowledgeable about their religion, and keen to interact with others. The other spokesman, from the Lohana caste of West Gujarat, came to Leeds from Uganda. He is a well-educated man who is employed by the Leeds Council for Community Relations as their Asian Officer, and, as such, is expected to have some knowledge of the three major South Asian religions and the cultures of the different ethnic groups. As a Hindu, his main interest is in religious history and philosophy, and the Swadhyaya Mandel, or inner study group, is held weekly at his home in Leeds. He is often asked to speak on Hinduism to school and church groups, and a great deal of the knowledge of Hinduism possessed by the non-Hindu population is the result of this man's understanding and interpretation of the faith.

All three of the spokesmen described above, and the priest and several other local people comprise what is known as 'the Hindu Panel', a group of people who are able to speak on the subject of Hinduism to visiting groups. All those who have exercised this role have been instrumental in building the image of Hinduism and temple worship that exists in the minds of Leeds people, both Hindu and non-Hindu. The Pandit, and
the Christian Charitable Trust member described above have had most influence on this understanding because they have been responsible for the documents produced at the temple on the subject of religion. The monthly Temple News and the leaflet entitled Hinduism - Sanatana Dharma are the results of their combined efforts. The Pandit provides information of religious services and events, and the Christian adds further social and historical material, and compiles and types the final drafts.

These individuals, then, have been responsible to a large degree for determining a presentation of temple religion which relates to their own understanding, knowledge and interpretation of Hindu tradition, their settlement history, their social interactions and their ethnicity. It is the combination of their interpretations and of the collective response to temple presentation (to which further reference will be made in the following sections) which produces temple identity. This identity includes four main areas relating to religious, social, cultural and civic provision. Key members are aware that the temple functions in these diverse ways, and their attitudes to them determine, to a large extent, what takes place in the temple, and how it is understood and experienced by those who attend its programme.

The religious role of the temple is the most important, and, as we have seen, it is this which allows the temple to function in a variety of other ways. The nature of this role is related to the temple's religious 'position', which is determined by the attitudes of its key members to religious groups and sectarian movements, their ability to syncretise different religious beliefs and practices, and their success in retraditionalising Hinduism in its new location. These issues are difficult to discuss in relation to a religion in which diversity might itself be seen as a feature of orthodoxy. It is possible, however, to give a qualified account of the temple's attitude, relationship and use of modern developments in Hinduism.

As was previously mentioned the temple has always been affiliated to the Vishwa Hindu Parishad whose aim it was to maintain the true principles of the Hindu faith in all the countries where Hindus reside. It is, in theory, a non-sectarian organisation. A large number of swamis in India have spoken on its behalf and aligned themselves with its ideals. It seeks to support the development of the temple building movement in this country, and the Leeds temple has ties with the national centre in London, sends a representative to its meetings and conferences and uses 'Vishwa Hindu Parishad' in its title. The intention of the British branch, like the Indian mother-organisation, is
to foster the building of non-sectarian places of worship where all Hindus can practise their religion regardless of ethnicity and settlement history. In 'The Aims and Objects' of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad (U.K.) they also express a desire,

... to organise the Hindu community with a view to promote their best interests in an effort to advance the Hindu Religion (Dharma). The word 'Hindu' shall mean a person believing in and respecting eternal values of life, ethical and spiritual, which have sprung up in India and includes any person calling him/herself a Hindu. (Vishwa Hindu Perished, n.d., p.1)

They expound what has, since the nineteenth century, been known as 'sanatana dharma' or eternal religion, and they use it as a term with which to espouse all Hindus irrespective of ethnic differences. To propagate and explain sanatana dharma they issue a small 'catechism' written by their patron Swami Purnanandji, Aum Hindutvam (Purnananda, n.d.), to their temples in Britain. It is this book, the Temple News and the leaflet Hinduism - Sanatana Dharma (Appendix D) that are the main written accounts of Hinduism or dharma read by interested Hindus and non-Hindus in Leeds. It is through the reading of these that many opinions about the meaning and content of the faith have been crystallised.

Hinduism - Sanatana Dharma, which was compiled by two local Hindus from other accounts, is a short exposition of the meaning of sanatana dharma and its central beliefs.

The Hindus call their religion Sanatana Dharma.
Sanatana means Eternal. The word dharma is difficult to interpret as it has no equivalent in English. Dharma means that which prevents one from going down, ruining oneself in any manner whatsoever and makes for ones welfare, progress and uplift all round. The word 'Religion' does not mean 'Dharma'. Dharma means the ethical and religious ideals, social and religious duties... (Leeds Hindu Temple, n.d., p.1)

Its doctrines, according to the leaflet, include belief in the incarnations of God, the reincarnation of the soul, karma, and the progress and refinement of the soul until it 'merges into the divine source'. God is seen as formless and without attributes but as capable of manifesting Himself on earth as an avatara. Key members often use this leaflet to explain Hinduism to an interested audience. The beliefs it describes are presented as those held by all Hindus.

The term sanatana dharma, a term commonly used since the late nineteenth century in India, is widely employed by articulate migrant Hindus in Britain. In addition, Morris (1968) and
Bharati (1972) refer to the role and practices of the Punjabi Hindu Sanatana Dharma Mandals, and the relationships between their members and the Arya Samajis in East Africa. In Leeds 'sanatana dharma' is used by Hindus to describe beliefs and practices of a traditional nature, but it is used with no apparent awareness of the term's sectarian reference. There are certainly Arya Samajis in Leeds, some of whom are in positions of influence in the Hindu Charitable Trust and the Punjabi Sabha. Their presence in the temple has not seriously altered the religious provision on offer there, or brought about hostility or dissent amongst the various religious interest groups. Sanatana dharma seems to be viewed essentially as a neutral term referring to the quality of the religion of the temple rather than to the temple's religio-political stance.

When the temple first opened, and for several years after, there were Punjabi priests and a predominantly Punjabi committee, although each year saw the growth of the neighbouring Gujarati community. Little is recorded about the nature of worship at this time but two important events took place. Krishna was chosen as the temple deity and a regular Havan fire service began to be performed. Both of these developments demonstrate the Punjabi influence at the temple in those years. The young Krishna, in addition to Lord Rama and Hanuman, is a particularly well-loved deity worshipped by many Punjabi women and Punjabi 'Sanatanist' males, while the Arya Samaj, with its alternative beliefs and practices, asserts the worship of a formless God in a regular Vedic Havan fire. These two developments combine elements from both Punjabi sects, the Samajis and the Santanists, and therefore represent something of a compromise by the founders of the temple. These features are still a part of the temple's provision. The Gujaratis have accepted both features without question although in many cases their own family deities may differ from the temple murti, and despite the fact that Havan is of no particular relevance to them. Krishna the flute player is a popular deity all over India, and is known to people in the West, and, as a result, many Gujaratis feel that he is a good choice even though their own favourite deity might be Ganesh, Shiva, Kali or Ambamata. Havan continues to remain a mystery to most Gujaratis in the city. A number have been convinced of its antiquity and religious importance and praise the temple leaders for undertaking it, although the majority nevertheless rarely attend. All Gujaratis and Punjabis are forced to accept that they are in a situation in which their religious customs must fit in with the customs of other interest groups whether they are ethnic, cultural or caste based. The result of this has been that the majority of individuals have remained at a distance from the central concerns of the temple.
To summarise, then, the temple's key members have presented Hinduism to local Hindus and to visitors to the temple as 'sanatana dharma', or 'eternal' tradition. Their use of this term refers to a series of pan-Indian beliefs and practices most of which were repopularised in the last century, some of which can be traced back to Vedic religion and others to popular Hinduism. All are located in the Indian 'great tradition'. This understanding of the temple's religious position has informed the choice of provision offered. As a consequence, this provision is also largely religious and pan-Indian. Thus, despite the fact that local Hindus have a desire to express a variety of social, cultural and religious interests, which may well differ from one another as a result of the influence of ethnicity and caste, they find this is difficult within the confines of the programme of events provided for them. This programme does not suit any one group in particular. Instead it is composed of a series of different events, all overtly religious, which appeal to different groups. Each individual must attempt to satisfy his or her needs either in relation to this programme or through other avenues, such as allegiance to other ethnically-related interest groups or through domestic practice.

Those involved in decision-making at the temple have attempted to remain true to the initial aims of the Hindu Charitable Trust concerning the promotion of religion and education amongst local Hindus. However, because the 'community' is composed of different ethnic groups, different caste groups and of people with different religious backgrounds, they have been presented with an extremely difficult task. They have had to standardise their presentation of Hinduism and the provision they have offered in order to please the maximum number of people. The task they have been involved in, of running a centre for local Hindus, and of presenting the religion of the Hindu population to an interested public, has made them consider and question the doctrines, practices and social system of Hinduism. They have become self-conscious in their interpretation of sanatana dharma, and this has affected the content of the temple's programme and, thus, the very nature of Leeds Hinduism.

2.32 Other Local Hindus

This self-consciousness has had an effect on the practices, and the religious understanding of other local Hindus. Before going on to discuss their various requirements and expectations let us examine in brief the popularity of the temple, its membership numbers, and patterns of attendance in order to assess the influence participants themselves have in shaping temple identity.
It has already been suggested that, although in India the temple is peripheral rather than central to the practice of Hinduism, in the U.K. and East Africa the temple has become, to some extent, a centre for religious and cultural retraditionalisation. That is, its members have been forced by the transplantation of their religion to its new environment to express themselves in relation to what they see as their religious traditions. The traditions they choose for this expression are selected from those that are most commonly known and that have the widest application. In this case these relate often to aspects of tradition repopularised in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries by reformers such as Dayananda Saraswati and Mahatma Gandhi. In order to express these they have adopted a Western bureaucratic form, making use of organisations with presidents and secretaries, the concept of membership, subscription, and the election and AGM system. This form enables local Hindus to have a voice, even if they choose to use it only in a negative way, by not attending or by failing to take up membership. In general, though, a large number have responded to this bureaucratic structure: in 1978 there were three hundred and twenty four families in the area — including about one dozen families living outside Leeds — who had paid their subscription, leaving a lesser number of about two hundred not registered with the temple. In the years since then, membership has remained stable although only a small number of about eighty have ever exercised their member-right to vote in the Temple Management Committee election held each March. Attendance bears little relationship to membership (except at the time of Navaratri in October when membership cards are required for entry), and because worship in the home constitutes normal practice regular daily attendance at the temple is small and inconsistent. On a Sunday numbers are a little higher, and participants are predominantly Punjabi. It is on festive occasions, when the committee runs a full programme, that large numbers are present: at Mahashivaratri, Holi and Janamashtami there are between two hundred and two hundred and fifty participants; at Navaratri and Dashera, in October, the numbers of Gujaratis at Royal Park Middle School reach as high as three or four hundred on any one night with a further two hundred at a similar venue in Harehills. Although the participants on this occasion are all Gujaratis, at most other festivals the participants are of mixed ethnicity. The Leeds temple is the only sanatana dharma mandir in Leeds, and families seeking an alternative are forced to go to one of the Bradford temples. These services are conducted either by a layman or a part-time Brahman priest, and, unless the family has friends or relatives there, the social functions of religious practice for Leeds Hindus may not be so well fulfilled.
It is during such events that the largest number of people are involved in collective decision-making. Festivals often fulfil the religious, social and cultural requirements of local Hindus, even though their function is specifically religious, and their popularity determines the consistency of their annual recurrence. The participants expect to see traditional ritual actions performed, to have the opportunity to participate in devotional worship, to meet friends and relatives, to give financial support to the temple and the priest, and to pass on and receive pertinent news and information. This repetitive procedure is enjoyed and praised by those who attend. It fulfils the expectations of Hindu community members, and, thus, receives their legitimation.

The social and cultural needs which are met in the festival programmes at the temple are not always fulfilled in daily and weekly religious services. It is necessary, therefore, for Hindus to look elsewhere to satisfy other leisure needs. They can, for example, choose to attend groups which meet in the temple or at member's homes and are dedicated to particular activities or pursuits. Many of the people who have accepted the challenge to form groups, such as the Ramakrishna Bhajan Mandal, the Garaba Group, the Punjabi Sabha and the Gujarati and Hindi language classes, are well-known and regular temple personalities. Their groups are generally composed of other like-minded and committed individuals. The development of such groups enables the temple to function not only as a sacred centre but also as a venue for small groups, the members of which are keen to make an important feature of one particular area of their own identity.

These activities, however, are secondary in importance to the large-scale religious practices. They are only able to come about because the temple exists primarily to fulfil a religious function, and because it draws together groups of people with a common culture, and enables news and information to travel quickly. The role of the temple, then, which is comprised of religious and, to a lesser extent, social and cultural provisions, is derived not only from the views of key members but also from the expectations and attitudes of all the local Hindus who attend it.

2.33 Non-Hindus

To these determinants must be added those that result from contacts with non-Hindus. Because the Leeds temple functions in a new location, alongside other institutions and places of worship run by the indigenous population and members of
other ethnic groups, it is subject to a variety of influences which may be said to be derived from three different forms of social contact. The first is through interaction with non-Hindu neighbours living near the temple, the second through a dialogue with other religious or educational groups from the Leeds area, and the third through correspondence and communication with local government departments and other related bureaus, councils and organisations. The approach taken by temple representatives on issues relating to community interaction is one of 'accommodation'. They seek to maintain a situation whereby they can live peacefully 'side-by-side' with other Leeds people but without the threat of acculturation. They have no desire to resort to any form of political activism. They would prefer to be granted immediate cultural equality and civil protection in exchange for which, as a community, they would agree to live as law-abiding and peaceful residents. Unlike the Sikhs, who show a keen interest in political activity and in rallying around the symbols of their religio-ethnic identity, the Hindus have chosen a conservative method of retraditionalisation. It is, however, one which is nonetheless effective as a means of reaping the benefits available to minorities in British society such as police protection, aid-grants, good 'press' relations and representation on local committees.

This stance has affected what might be described as the temple's civic provision. This provision operates at both an informal and formal level. In relation to the first type of contact outlined above, that is contact with non-Hindu neighbours, the provision is wholly informal. In the first year of the temple's life, for instance, local residents made a number of complaints to The Yorkshire Post and The Evening Post and to the council indicating their dislike of late night noise and crowded parking in local streets. Since that time care has been taken by temple committees to improve relations by dissuading parking outside the temple grounds, by ending programmes at a reasonable hour, and by allowing local non-Hindu children to attend festivities and summer playschemes in the temple. Nowadays neighbours are accustomed to temple activities although they remain somewhat suspicious and inquisitive of the apparent cultural differences between themselves and the Hindus.

The civic provision operates formally in relation to the second and third types of contact. The second, the relationship with other religious and educational groups is perhaps the most common type of interaction. In any month there are generally two or three visits to the temple by school, college or church groups, who come to see the Hindu religion in practice, and
to hear about its beliefs. On such an occasion the spokesmen's own interpretations of Hinduism are passed on to visitors whose understanding of the religion is then tempered accordingly. The reverse is also true. Attitudes expounded and questions asked by visitors leave their mark on the religious self-understanding of those Hindus present.

Because of this type of interaction those centrally involved have tended to make way for other religious, and even scientific, worldviews in their understanding and presentation of the Hindu faith. Obvious examples of this are the way in which Jesus Christ and Guru Nanak are pictorially represented alongside the Hindu deities around the temple walls, and the way in which spokesmen stress the importance of a single life-force or God in Hinduism comparable to the Christian God or Muslim Allah. To a certain extent, for the purposes of cooperation and mutual understanding, there is a degree of levelling in the public presentation of Hinduism at the temple. This occurs in two ways. First, there is eirenic levelling, in which Hinduism is shown to have basic doctrinal similarities with the other world religions. 20 It is shown, despite the many deities of popular worship, to have one God, to share with other religions a desire for peace and truth, and to uphold the notions of brotherhood and of the equality and unity of all believers. Secondly, there is generic levelling, in which the 'great tradition' of Hinduism is presented as the religion of the people: Krishna and Rama are said to be the major deities; the Vedas and the Bhagavad Gita are seen as the central texts of tradition; the pan-Indian festivals and daily temple rites are portrayed as practices common to all Hindus. 21 The outcome of this is, on the one hand, that it becomes the view held by non-Hindu visitors, and, on the other, that it influences the local Hindus own religious self-understanding. Thus, the regional beliefs and practices - those deriving from local traditions rather than from Brahmanical authority - retreat further into the 'unorganised' domestic arena. These remain largely unknown to visitors, and become more and more confined to the private beliefs, and unconscious attitudes of the local Hindu population.

Apart from religious 'dialogue' there is also a formal non-religious area of interaction in the temple's civic provision. This involves discussions of topics of community interest between key members of the temple, and representatives of local government, social services, community relations and so on. It is in this area that temple representatives have presented the Hindus as a non-radical and law-abiding group but one nevertheless culturally distinct from the rest of society. Like
other ethnically-related institutions, the temple has participated in community relations festivals, has liaised with police over training programmes, has acted as a centre for the teaching of English as a foreign language, and has sent spokesmen to speak to social services groups and local government officials about the needs of those they represent. The latest sign of cooperation has been the housing of a community bus in the grounds of the temple.

Contact with local non-Hindus has always helped to inform those centrally involved in the running of the temple of both the temple's religious position vis-a-vis other religious groups, and of its role in representing the political and social needs of the Hindu population. Benefits have also been felt by non-Hindus. Not only have they been able to learn about and experience some features of the religion and culture of this minority group but more importantly, their contact has served to generate a guarantee of peace and to sustain the status quo. It should be noted, however, that this type of contact often ignores cases of discrimination and the generally disadvantaged position of such a minority in British society.

The temple is, primarily, a religious institution. Its raison d'être is to fulfil the religious needs of those Indians in Leeds who have been born into the Hindu tradition. This role is important both for its intrinsic worth, and because it both allows and legitimates the performance of other functions. While acting as a place of worship, the temple becomes a centre for the fulfilment of some of the social and cultural needs of local Hindus, and for the necessary 'civic' interactions with non-Hindus. To the temple these purposes are of secondary importance but they are nevertheless vital for the future life of such an institution.

The temple depends upon the popularity brought about by the fulfilment of social and cultural needs, and the recognition given as a consequence of the official interactions with outsiders. These secondary functions may be said to take on a life of their own free from religious meaning or purpose.

The role of the temple is to act as a centre for local Hindus which, as far as possible, fulfils their various needs, and undertakes on their behalf the necessary interactions with the host community. The formation of this role is a reflexive process combining the preconceptions of temple leaders and spokesmen with their responses to the demands and views of local Hindus and non-Hindus. Through mutual contact the three groups inform and influence each other's attitudes and judgements.
The effect of this is that the temple's key members form a view of Leeds Hinduism based on their own ideas and the attitudes of those with whom they discuss their religion. As a result, they have a tendency to see the temple as a representative of the Hindu religious tradition as a whole, and of the total community of Leeds Hindus. Thus, despite the fact that it is in reality an umbrella institution incorporating two different ethnic groups and a diversity of religious interests, it presents itself as, and is seen by others as, an organised 'community' of believers with a unified system of beliefs and practices.

From the understanding the leaders have of temple religion, and their presentation of it to other local Hindus and outsiders, it is possible to see that the process of retraditionalisation taking place in this religious group is one of religious standardisation. Because of the variety of social and cultural interests expressed by this bi-ethnic membership, the symbols used for characterising and portraying the faith are generally pan-Indian rather than regional. They have meaning and reference to both ethnic groups, and to well-read non-Hindus, and are therefore well-suited to the process of Hindu institutionalisation in a new and different environment.

This standardisation may well have the effect of resisting alternative strategies. Francis (1976, p. 157) suggests the forms these might take:

...when religious affiliation and ethnicity are coextensive, both tend to support and sanction each other. In other cases, however, instead of increasing the unity and coherence of an existing ethnic group and of protecting it against the influences of the social environment so that assimilation is inhibited by religious taboos on intermarriage and apostasy, religious differences may weaken and divide ethnic groups, promote union with different ethnic groups, and facilitate transculturation, assimilation, and eventually absorption.

In the long term the problems brought about by the mixed ethnicity of Hindus in Leeds may well result in a failure to withstand acculturation or even assimilation. At the present time, however, a genuine effort is being made to provide a programme of religious practices and to articulate a pool of concepts both of which are shared by all Hindus irrespective of ethnic or caste interests. Some of these have their roots in the development of popular Hinduism. In addition to these there are also a large number of older beliefs and practices which were repopularised
as recently as the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. These elements have been collectively reinterpreted in order to provide local Hindus with a means of expressing their religious interests. Whether or not this process will succeed as a focus for group representation has yet to be seen. Not surprisingly, although the process is characterised by common religious elements, it also provides an opportunity for individuals and factions to support or reject these elements according to the purpose they feel they serve. It is possible, therefore, that internal differences could halt this process of retraditionalisation and that as a result some other pattern, either of acculturation or of ethnic identification, might ensue.
3
Religious Practice at the Temple: General Discussion

The concept 'sanatana dharma' or 'eternal religion' is of central importance to our understanding of worship at the temple. To local Hindus this means the performance of rites in a traditional manner, and a belief in doctrines such as karma, avatara, varnashramadharma and the power of God made manifest in the murti or image. Although there is some diversity, for example, in the ista-devas or family deities or in the rites performed by Gujaratis and Punjabis, the presentation of the faith of local Hindus by temple representatives is one of an overriding uniformity of belief and practice. Such a presentation is in the style of what is often called the 'great tradition', that knowledge which reinforces the importance of the Sanskrit language, Sanskrit texts (both Vedic and Puranic), the deities they acknowledge, and the rites and beliefs they espouse.

The great tradition is associated, not solely with a particular geographical area, the urban situation, industrial setting, or the realm of further education, but with the Brahman varna. Trevor Ling (1980) commented on this relationship:

...the Brahman, even in the most remote rural situation, was not and is not simply a village official. Rather he was and is the representative and the agent of a particular supra-village and supra-regional ideology...

The Brahman was the bearer, transmitter, and guardian of the sacred word, the Veda, the body of Sanskrit compositions which were regarded as Sruti, that is, as having been 'heard' by the rishis or sages of old, heard by the ear that was open to divinely inspired truth... The Brahman's knowledge of the words of revelation was handed on from father to son and was closely preserved and guarded so that it should not fall into the hands of non-Brahmans. (Long, 1980, p. 105)

Their ritual authority and esotericism allowed the Brahmins to impose their norms and values on the rest of Hindu society.
This process by which elements of Brahmanical Sanskrit culture made their way, though not necessarily without change, into local vernacular cultures - a process McKim Marriot (1955) called 'parochialisation' - was made possible by facts such as mobility, communication and education. Brahmins, for example, educated their sons in the texts. Travelling bards and actors learnt and performed the stories, and teachers and religious leaders passed them on. Now that these elements of Sanskrit culture have perpetuated all of rural and urban India the family is responsible for the education of a new generation in such matters. The beliefs and values of this great tradition are now, by way of oral narrative, common knowledge. However, the knowledge of 'orthopraxis', of correct ritual procedure, remains largely the domain of the Brahman even in those migrant societies where caste itself has begun to disappear.

The area referred to by Redfield (1956) as the 'little tradition' has never been entirely comparable with the Brahmanical tradition because, generally speaking, it has not been wielded as a tool of social control. It refers corporately to those vernacular cultures which exist in small communities all over India. This is not to say that this tradition has no existence outside such communities. In fact, most Indians in rural and urban situations retain, either consciously or unconsciously, some aspects of folk-belief, local mythology and popular non-Brahmanical practice. The little tradition, or, more correctly little traditions, (referring as it does not to one but to multiple locally based systems) has not been without influence, however, and Marriot's 'universalisation' process accounts for the great number of non-textual features now found in the great tradition. The two traditions, then, do not exist in isolation from one another. Instead, they interact, forming variable dimensions in the worldviews of all Hindus.

In Britain, although a large number of the Hindus were once villagers in India, there is a strong emphasis on the religion of the texts, and all that this entails in terms of belief and practice. The migration process has exacerbated the opportunity for education, mobility and increased communication, and has more or less estranged those involved from their local village traditions. Where there are a number of people from related kin groups or from the same village some aspects of worship or belief may have been privately retained. This is rare, however, and is hindered by the distance and time spent away from the home village, and by the prevailing attitudes beliefs and practices of fellow Hindus and non-Hindu neighbours.
As the Leeds temple has to serve Hindus from a variety of backgrounds it is the major exponent of the 'great tradition' leaving the 'little tradition' to the arena of private belief and practice. The function of the temple, to provide worship to the deities on behalf of local Hindus, is performed within this 'great tradition'. In the last chapter it was shown how the religious 'position' (sanatana dharma) of the city's Hindu population was expressed by temple spokesmen and reinforced by Hindus and non-Hindus alike. Temple religious practice is a major contributory factor in the identification and expression of such a 'position' and draws on textually legitimated rites and practices which, though regionally defined, fall entirely within this 'great tradition'.

In this chapter there will follow a discussion of what is to be understood by Hindu religious practice. This will be followed, in Chapter 4, by a detailed analysis of two regular temple services, Arti and Haven. A complete calendar of religious events for the Hindu year 2035 (1978-9), with special attention to the major festivals practised in the Leeds temple, is provided in Appendix C.

Religious practice in the temple, for the purpose of this study, is defined as the interaction of meaning and ritual in an appropriate space at a prescribed time performed by a religious specialist and a gathering of participants. In Hindu religious practice, as in the practice related to other world faiths, there is an ideal form and structure which, as far as possible, is aspired to by Hindu practitioners. Central to 'dharma' is the concept of 'orthopraxis', right practice and conduct, which it is the duty of each individual to carry out: in ideal conditions the shape and layout of the temple would be prescribed according to tradition; rites would be performed in a correct manner with attention to right pronunciation and gesture; they would take place at the right time of day, month and year, and in consideration of auspicious and inauspicious periods; and the practitioner, in true family tradition, would be born and bred to perform temple rites to a particular deity in the highest possible state of purity. In Leeds at the present time, where the mandir is situated in an old stable building, where the practitioner has only assumed a priestly role in recent years and where the Hindu calendar is removed from such well-known dangers as monsoon and uncontrollable disease, such an ideal is far from possible. What follows is a discussion of the six factors of religious practice as they occur within their new environment, after having undergone the adaptations necessary in moving from the homeland to an alien culture,
climate and geographical situation.

3.1 SPACE

In the last chapter, in which the layout of the temple building was outlined, the architectural ideals considered in relation to the construction of traditional Indian temples were mentioned. In Leeds, not only do we find that such ideals have had to be abandoned until such a time as the community can seriously contemplate funding a purpose-built temple, but also that, in its present state, the temple cannot even accommodate all the religious events called for by local Hindus. The second of these restrictions is explained by the destruction to the main building caused by the two fires of 1972 and 1973. As a result, popular gatherings like the festival of Navaratri or the Hindu wedding (Vivaha) have to take place elsewhere because they cannot be catered for in the smaller 'stable' building. At times like these, schools and public halls have to be hired, and the necessary paraphernalia has to be transported from the temple. In such instances, the focus of worship, generally a kund or fire grate in a mandap or canopy, or framed prints of deities in the form of a portable mandir or deri, is placed in the middle or at the far end of the hall, and is surrounded by the necessary instruments for worship such as the thali, the Arti lamp, the incense or dhupa, and the ghee. This area is then treated as sacred, and is shown respect in a similar way to the focus of worship in the temple mandir. However, it rarely commands such personal devotion as its mandir equivalent because it has a temporary purpose and is not ritually installed.

The layout of the permanent mandir in the present temple building, its structural significance and religious function were described in the last chapter. To summarise, it is housed in a room of medium proportions to the left of the entrance hall, and has statues of Radha and Krishna placed in a key focal position at the far end of the room, surrounded by representations or pictures of Shiva, Ganesh, Hanuman, Ambamata, and the other manifestations of Shakti. These images have been partially installed, and are considered to be sacred. Participants should pass through a preparatory period of self-purification before approaching them and participating in their worship. The mandir itself and the time spent in it are of a different quality to the outside world and time spent in profane work and leisure. They are held to be sacred. It is considered to be the duty (dharma) of all Hindus to spend some time in temple worship, as a result of which they will accrue merit (punya).
The space itself differs to suit the requirements of the festival period or religious occasion. When Havan takes place, for example, a kund is set on the floor on a cloth, and is surrounded by small bowls of water, grain and ghee, sticks of incense (dhupa), spoons and so on. During festivals, in which deities like Shiva (Mahashivaratri), Krishna (Janamashtami) and Rama (Ramnavmi) are remembered, special mandirs are prepared on the floor with a picture, statue, lingam or cradle (for Balaji, the baby Krishna) with the appropriate symbols, decorations and items for offering at hand. It is true to say, however, that although the object of worship, and the related instruments and symbols may differ according to the religious event, the structural relationships remain the same. The focus of worship, whether it is a picture of Rama, Shiva, Ambamata or Krishna, is always the religious centre for that occasion, and commands respect and receives offerings from the practitioner on behalf of the participants.

3.2 TIME

The time prescribed for Hindu worship, although it continues to be calculated, like religious space, according to traditional principles, has had to accommodate itself to the British situation. What this has meant is not so much that the times for worship have varied but that the times have a different significance in the West from the significance they had in India. In Britain, for example, there are no monsoon periods, no danger of snakes and no hot summers in January and February. Instead the determining features are the long cold winter, the Christian and commercial calendar, and the working week. Most of the same practices continue here but their context has changed. During Holi, for example, the participants are in coats and scarves, and hold back from the more outrageous pursuits of paint-throwing and fighting because of the cold weather and dark nights. The Hindu religious year, however, remains an extremely influential variable in a consideration of religious practice, although it is important to remember that a significant proportion of the year's events are not celebrated in a formal temple context. The religious year is based on a luni-solar calendar which, while governed and determined by strict rules, often gives the appearance of being arbitrary. R. and S. Freed made the following comment in their article on the Hindu calendar:

The complexities of correlating lunar and solar days, months, and years in these luni-solar systems can occasionally confuse the fieldworker in his study and recording of ceremonial life; for sometimes a ceremony may appear to be held a day in advance of its proper date, and festivals supposedly of one day's duration may be observed for two days. (Freed and Freed, 1964, p.67)
One of the most obvious reasons for confusion not mentioned above is the fact that in India there is no national uniformity of new year date, with some areas beginning their religious year in Chaitra (March to April), either at the time of the new moon or the full moon, and other areas beginning theirs from the day after Divali night in Karttika (October to November). This distinction can be witnessed in the differences in the calendars found in Chhattisgarh, Madhya Pradesh (Babb, 1975) and in Gujarat state.

In Chhattisgarh, as elsewhere in North and Central India, the lunar month (chandra mas) consists of one complete cycle of lunar phases from full moon to full moon. Each month ends on the full moon day (purnima or punni) and the next month begins on the day following. The new moon (amavashya) divides the lunar month into two fortnights (paksh or pak), a dark fortnight (badi or krishna)... and a light fortnight (sudi or shukla)... (Babb, 1975, pp.123-4)

This is not the case in the West of India or for the Gujarati people in this country. They use the 'amanta' or new moon-to-new moon' system rather than Chhattisgarh's 'purnimanta' system. From the Leeds Temple News, which, as we have seen, is compiled by Gujarati Hindus, it is possible to see that the first day of the new year occurs after Divali night. It is on this day (Chandra Darshan) that the first month of Karttika begins. Divali is held on new moon night (amas), the darkest night of the lunar month. As a result, the first fortnight of Karttika is the bright half of the month, from new to full moon, when the moon is waxing (sudi). The second fortnight, from full moon (purnima or poonam) to new moon (amas), when the moon is waning, is the dark half of the month (badi or vadi).

The first month of the year, then, is Karttika, the start of which generally falls at about the beginning of November. The lunar months are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Time Period</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Karttika</td>
<td>November to December</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Margasirsa</td>
<td>December to January</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pausa</td>
<td>January to February</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magha</td>
<td>February to March</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phalguna</td>
<td>March to April</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaitra</td>
<td>April to May</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaishakha</td>
<td>May to June</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jyaistha</td>
<td>June to July</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asadha</td>
<td>July to August</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sravana</td>
<td>August to September</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

92
Bhadrapada   September to October
Asvina        October to November

**TABLE 3.1 Indian Lunar Calendar**

Each of these months is attached to a deity: Sravana, for example, is Shiva's month. Some have a particular significance: Sravana is the month in which all Hindus fast and make vows (in India this month falls in the monsoon period when disease is imminent and the weather is decisive for future crop production, and attempts to appease and please the deities are valuable). These 'monsoon' or 'chomasum' months - from mid-Asadha to mid-Karttika - are those in which, as Vishnu sleeps and is unable to carry out his responsibility for protecting newly-weds, no marriages take place.

Each month is composed of its two lunar phases, the light or sudi fortnight and the dark, vadi or krishna fortnight. The light phase is generally thought to be more auspicious than the dark. The former is associated with Vishnu and his avatars (except Krishna), the Mother Goddess, and with celebrations of victory. The dark phase is reserved for Shiva and Kali, although Krishna, whose name means 'dark', celebrates his birthday on Sravana vadi 8. There are certain days of importance in every lunar phase. The fourth day of both phases is set aside for the worship of Ganesh, the 'remover of obstacles'. The light fourth is auspicious (Vinayak Choth), and important decisions can be made, engagements undertaken, and journeys done on this day. The dark fourth, Sankasht Choth, is inauspicious or 'difficult', and such decisions must be avoided. The eighth days are for the worship of goddesses, the light one for Ambamata, the Mother, and the dark for Kali, the malevolent aspect of Shakti. The dark fourteenths are kept for Shiva, although it is Magha vadi 14 in particular which is set aside for full lingam worship. The elevenths, called Ekadashi or Agiyaras (Hindi 'ten and one' or Gujarati 'eleventh'), are in honour of Hari (Vishnu), and are fast days during which only one meal is taken and no grain is eaten. Each Ekadashi has a different story attached to it, describing how, by fasting, people achieved their desires.

Returning to the comment made by Freed and Freed we are reminded of the confusion encountered in using the luni-solar calendar. So far an impression has been given that a lunar month is composed straightforwardly of two phases or fortnights, and that a year is composed of twelve of these months. This is not the case. The *Temple News* shows us that a month may have twenty
eight, twenty nine or thirty days, as some days are removed and others added in order to incorporate all the influential lunar and solar elements. A lunar year of three hundred and sixty days is equal to three hundred and fifty four solar days, each of which begins and ends at sunrise. In order to bring the lunar year in line with the solar one, it is necessary to delete in total six lunar days from the calendar. This is achieved by adding seven days, those days when the sun rises twice in one lunar day, and deleting thirteen, those days when the lunar day begins after sunrise and ends before the following sunrise. In the religious calendar for the year 2035 (Appendix C) there are examples of occasions when these processes occurred: a lunar day was added in Chaitra sudī where there were two elevenths in succession, and a day was deleted in Chaitra vadi when no twelfth day was recorded. If the added day is festive, for example if there are two Magha vadi fourteenths, either both are celebrated or one of the two is chosen. A deleted festive day will be celebrated either the day before or the day after, depending which of the two is the more auspicious.

This has given us a year of three hundred and fifty four solar days. In order to bring this in line with the civil year of three hundred and fifty five/six, a month is added every two and a half years. In 1980 this occurred, and a month was added between Vaishākhā and Jyaistha. In this extra month no sankranti took place (sankranti is the time when the sun moves from one sign of the zodiac to the next), whereas in all other solar months the sun entered one of the twelve signs or sankrantis. Both the extra month and the following one took the name Jyaistha (Gujarati Jeth). In the Temple News for May and June 1980 these were recorded as Pra. Jeth and Dwī. Jeth, first and second Jyaistha. It is also necessary on very rare occasions to delete a month in which two sankrantis occur. This only happens once in a period ranging in length from nineteen to one hundred and twenty two years (Freed and Freed, 1964).

Festival days are calculated according to this system. Apart from important lunar days, which occur either in every phase or once a month and are generally held to be either lucky or unlucky, there are those days or periods remembered just once annually but always at the same time in the luni-solar year. Both monthly and annual lunar-determined events are best described as 'regular' or 'fixed', as distinct from those events which are 'irregular' or 'moveable' in kind and occur at variable times in the luni-solar year. Regular or fixed events include important festive periods like Holi in Phalgunī or Navarātri and Dashera in Asvina, and less well-known propitiatory rites like Nag Pancham (snake-protection fifth) or Shitala Sapta.
Irregular or moveable events are generally those tied to the Indian civil year (Gregorian calendar), and are thus held on a different lunar day each year. Two examples of this are Nehru Jayanti (14 November) and Mahatma Gandhi Jayanti (2 October). The events which are held at the temple include daily, weekly and annual regular events, and irregular marriages and Vrat Kathas (moral lessons and vows). The twice daily Arti ceremony takes place at 8 a.m. and 8 p.m., thus approximating sunrise and sunset, and Puja is performed by the priest's wife early in the morning, at noon and every evening after Arti. Every week a Sunday Havan is undertaken when a fire is lit, and is followed by a meal or Samuha Bhojan. It is performed on this day at this time in order to comply with the British working week and the Christian concept of weekly congregational religious practice. There is no traditional Hindu precedent for this. On a Saturday a devotional Bhajan Group meets at the temple to sing Hanuman Chalisa, as Saturday is an important day for the worship of this particular god. Other auspicious days of the month are remembered only at the domestic level, and are not celebrated at the temple. Annually, however, there are temple programmes for all the large festivals, particularly the new year Annakut, Mahashivaratri, Holi, Ramnavmi, Hanuman Jayanti, Janamashtami, Navaratri, Dashera and Lakshmi Puja in the Divali season. Vivahas (marriage ceremonies), Vrat Kathas and Pratistha ceremonies (installation) are all irregular and cannot be determined calendrically but are nonetheless popular and important events in the life of the temple.

3.3 RELIGIOUS SPECIALIST

At the Leeds temple it is the religious specialist, known as the Pandit, who calculates this annual religious calendar, and provides the information for dating programmes, in addition to leading temple ritual and undertaking life cycle services in the home. The present Gujarati Brahman 'priest', as he is often called, is the third Pandit to hold office at the temple, the first two having been Punjabi Brahmans. The Leeds population is fortunate in having a full-time practitioner. There are indeed a number of people from the Brahman castes in Britain. Most, however, are eager to obtain white collar or manual jobs through which they can earn a good wage rather than to pursue occupations in full-time religious work.5

Traditionally, in India, Brahman specialists were assigned specific hereditary tasks. In Vedic India, Brahman priests had different roles. The Adhvaryu priests were the guardians of the Yajur Veda, a liturgical rubric which explained how they
were to undertake building altars, preparing offerings and leading rituals. In a similar vein, it was the guardians of the Rg Veda who chanted devotional and ritual hymns, and mastered the correct tones and pronunciation of the Sanskrit language. Throughout Indian history this situation, to a large degree, has persisted. Even now, Brahman priests are linked to a particular Veda to which their family has been assigned throughout the centuries. These Brahmans either follow the appropriate occupations as temple Pandit or domestic Purohit, or pursue lay positions as farmers, factory employees or white collar workers. The position of ritual specialist, however, is reserved in many cases for people from the Brahman castes.

There are other religious roles performed in India, however, and most of these derive from the period when Brahmanical authority was challenged and some of the more popular elements became increasingly important to the practice of Indian religion. During this period the emphasis shifted from Brahman-oriented domestic worship directed to non-representational images, to popular worship at the temple and in the home, which was more devotional in kind and was directed to gods with human characteristics and forms. To accompany this gradual change there was a growth in the numbers of non-Brahman specialists or Pujaris who were able to lead Puja and perform samskaras for people of low-caste status. Nowadays, in most Indian villages there are both low-ranking castes like the Garoda of Gujarat and the Baiga of Central India whose traditional occupation is religious service for sudras and untouchables, and individual low-caste charismatic personalities revered by local people for their supernatural powers, and their ability to heal and to exorcise spirits.

The latter group, like the travelling sadhus, the spiritually-able swamis and rishis, and the personal gurus, all share in, to varying extents, what Weber termed 'charisma', the 'specific gifts of the body and spirit' (Garth and Wright Mills, 1947, p.245). That is to say, their role is not hereditary - at least not in the familial sense although aspects of guru lineage could be described in this way - but freely chosen and verified by experience. The people who manifest these gifts can be seen, in some ways, to be 'outside' caste society. Although they were born into the caste system, the unusual gifts they have, such as special knowledge, mediumship, and ascetic powers, set them apart from caste Hindus, including the Brahman, who though more 'pure' and thus more able to conduct ritual tasks, is still within caste hierarchy. The result of this is that people from all castes feel free to
associate with, and show respect for charismatic personalities because of their direct communication with God or their overwhelming spirituality. However, despite this freedom, caste Hindus feel free and able to judge the ability and conduct of these shamans and spiritual teachers. They remain accountable within caste society while being structurally outside it.

Such a distinction is also significant for Hindus in this country. The full-time duties of the priest in Leeds combine a number of specific roles, particularly those of temple priest (pandit), domestic priest (purohit), astrologer (jyotishi) and religious teacher (acharya). Despite their variety, these roles are all caste-related. They all aim to maintain the existing social system from within by reinforcing the traditional ritual relationships of deity, Brahman and worshippers, and the system of varnashramadharma or duties according to caste and stage of life. The priest has no spiritual powers. He could not, for instance, perform a full Pratistha or installation ceremony for the images of Radha and Krishna, a task reserved for a person of proven spirituality. Likewise, he has no prophetic or healing powers, and no direct, personal communication with God, qualities not necessary for his role as ritual practitioner. Unlike the charismatics, his role is non-interpretative, hereditary, textual and ritual in kind.

In his role as Pandit, the priest acts as a ritual mediator between the gods and the worshippers. He is able to serve in this way as a result of the complex system of service and reward, and purity and pollution which provides a structure for all Indian society from the untouchable to the Brahman. As the last chapter showed, purity is central in determining the physical arrangement of temple layout, and the relationships and practices of those people who participate in worship. Fuller (1979) explains, with reference to the Shiva temple in Madurai, how the relationships and duties of the priest work in theory. According to his account purity is of central importance to the Brahman, setting him above other mortals and allowing him to perform rituals of offering or service in order 'to please the gods so that they may use their power (shakti) beneficently for the preservation of the world and the good of mankind as a whole' (Fuller, 1979, p.461). The rites of image (murti) purification are rarely carried out in full although failure to perform such rites, if only in a shortened form, would only enrage the deity who would then withdraw his or her powers.

The murtis in Leeds, which are not fully installed, do not demand full rites, but must be woken (uthapana), dressed (shringara),
fed (rajabhoga) and put to bed (savana) at the appropriate times. Although the priest and his wife should perform all temple rites, other people, often non-Brahmans, take over the responsibility for ritual practice in times of need. According to tradition such an action is unacceptable because the entire process is one dependent upon a degree of purity only attainable by the temple priest. Therefore, it must be said that, while Leeds Hindus are keen to approximate, as far as possible, the Indian religious experience, they are, in fact, hindered in this by their small community size, their motives for migration, their loss of knowledge and their inferior surroundings.

3.4 PARTICIPANTS

The Pandit, then, is theoretically employed to purify the murti, in order that it can remain 'a repository of divine power' (Fuller, 1979, p.465), and to please the gods by offering, performing Puja and chanting mantras. He is not there to serve the people, although this may be a consequence of his work, and, indeed, it is not necessary for participants to be present at all for the performance of rites. It is not their presence in the temple but their social position, as members of caste society with a potential for pollution, which makes them vital for the continued presence and benevolence of divine power. That is, the Pandit is able to strive towards a position of maximum purity - or rather minimum impurity - through bathing, eating correctly, and by having the purity of his environment maintained by his sudra or untouchable servants. He may then attend to the deity through the murti. If he cannot do this the deity will suffer and will withdraw its power which, in turn, will bring about problems for society and the balance of nature.

In theory, this is no less true for the Leeds situation than for Indian temple rituals. There are, however, several practical considerations which affect participation in temple programmes in British cities. There is, for example, a strong feeling that a full temple is more desirable than a half empty one: high attendance serves a purpose in ensuring that the temple can continue to pay for its resident priest; prevailing attitudes in British society dictate that good attendance figures indicate a popular, effective and caring community institution (an unavoidable sense of competition with Sikhs and Muslims, for whom group worship is the norm, reinforces this). It is also important to consider the individual's motives for temple attendance, motives which, in this country, are both social and religious. Clearly, there is a desire amongst members of migrant groups to have the opportunity to meet together. In the case
of Hindus, it is also essential to remember that they have a desire to be dutiful (dharma) individuals, and to accrue merit (punya) through good work which will, after their death, help to acquire a good and comfortable position for them in the next life (karma). Fasting, for example, is undertaken by most Hindus because it is a discipline laid down by tradition which they are expected to perform, and for which they will receive merit (punya). Likewise, it is the duty (dharma) of Hindus to worship the gods. Generally this is done in the home but during festivals it is undertaken in a temple. If this is performed a Hindu is thought to accrue merit.

There are, then, a number of reasons why Hindus attend temples for worship. In India, attendance during festivals is a part of the duty of the individual. In this country it is necessary to add to this a consideration of prevailing British attitudes to religious practice, social motives, and the desire to reinforce traditions which might otherwise be lost and forgotten. Despite such reasons, however, daily and weekly services still attract very small numbers although festivals, marriages and irregular Yagnas (sacrifices) and Vrat Kathas are considerably more popular.

The procedure for participants in temple worship includes a variety of ritual actions. Generally, participants bathe and fast before attending the temple. On arrival they remove their shoes and enter the mandir where a tilaka of kankum is placed on their foreheads by the Pandit as an additional and outward sign of purity. Those who are impure through the death of a relative, through childbirth, menstruation and so on should refrain from attending during this time. Throughout the rite the participants have a passive role, although, as a result of the lack of temple servants in British temples, some assist the Pandit or take over from him in his absence. On entering the mandir, participants perform pranama (obeisance). They then sit or stand, depending on the nature of the occasion, sing bhajans (religious songs), or repeat mantras (formulas), make the correct offerings, either by approaching a prepared mandir or by being taken a thali or plate on which an offering can be made. They then receive a part of the food that has been offered (naivedya) to the deity by the Pandit. This food, or prasada as it is better known, is sacred and is received in a spirit of thanks expressed in the accompanying phrase, 'Jay shree Krishna' or 'Hail Krishna'. This food is generally taken home and shared amongst relatives and friends.

Both the composition of the group and the procedure in which its members participate are similar in kind in comparable Indian
practices. The words of mantras and bhajans, and the order of the ritual are commonly known except in the case of Havan which is not regularly practised in most parts of India. There are invariably more women than men in attendance, and the gestures and expressions exhibited are the same as those which can be observed in India. Devotional attitudes, for example pranama, participation in the singing of bhajans, eagerness to receive prasada and to purify oneself with the light from the lamp, are similar although, in general, there is less restraint and more emotional fervour expressed in Gujarati worship in India than there is in the Leeds temple.

To summarise, then, the role played by participants, despite being passive and, strictly speaking, unnecessary to the immediate well-being of the deity, is designed to bring personal benefit. Its particular value lies not in service to the deity but in service both to the individual participant, whose own future happiness and well-being depends on the correct performance of duty, and to the group, whose future independence in this country relies on the retention of traditional beliefs and practices.

3.5 MEANING

Participant attendance at the temple, then, is important at the level of both the individual and the group. On the one hand, it is an expression of the performance of duty, and, on the other, it is a portrayal of religious and cultural solidarity, and the retention of tradition. These religious and social functions are expressed in and communicated through the 'meaning' or 'meanings' of rituals undertaken at the temple. These 'meanings' are the result of a popular consensus of opinion and understanding over a period of time. For example, in the case of Havan the meaning might generally be held to be 'the performance of actions to sustain the universe', whereas Holi might be described as 'celebrating the victory of goodness over evil'. One is a cosmological meaning; the other a moral meaning. These meanings or messages are transmitted to generations of participants through mythology, liturgy and non-verbal actions.

Throughout the twentieth century there has been considerable discussion on the subject of meaning and ritual by anthropologists and, to a lesser extent, sociologists and scholars involved in the study of religions. This has taken place at two levels, at the level of the meaning of ritual for mankind in general, and the level of the meanings of particular rites in their own social, historical and religious context. It is this second
less ambitious area that is of major importance in this study. This, like the former, however, is often delivered in the context of a particular fieldwork situation which may have very little in common with the situation in discussion here. Van Gennep, Leach and Turner, for example, have made contributions to the study of meaning and the ritual process which it is important to consider in this discussion. Aspects of their work however, will be examined strictly in the context of the ritual processes performed at the Leeds temple.

Before presenting some of the possible 'meanings' of these Hindu rituals, it is useful to distinguish between the types of ritual performed. They may nominally be classified or divided, in accordance with the luni-solar calendar, into regular or fixed and irregular or moveable events. The first group includes daily, weekly, monthly and annual periods of worship, and the second, life cycle rites, anniversaries calculated in relation to the civil year, and non-calendrical lessons (Path or Katha), installations (Pratistha) and vows (Vrat).

Because of the variety of different ritual occasions it is useful to attempt to elicit an underlying theoretical basis from which the 'meanings' of the different rites can be established. Van Gennep (1909, 1960), for example, made an early attempt to divide rites of passage into three distinct phases or periods, and Turner, in the 1960s, worked on 'status reversal' and 'status elevation' in the Ndembu ritual process. It does, however, remain necessary, for Hindu ritual at least, to extend and develop existing models within a phenomenological framework. In order, then, to describe the full range of regular and irregular Hindu rites a system of classification is proposed (Table 3.2).

The value of such a system is that we are able to distinguish between ritual practices by observing their content and recording the interpretations proposed for them. What happens in weekly Havan, for instance, is different from what happens in the marriage service (Vivaha), despite the fact that they both make use of the feature of fire. In Havan, where a sacrificial fire is lit and accompanied by the repetition of Vedic mantras, the emphasis is on sustaining and regulating the cosmos, whereas in the Vivaha ceremony, the fire's significance is reduced within the wider context of the process of marriage. The value of this second rite lies in its social meaning. The couple who are married are 'elevated' to a new place in society, and all those relatives and friends present have their own roles changed accordingly. They have a new position 'conferred' on them.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COMMON THEMES OF</th>
<th>Puja</th>
<th>Arti</th>
<th>Havan</th>
<th>Mahashivaratri</th>
<th>Holi</th>
<th>Navaratri</th>
<th>Vrath Katha</th>
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TABLE 3.2 Common themes of Hindu ritual

[Double asterisks indicate where an element is of particular importance in a rite]
Some of these themes are more commonly used by participants to describe meanings than others. 'Pleasing the gods' and the 'desire for personal karmic benefit' are examples of these, and, indeed, there might be some sense in saying that these particular themes are shared by all Hindu rituals. However, they are more of a feature in some rituals than in others. Puja, for example, is concerned with serving the deity, with the acts of waking, dressing, feeding and worshipping the god. Alternatively, samskaras or life cycle rites focus on the individual: when their performance is both correct and timely, the participant has done his or her duty, and the appropriate rewards can be expected. Puja, then, is performed specifically to please the gods, whereas the samskaras are concerned to bring about karmic benefit for the individual Hindu.

Both these, and the third theme, of sustaining and regulating the cosmos, are interrelated. 'Dharma' means 'duty' or 'law', an important part of which is the performance of worship by members of society. When this duty is done the deities are pleased. As a result, they reward society by maintaining the universe, by allowing crops to succeed, and peace to reign, and by ensuring the successful progress of dutiful individuals in this and the next life (Figure,3.1).

Duty (Dharma) → Pleasing the gods → Sustaining and regulating the cosmos → Bringing about karmic benefit

FIGURE 3.1 Relationship between the central themes of Hindu ritual

As the health of the individual and of society comes about as a result of the pleasure of the gods, obeying dharma through their service is central to Hindu religious practice. When participants answer questions about meaning with responses such as "It's my duty", "I come to the temple to serve God", "I worship the gods because I want good fortune" or "Worship brings God's grace" it is this set of relationships to which they refer. In the case of Hindu practice it is also this set of relationships which links the process of ritual so closely to its meanings. That is to say, because the performance of duty is all important as a means of serving and pleasing the deities, the way in which this duty is carried out is of equal significance. As a result of this, right action is defined with attention to where and how rituals should be
performed, who they should be performed by, and what they should consist of. A further discussion of this will take place in the final section of this chapter, suffice it to stress at this point that it is not the case, in Hindu practice, that the ritual process is secondary in importance to the underlying reasons and purposes it expresses. The enactment by Hindus of ritual, which is itself a substantial part of their religious duty, has intrinsic worth. Therefore, to quote Steal (1979, p. 8), ritual is performed 'for its own sake' as well as to serve its other meanings.

Before discussing the other themes of Hindu practice, it is important to clarify the distinction used in this study between two aspects of ritual meaning: reasons and purposes. The features already discussed (pleasing the gods and so on) are 'reasons people give' for performing the rituals, whereas those remaining might best be described as 'purposes', in the sense that they are implicit themes communicated through the ritual process, but which are not always obvious to participants or known by them. Hindus at the Leeds temple, when asked about meaning, do not often mention community solidarity, the transmission of precepts and morals or the conferment of status, although when these purposes are checked with them they are rarely denied. Purposes, then, are those themes which describe what is brought about as a result of the enactment of a ritual. They are not functions or goals because they do not 'explain why' a ritual is performed. Instead, they are the results which come about because a ritual is performed first and foremost for its own sake. They differ from 'reasons', however, in as far as they remain implicit.

The various aspects of intensification might best be described as 'purposes'. Religious intensification, where various religious elements are enhanced or reinforced, occurs in a number of events, particularly those which occur in festival periods. For Hindu ritual it is possible to distinguish four areas where intensification is of importance. The first of these is 'social intensification'. The significance of this purpose is twofold: not only is Hinduism in Leeds a minority religion which members seek to establish in a new location, but it continues to stress the religious importance of the concept of varnashramadharma. Hindus are finding it increasingly important to identify with their traditions, and part of their identification is achieved by exercising their social duties. Navaratri, for example, a nine-day festival of dance in celebration of Ambamata, gives people an opportunity to meet relatives and friends, for them to make some physical as well as verbal contact, and for young men and women of the same caste group to see each other and
to form preliminary relationships. The festival of Holi and the samskaras or life cycle rites also stress the development of social relationships, but in different ways. On the night of Holi, people of both sexes and all castes become temporarily free from social bonds, and attack those of a higher ritual status with coloured powders (Harriet, 1966). This ritual behaviour has been called a status 'reversal' (Turner, 1969), although there is some dispute concerning the rite of Holi, in which 'rebellion' rather than a full reversal might be said to occur (Miller, 1973). This qualification holds weight in the Leeds situation where participants share out coconut, and where a limited amount of powder-throwing is engaged in, amounting to a temporary abandonment of sex and caste roles rather than a complete reversal of them. Marriage, name-giving (Namakarana) and the other samskaras connected with the ashramas and varnas, are concerned with what Turner has called status 'elevation'. This term, however, refers only to the person or persons centrally involved in the passage from one stage of life to the next. To include all those people whose social positions and attitudes have been changed by the enactment of the rite the notion of 'conferment' must be added. Whatever their appearance, rites of elevation and conferment, and even rebellion are ways in which the group may reinforce its social relationships. People may improve their status, but only within the system by moving up to occupy a higher but nonetheless prescribed position. In the case of a 'rebellion', the process itself gives the opportunity for group members to consider the rules and norms of their relationships while the opposite process of legitimate disorder is in progress (Marriot, 1966; Turner, 1969; Miller, 1973). All kinds of social intensification have the effect of reinforcing traditional social relationships and hierarchies.

Other aspects of religious intensification of value in Hindu ritual are those of a doctrinal, experiential and moral nature. The first of these refers to those occasions when aspects of belief are expressed. This occurs in those festivals where the associated mythology is commonly known and reiterated, for example, Mahashivaratri and Janamashtami, or on occasions when a religious lecture (Vrat Katha) is given to an interested group. The second, the experiential element, is also heightened in festival periods. On the night of Mahashivaratri, as the participant enters the temple, she is surrounded by an abnormally symbolic environment. There is incense burning. There are people sitting around the lingam, singing bhajans to a musical accompaniment of tabla, bells and harmonium. The songs praise Shiva, repeat his name and tell of his deeds. She is told of the stories of his life in the Himalayas with Parvati and Ganesh,
and is reminded of his beneficence and kindness. The drama is complete when she makes her offering of milk and ghee to the marble lingam, and chants "Om namah Shivaya". The experience makes an appeal to all the senses, and can be both mentally and emotionally satisfying. Experiential intensification, although more available in some religious contexts than others, however, finally rests with the individual and his or her own receptivity, albeit within the group situation. 'Moral intensification', like 'doctrinal', is available on those occasions when the belief or myth content is high. The most impressive example of this is the Vrat Katha which combines the moral lesson or lecture with personal vows or resolutions. Festivals provide other examples of moral intensification: both Holi and Dashera celebrate the victory of goodness over evil, with Holika burnt annually in the fire, and the demon Havana ritually conquered by Rama and his armies in the Ramlila.

The enactment of rites like these, which stress one or more of these elements of religious intensification, reinforces traditional patterns of knowledge, experience and practice. This is particularly important for migrant Hindus for whom religious meetings and events provide the major opportunity for the reinforcement and transmission of Hindu traditions.

From this list of characteristics it is possible to come to some understanding of the meanings of the rituals which take place at the temple. Each one has its own particular meaning expressed through liturgy, mythology and non-verbal action. Hindus, like any other group, often find it hard to give expression to the meanings of a rite when asked about them. Some, particularly those who have made a conscious effort to learn about their religion on coming to Britain, have read or thought about the festivals and can attempt an outright answer. A number of committee members and other key personnel, for example, have explained that Holi is a celebration of the victory of goodness over evil and have recounted the story of Prahlad and Holika, the demoness, and their trial in the bonfire. Those who practise their religion but have not made an attempt to bring it to consciousness or to verbalise it, either in their own language or in English, find it extremely hard to express a meaning when asked, although when one is suggested they are able to recognise it, and consequently, able to agree or disagree with the proposed interpretation. Hindus in Leeds are not alone in this. Practising members of all faiths often fail 'to see the wood for the trees' and resort to a descriptive rather than an analytical reply in answer to the difficult question of meaning. Many Hindus, when asked this, give an explanation as to why they attend -
for social reasons, to dance and sing or to do one's duty - or describe the ritual process itself by referring to the acts of purification or offering. Any analytical responses given are generally unsophisticated in nature, and explain the reasons for performing the ritual rather than the ritual's meanings. They are, nonetheless, valuable participant reactions.

As we have seen, then, the problem of eliciting meanings is great, and depends largely upon observer interpretations and the understandings of key respondents. As has been shown, most rites, although they may have one overriding meaning, may have other subsidiary meanings. Some may be universal themes of ritual such as 'social intensification'. Others may be shared, not universally by all rituals, but by all Hindu religious practices, such as 'pleasing the gods'. What makes one ritual different from another is the way these meanings interact and the particular form of expression each meaning takes. In the last section of this chapter these forms of expression will be discussed.

3.6 RITUAL

The ritual element or ritual process, as it will be called, that part of religious practice which actually takes place and is open to observation, is the most important aspect for an understanding of Hindu worship. It provides a link between all the five aforementioned aspects although, in fact, the 'meaning' and 'content' of ritual are to some extent interactive. That is to say, the meaning shapes the content or process of ritual and the content or process, the meaning. The ritual content clearly depends on the meaning of the particular rite to be enacted but a knowledge of this meaning does not necessarily let the researcher know anything of the details of the ritual itself. However, such details can inform the researcher of the meaning.

Like the other elements of religious practice the ritual process is dependent, to a large degree, upon calendrical considerations. The order of events will, for example, be different in Jana-mashtami and Dashers, although they may have common features like Arti and the singing of devotional bhajans. Another interesting point is that the ritual itself often occurs within the context of related cultural behaviour. On many annual festive occasions Hindus do a special morning and evening Puja. They fast all day, prepare themselves by bathing and dressing in new clothes, visit relatives, share prasada and decorate their houses, in addition to attending the temple for worship. The calendrical occasion determines the cultural context: each
Deity has his or her own requirements and desires, and, as a consequence, the correct domestic practices will be carried out, the right food cooked and offered, and the appropriate decorations and instruments used.

During the period of Divali in Gujarat, a Puja for Lakshmi, the goddess of wealth and good fortune, takes place in the wider context of a state holiday. Over a period of five days family members visit one another, go out to the shops in their best clothes, and give Divali money to younger relatives. The house is decorated and a string of leaves (toran) is hung across the entrance to bring luck and keep out danger. On Dhanteras (Asvina vadi 13) circles and swastikas are drawn on steps in kankum to ward off evil spirits, and lamps are lit as it is said that on such a dark night Lakshmi will only visit well-lit homes. Women cook special foods and, in Gujarat, matia, a crisp, savoury puri of chick pea flour is made in great quantities. Visits are made to local temples and, where possible, to places of pilgrimage such as Ambaji, in the North of the state, or Dakor in Central Gujarat. On such religious trips or yatra it is important to attend Darshana or Arti to behold the deity (in the case of Ambaji and Dakor, Ambamata and Ranchodji, the black Krishna, respectively), and to offer food, some part of which is returned to the worshipper as prasada, and then taken home and shared out amongst relatives. These activities are colourful contributory features to the Divali festival, but are of less symbolic importance than the rite of Lakshmi Puja itself. Such cultural activities may help to add enjoyment, to propitiate the gods, to reinforce family ties and caste relationships, and to strengthen attitudes to traditional concepts such as dharma and punya. They have a value insofar as they are concerned with people, and their social and cosmological welfare. The rite of Lakshmi Puja, however, is of more importance because it is performed in direct service to the deity, and is a meaningful symbolic process. On the evening of Dhanteras a number of coins, adorned with the figure of Lakshmi, are washed and marked with kankum. Offerings of petals and money are made, and an Arti performed. This is thought to please the goddess who will look after the fortunes of those who have worshipped her during the next year. In terms of the model outlined in the last section, Lakshmi Puja is essentially concerned with 'sustaining and regulating the cosmos', with ensuring good health and fortune for the forthcoming year, and with 'pleasing the gods', with maintaining the relationship of beneficence and duty between Lakshmi and the people. Throughout the period of Divali, 'social' and 'doctrinal' intensification also occur, but within the general cultural context rather than in the symbolic ritual core itself.
Divali, then, like most festivals, is made up of a central ritual process or core within a wider cultural context. Both context and core are determined, to a large extent, by the nature of the occasion. On the day of Janamashtami in Leeds, many people undertake a grain-free fast or upvas, and eat one meal only during the day. Krishna is remembered at the domestic mandir as it is the anniversary of his birth. Those who attend the temple later in the day may take a rose, or some petals to offer to the baby, Balaji, who is to be found swinging in a cot in a specially prepared mandir. The mantras and bhajans are directed to Krishna, and an unusual prasada of ginger and sugar (a favourite of Lord Krishna's) is made, offered and shared. On Rama's anniversary, Ramnavmi, although a similar fast is performed before going to the temple, a different mandir will be erected, mantras and bhajans will be directed to Rama rather than Krishna and passages from the Ramayana will be read.

All the festivals are different in detail although it is possible to generalise about the broad areas into which these details fall. Lawrence Babb said, in relation to four rituals he described, that,

The four ritual performances I have described display wide variations in ostensible purpose and content... Nevertheless, the striking fact is that despite this obvious diversity the four rituals described share certain features with each other and with most Chhattisgarhi ceremonial. (Babb, 1975, p.47)

The three common elements he discusses are 'purity', 'pranam' and 'prasad', although it is the purity-pollution complex and the manipulation of food that he finds of most interest. Indeed, Babb's service to the study of contemporary Hindu practice is considerable, especially in his introduction of this categorisation: models that describe the elements of the ritual process are rare but nonetheless invaluable. However, despite the fact that what he says concerning 'purity' and 'pranam' is reasonable, there are two points that must be disputed. One concerns his evaluation of the concept 'prasad', and will be discussed later in the chapter. The other refers to the inadequacy of his classification: although it describes most of the actions and gestures of participants it fails to account for the spoken part of the ritual performance. In relation to the ritual process at the Leeds temple, then, it seems more appropriate to distinguish six descriptive areas of interest which can be seen to recur in temple practice. What distinguishes these from the model presented in the last section is that they describe distinct parts of an observable ritual process, whereas the common themes typologise the possible underlying
meanings contained in and communicated by means of such a process. These six descriptive elements are:

(A) Pranama (Obeisance)  
(B) Shuddhi (Purification)  
(C) Prarthana (Petitioning)  
(D) Bhajana (Praising)  
(E) Upachara (Offering)  
(F) Prasada (Sharing sacred food)

As the majority of Hindu religious acts are accompanied by some form of recitation it is necessary to remember that all the above may be comprised of both a verbal and practical element. (A), (B), (E) and (F), however, are more generally associated with action and (C) and (D) with the spoken part of ritual. Some of the elements are very closely related to one another. The term 'upachara', for example, can be used to describe all acts of service including praise and homage in both the spoken and active sense (bhajana and pranama). The terms 'upachara', 'pranama' and 'bhajana' describe the major part of the Hindu tarpana, the practice of worshipping the deity with offerings, and are inextricably linked in the minds of most Hindus. These, and the other features, for the purposes of observation and understanding in this study, have been distinguished, and have been used to describe different periods or stages in the Hindu ritual process. They do not, of course, necessarily take place in the aforementioned order, although some forms of pranama and shuddhi are generally undertaken prior to the other stages, and the act of prasada is often a concluding feature. An examination of Mahashivaratri shows how these elements interact. (Mahashivaratri is a temple festival dedicated to the worship and remembrance of Shiva.)

(A) As they enter the room the participants either bow to the deity (Shiva) in greeting with hands together in the namaste position or perform full pranama by kneeling and touching their foreheads to the ground. The feet are generally held to be the most impure part of the body, and the act of touching the feet of another, either with the hand or the forehead, signifies respect and humility in recognition of their superior status. The full pranama is performed as an act of great devotion on the part of the worshipper, and as an offering with which to please the deity. Later in the Mahashivaratri Puja the participants bow their heads, place their hands together, and whisper a devotional phrase to Shiva in an offering known as vandana. This action of salutation and praise is performed in a spirit of respect and devotion, but with less humility than accompanies the full pranama. Both acts have their counterparts in the ordinary caste-based social lives of the
Hindu people in that they are performed as acts of obeisance in greeting to those of higher status.

(B) After performing pranama, the participants are prepared for worship by the Pandit who places a tilaka of kankum paste on their foreheads as a sign of ritual purity. (They have already bathed before arriving at the temple where they remove their shoes and, in the case of married women, draw their saris over their heads.) For Mahashivaratri a group of male assistants are prepared with wrist-threads before they take part in the ritual. The priest has already prepared the murti, on this occasion a marble lingam in a yoni or dish, and the instruments to be used in the ritual. This preparation generally consists of purification with arghya, water specially purified for use in temple rituals. The Pandit has also bathed, fasted and taken care to avoid pollution before the start of the ritual process. The offerings are then made, and followed by an Arti in which the murtis and sacred pictures are purified by the light of a divi or small candle. Through these actions the images are made pure in order that they can continue to receive the divine power. Purification or shuddhi can be divided into two types, subjective and objective purification. The subjective actions are those through which participants or practitioners cleanse and purify themselves for the performance of ritual, and include pre-ritual bathing, the removal of shoes, the tilaka and, in the case of Mahashivaratri, the donning by the assistants of a thread around the wrist to bring success to the Puja. Objective purification, unlike the subjective which is preparatory in nature, very often takes place within the ritual process. Because it is of little interest to the participants it is performed quietly by the Pandit while everyone else sings or talks. It includes such things as the cleansing with water of the instruments for use in the ritual and the purification of the images for the reception of the divine power.

(C) During the course of the evening several requests are made of Shiva and, later, Krishna, the temple deity. As the participants pour milk and ghee over the lingam they recite a Sanskrit mantra in which they ask Shiva to accept their offering. Later, in Arti, they ask the Lord, Jagdesh, to keep them from the miseries of the material world, and, in what has become known as 'the universal peace prayer', they ask for peace and happiness for friends and enemies, for animals, humans and gods alike. Finally, in a short Sanskrit verse, they request delivery from darkness to light, from wrong to right, and death to immortal life. In some cases prarthana can be more specific in kind. In Havan, for example, Agni is invoked, and invited to come down to the fireside and to act as an ambassador to
the other deities. This petition is known as **avahana** and takes place also in full Puja and **Pratistha** ceremonies. In the **Arti** service there is an action known as **pradaksina** or circumambulation, which, besides its auspicious power, requests the deity to wipe away all the sins performed in this life. Whereas in Indian temples this petition was accompanied by a circumambulation of the **garbhagrha**, in British temples the priest undertakes the act symbolically for all those present by pouring water in a clockwise direction around the **thali** or tray. In both **avahana** and **pradaksina** the emphasis continues to be the petitioning of the deity.\(^{12}\)

(D) In other verses and devotional songs, however, the emphasis is on praising the deity. In the **Shivaratri Japa**, which is repeated as the offerings of milk are made, the name 'Shiva' is repeated in order to please the deity and to attract his attention.\(^{13}\) Later, in the devotional songs or **bhajans** to Shiva, the God is praised and stories of his feats are told.\(^{14}\) In **Arti** the **murtis**, in turn, are hailed, and in the **Arti** chant God is praised as the father and mother ('mata pita tum mere'), as the great Lord ('parameshwar') and the supreme self ('paramatma'). **Bhajana**, like **prarthana**, refers generally to the spoken part of the ritual process, and, as the next chapter will show, is of particular significance in the **bhakti** or devotional style of worship in Hinduism.

(E) **Upachara** or offering is a wide-ranging feature of Hindu ritual. Strict Puja ceremonies, for example, contain sixteen **upacharas** which include offerings of incense (**dhupa**), food (**naivedya**), water (**arghya**), sandalwood (**gandha**), light (**dipa**), flowers (**pushpa**) and clothes (**vastra**). **Mahashivaratri** makes a special feature of this element of Hindu ritual, and a large proportion of the evening is devoted to giving the participants an opportunity to make a personal offering to the deity. Most of them bring milk, which is mixed with ghee, and poured into stainless steel containers or **vadki** which are placed around the **lingam**. After the priest has made preliminary preparations and offerings, participants then approach the **lingam**, sit down around it, and proceed to pour milk from a spoon over it while petitioning Shiva to accept the offering. All those in attendance repeat this action, which, in total, continues for a period of several hours. During **Arti** offerings of light (**dipa**) and food (**naivedya**) are made to the deity. The food (all vegetarian), prepared and brought to the **mandir** by the wife of the Pandit, is covered over during the recitations with a cloth, and is offered only by the practitioner himself. In a symbolic sense, pure food is provided for the deity who then consumes some part of it, and, in effect, makes sacred
the remainder which is to be shared amongst the participants.

(F) This food is known as prasada. On festive occasions the prasada may differ according to the requirements and desires of the deity in question. On the evening of Mahashivaratri all those present are given a spoonful of the milk and ghee mixture that has been offered to Shiva. They have the Arti lamp passed amongst them, which, prior to this, has been used for the purification of the images and pictures. They then purify themselves, passing their hands over the flame, and across their foreheads before making a financial offering, and performing a namaste to the lamp. Both this and the sacred food, which is generally composed of fruit, nuts, sweets, and coconut, are described as prasada, a term which is generally held to mean 'blessing' or 'favour'. The sacred food may well be divided further by participants amongst friends and relatives when they return home.

The practice of food exchange, and the complex hierarchical principles on which it is based are an important feature in the social life of Hindus. Babb (1975) reminds us of the status of different foods, and of what offering and sharing such foods means in terms of social relationships. The acceptance by a person of 'jutha' or leftovers is an act of profound humility because of the pollution pertaining to saliva and its unavoidable presence in left-over food. In his discussion of prasada, Babb then describes the act of offering the food, a part of which is consumed by the deity, and of sharing out the remainder, the 'jutha' of god's left-overs. This is an interesting interpretation but one that seems to have little validity in the Leeds situation. First, the food that is offered to the deity is not prasada. It is naivedya, an offering to the deity, not food blessed by the deity for consumption by the participants. The Leeds Hindu population are most adamant about this, and are bemused and frustrated when the Pandit or his representative forgets to place the bowl of food by the murti during Arti, but then shares the food out as if it were now sacred. Food which goes in the direction of the murti is naivedya; food which comes from it, after the Arti service, is prasada. Secondly, Leeds Hindus do not feel that the act of eating the prasada is one of humility. It is a favour or gift from the deity, but not the deity's left-overs. That is to say, although prasada is food that the god has partaken of, it is the deity's act of benevolence in blessing the food, and the thanks that the participants express when they receive it which are significant factors rather than the question of 'jutha'.

These features of the Hindu ritual process are apparent on all
religious occasions. They are not limited to festivals. The short Arti service, the rite of chudakarana or tonsure, and the Vrat Katha also exhibit them. Taken together, then, they serve to describe those aspects of Hindu religious practice which can be openly observed and recorded. It may also be true to say that these descriptive features occur in the practice of other religions, but what is of most interest in this account is the way in which they appear to be directly related to central Hindu concepts. The ritual hierarchy, the religious and social behaviour it brings about, and the concepts of purity, duty, merit and order are all to be found within the process. The principles and practices which are found here are the very same as those which can be observed in daily life and social relationships. At the time of Divali, for example, children and young people can be observed touching the feet of their elders in an act of respect and humility, in exchange for which they are given small sums of Divali money; Hindus in the temple bow down in the presence of those of superior status, the deities, and in exchange for performing their duty and making their offerings they are given a gift of prasada. At a well in South Gujarat, a Mochi is carefully avoided by a 'Patel' who is frightened of being polluted by the shoemaker's touch; in the temple participants must beware of making contact with purified instruments of worship and the receptacles of divine power which have a great potential for pollution. The eldest boy in a Gujarati family comes to Britain from Kenya before the rest of his family, takes a job and buys a house with the help of other relatives settled here. His family are then able to come over to join him. He has exercised familial duty. In a similar way, it falls to all Hindus to perform their religious duty or dharma, to worship and please the deities by making offerings, and praising them. As a result of this it is hoped that wishes will be granted, and future fortunes, in this and the next life, will be secured. The concepts of purity and pollution, and the behavioural norms they affirm, the principle of dharma or duty, and the ideas of punya and karma can be observed at all levels of Hindu life. The ritual process, therefore, takes place, not only in a physical and cultural environment determined by the Indian religious tradition but also in a Hindu ideological context which has shaped and formed the actions and words to be found in the process.

The ritual process, then, brings together the other five elements of religious practice. That is to say, on a prescribed occasion, a group of people directed by a religious specialist gather together in a sacred space to participate in a ritual process with a series of underlying and related meanings.
To discuss the purpose and goal of this would take us into
the realm of functional anthropology. Why Hindus, like members
of other religious groups, have always participated in ritual
practice, therefore, is a question which cannot be answered
here. What is of interest is that migrant Hindus continue
their practices in a similar way to their ancestors and relatives
in India. There is even some conjecture that, in East Africa
and Britain, there is an increase in temple activity amongst
Hindus. The reasons for this are clear. In social terms the
opportunities for meeting, sharing news and reinforcing re-
lationships are curtailed in Britain because of the limitations
brought about by the urban situation, the climate and the British
working week. In addition to this, there is a growing problem
for individuals, particularly those of the younger generation,
who are constantly challenged by different ideologies and ways
of life, both religious and secular in nature: the English
language, British customs and traditions, different leisure
activities, and alien moral standards. In India, the beliefs
and practices of Hinduism were inextricably related to daily
life and social relationships, and they were thus constantly
reiterated and reinforced. In Britain, religion, in general,
occupies just one compartment of thought and experience, and
although Hindus try to live, as far as possible, as they did
in India they cannot but be influenced by this. Temple
practice, therefore, has become of crucial importance in the
retention of tradition and its transmission from one generation
to the next. Attendance at the temple provides an opportunity
for the strengthening of social relationships and cultural
ties between members of like kin, caste and language groups.
The ritual process itself acts as a coded message which reminds
participants of and reinforces them in their religious precepts,
practices and beliefs. Without temple practice it is unlikely
that Hinduism, in any traditional sense, could continue to
exist in Leeds. Left to the domestic environment there would
be little opportunity to check or reaffirm beliefs or practices,
little incentive to pass them on to the children, and still
less likelihood of maintaining the ritual hierarchy and the
associated concepts of purity and pollution.
Havan and Arti: Two Temple Rituals

In the last chapter a model was outlined for use in the observation, understanding and discussion of temple religious practice. It can be employed in relation to all temple practices regardless of whether they are regular or irregular, daily or annual in kind. However, Havan and Arti have been chosen for more detailed discussion because they are easy to observe repeatedly, and yet very different from one another. All temple rituals are complex and varied, and each warrants thorough examination. All have a historical development which can be traced through primary and secondary sources, a liturgical and ritual content, and a series of meanings. In addition, as transplanted practices, they all have a new location which encourages alterations in their performance and interpretation. The annual regular Hindu rituals, celebrated both in Indian homes and in the temple are discussed briefly in an appendix to this study. All of these are important in the process of the retraditionalisation of Hinduism in Leeds, but each is extremely complex and, because of its infrequency, is open to annual modification and reinterpretation. Arti and Havan, though nonetheless intricate, are advantageous to observers in being performed more often than festivals, fasts and remembrance days. However, they share with these other regular practices a poor documentary history.

It is essential to an understanding of Hindu religious practice in general that these two rituals, Arti and Havan, be described and clarified. Arti, a short service of worship performed twice daily, is an important feature of festival practice as well as a practice in its own right. Havan, a fire service historically related to Srauta and Griha ritual practice, despite being uncommon in modern Hinduism, has a relationship with the other fire rituals (such as Vivahas, Vrats and the Holi festival) and a connexion with recent reinterpretations of traditional Hinduism. It was repopularised by the Arya Samaj in the Punjab in the nineteenth century, and can now also be observed in the rites of Krishna Consciousness, a Western neo-Hindu movement.
Both Havan and Arti are sparsely documented yet easy to identify and to observe repeatedly. They are of value in an account of Hindu religious practice because it can be said that they represent two very different forms of worship, one ritualistic and the other devotional. Varma (1956, p.463) wrote,

The most important thing to understand in Hinduism is that everything taught there is not intended for everybody; there is a definite question of suitability of adhikara-bhava. The greatness of Hinduism lies in the fact that it supplies forms, methods and measures to suit all possible types of men.

His view is reiterated by many Hindus, including Leeds temple spokesmen who see it as an explanation for the performance of both forms of worship in the same ritual space.

4.1 DESCRIPTION OF ARTI AND HAVAN

Havan, the older of the two rituals, has its roots in the Agnihotra of Srauta ritual, the earliest form of practice recorded in Hinduism. It is concerned with right action and duty (karma and dharma), and the power of the sacrifice (yajna) to sustain order (rta) in the universe, and to benefit the individual practitioner and the deities. Ritualised sacrifices of this kind became the stronghold of the Brahmins who held the secret of their performance, whose duty it was to perform them for the people, and who thus brought about universal benefit. It remained, at this early stage, the duty of non-Brahmans to commission the yajna and to sustain the well-being of the priest, although in the Devayajna of Griha ritual, each householder established his own fire and made his own offerings to it. Havan as a form of worship was abstract, impersonal, symbolic and highly ritualistic. Over the centuries it has been superseded by the more popular devotional practice of tarpana, the worship of the deities with offerings. In Vedic literature the divinity was differentiated, and reference was made to contrasting aspects such as the wind, Vayu, the fire, Agni and speech, or Vac. Since that time this process of attributing human characteristics, powers and features to the deities has continued, and religious practice has developed to suit the worship of such deities. The devotional style of practice signalled the triumph of non-Brahman Hindus who found a means of worship in which they not only performed the ritual actions themselves but they directly served the deity of their choice for their own ends in the domestic Puja. Both at home and in the temple, deities, both male and female, began to be worshipped not solely through right action and gesture, timely offering and correct pronunciation of mantras.
but through the less esoteric practice of tarpana, of serving the deity with food, flowers, water, incense and kind words. This form of worship was possible for and open to all Hindus, not just those with secret knowledge or intellectual powers. It was the ritual aspect of the bhakti-marga, the way of devotion, and was composed of common practices such as Puja and Arti and the less frequent but nonetheless popular jayanti or remembrance festivals for Krishna, Rama and the other deities.

Havan and Arti, however, are not entirely unrelated. Havan, in the Leeds situation, has incorporated certain devotional features, as a result of changing attendance patterns and the desire for a high weekly attendance figure at the temple. Havan, then, has changed with time, but Arti, the more modern of the two rituals, has itself kept in touch with the practices which preceded it. In the temple, ritual specialists continue to lead the worship as they did in Vedic ritual, and routine, right action and speech are still important in the performance of such practices. In Havan we find devotional prarthanas to non-Vedic deities, and in Arti Upanishadic mantras in between the bhajans and prarthanas from later periods. Duty and right action are expected from priest and worshippers alike in religious practice of all kinds, and these features provide a link between the two apparently dissimilar forms of worship.

Both Arti and Havan differ from other regular rituals performed at the temple because they are temporally determined not by the luni-solar Hindu calendar but by the Western civil calendar and the British working week. Arti, which is performed twice daily, is timetabled to take place at 8.00 a.m. and 8.00 p.m. These times have been standardised from sunrise and sunset to allow local Hindus to attend at times which are convenient and acceptable to them. The full Arti service was described in brief in an earlier account (Knott, 1977) but detailed research and continued attendance over the last four years have revealed a considerable amount of new information. In addition to this, Robert Jackson, in his chapter on 'The Shree Krishna Temple and the Gujarati Hindu Community in Coventry' (Bowen, 1981), has presented an account of the extended Arti service which takes place at the Coventry Krishna mandir. Before discussing the Leeds service, let us briefly consider what takes place in a comparable ritual in Coventry. In Jackson's account a description by a Coventry Hindu is included:

This service starts with the prayer of the Holy River Jamuna. Lord Krishna is said to have enjoyed the company of his gopi friends and of Shree Radha when he stayed in the vicinity of Mathura, Vrindaban, on the banks of the River Jamuna.
During the offerings of this service bhajans are sung in chorus, often followed by chanting of Hare Krishna, Hare Rama for about five minutes. Arati is recited by all the devotees who stand for this particularly popular bhajan. This arati is followed by a short prayer in which the devotees ask the Lord for forgiveness for all the wrongs they have done during the day. A prayer of total submission of devotees to Almighty God... is then said.

This evening service ends with a short Sanskrit prayer from the Vedas, 'O Lord lead me from the wrong paths to the right...'

More bhajans of glory to The Almighty God are sung at the end, especially on Saturdays and Sundays. At the end of the service the arati lamp, which has been waved in circles in front of the deities, is taken to each of the devotees who warm their hands with the flames and pass the warmed hands over their foreheads. The devotees may make an offering of money which is placed on the tray supporting the lamp. Offerings of prasad and holy water are then distributed to all the devotees present. (Jackson, 1981, pp.72-3)

Included with this account are translations of three of the prarthanas or prayers, the Arti chant itself (Om jai jagdesh...), the 'prayer of total submission' and 'O Lord lead me from the wrong path to the right'. Although not inaccurate, the translations are somewhat convoluted and heavily devotional in emphasis, and have not therefore been included in this account. They have, however, been useful for the purpose of comparison, and are an interesting record of the commonly-shared bhakti interpretation of the Arti service.

In the Leeds mandir the service lasts only twenty minutes to half an hour, and in this time a total of eleven prayers, songs and verses (prarthanas, bhajans and mantras) are recited or sung. To the untrained ear some of these seem to merge into one another giving the impression of a reduced total number, but when differentiated it becomes clear that each verse has its own distinct meaning and purpose within the general context of the Arti service. In the Coventry version, it is possible to distinguish seven different 'bhajans'. Of these (although the 'bhajans of glory' may well also be a common feature), four are also performed in Leeds: the Arti prayer (Om jai jagdesh hare...), the 'short prayer in which the devotees ask the Lord for forgiveness' (Kayen vacha manse kriyev budhyatmanava...),

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the prayer of 'total submission' (Jagh jagh samsarka...) and the 'short Sanskrit prayer from the Vedas' (Om asato ma sadagamaya...). In Leeds, however, the service is filled out with a number of other devotional prarthanas to Vishnu, Shiva and Gauri, a pradaksina or circumambulation mantra and a prayer for peace. Before commenting on these points of divergence let us briefly examine the Leeds service.

The following account described the actions and words that are performed twice daily at the Leeds mandir in the Arti service. Unfortunately, such an account is unable to express the variations and deviations that legitimately occur in the context of the changing religious year. On some nights, for example, only two participants will be present, and on others two hundred may attend. On some occasions the service will be led by a devotee in the absence of the Pandit. On others the Arti prayer will be directed to Shiva or Mataji (Ambamata) rather than Jagdesh, in order to fulfil the requirements of a festival celebration. On no two occasions will the service be identical. This account aims, however, to describe the actions and verses that are generally observed in daily services, festivals, samskaric rites, Vrats, and the regular weekly fire sacrifice.

On a typical evening participants gather in the mandir having removed their shoes and made personal offerings and greetings. They stand facing the murtis of Radha and Krishna, and the married women draw their saris over their heads. The Pandit, having bathed and dressed in clean clothes, prepares the tray (thali) for worship with pure water (arghya), lights the incense (dhupa) and places ghee-soaked cotton wool divis in the branches of the Arti lamp. These divis are lit, and the Pandit's wife brings a covered bowl of food from the kitchen and places it by the murti as an offering to the deities (naivedya). Arti is then ready to begin.

The first prarthana is addressed by those present to Vishnu (Shantakaram bhujag shayanam padmanabham suresham...). It describes his qualities and pays him homage:

Homage to Vishnu who is peace personified, who rests on Shesha, from whose navel the lotus issues, who is Lord of all the gods, the support of the universe, who is limitless like the blue sky, whose glory is like the rain clouds, whose limbs are perfection, whose consort is lovely Lakshmi, whose eyes are like lotus flowers, who the sages see in their visions and feel in their meditations, who removes the fear of birth and death, who is the one Lord of all. Homage to Vishnu.
After this the *Arti* prayer is sung (Om jai jagdesh hare...), and this is accompanied with bells, tambourines and clapping, all said to help maintain the concentration of the participants. Victory to the Lord, victory to the Lord, who rescues his devotees and servants from distress. Keep those who worship you from the miseries of the world, You are my mother and father, whose protection I seek. You are without a second. Without you (I) have no hope. You are the great Atman, you are the seed within, You are Brahma, the great Lord, the spiritual master of all. You are the ocean of mercy, the creator. I am the servant, you are the master. Be kind, merciful Lord. You are the unknowable One, the Lord of life-breath. You are foolish, tell me how I can meet you, compassionate and benevolent one, Friend of the poor, remover of suffering, you are my defender. Give us your hand and raise us up, for we have fallen at your door. Erase our defects and vices, and remove our sins, O God. Increase our faithful devotion and love, and guide us to serve the good and pure.7

This *prarthana* contains a number of verses and a repeated chorus, and takes approximately ten minutes to sing, during which the Pandit or assistant rotates the thali in front of the focus of worship. The prayer itself both praises and petition the Lord, and the action of rotating the lamp with its lighted divi is thought to purify the murtis in order for them to be able to receive the divine power of the deities. At the end of this *prarthana* the accompaniment ceases, and participants bow their heads and hail Krishna (vandana).9 Those present are then silent while the Pandit performs an action with purified (arghya) water: he places the thali near the murti, and, with a small spoon, pours water from a vessel or vadki around the outside of the thali. This symbolises the participant's circumambulation (pradaksina) of the focus of worship. In India the murti is housed in a garbhagrrha or closed shrine, and it is generally possible for worshippers to walk in a clock-wise direction around it. This is performed in a spirit of homage to the deity, and as an auspicious act. In Leeds the construction and size of the mandir does not allow pradaksina to take place, and, instead, it is performed symbolically by the Pandit who
chants the following mantra to accompany his action:

With each step of this circumambulation may the sins of this and the previous life be eliminated.

(Yani kani ch papani janmanter krtani ch...)

This is followed by a series of prarthanas petitioning and paying homage to the Lord in his or her various forms. The participants face the murti with hands together in the namaste position. While these prayers are sung the Pandit, turning on the spot in front of the focus of worship, offers light to the deities represented in the pictures and statues around the room. He holds the thali in his left hand, and passes his right hand across the flame in the direction of each representation. The prarthanas are as follows:

You are my mother and father, my brother and friend. You are my knowledge and wealth. You are the greatest God of all.

(Tvamev mata cha pita...)

All the speech, thoughts and actions brought about by my own intellect and disposition are offered to you, Narayana, for purification.

(Kayen vacha mansa kriyev budhyatma...)

0 Gaura (Shiva) who is (as pure as) camphor, who is the avatara of mercy who protects us from transitory life, who is the serpent king, who dwells in the heart of the lotus. I bow to Bhava (Shiva) and Bhavani (Shakti) for mercy.

(Karpur gauram karunavtaram sansartaram...)

To the one whose good is the greatest good of all, who is (the energy of) Shiva, who fulfils all virtuous aims, who shelters the good. Homage to Gauri Narayani.

(Sarva mangal manglaye...)

Let all the beings of your creation be happy. Let all experience well-being, and at no time let suffering be the lot of anyone.

(Sarvepi sukhinah santu...)

Om, peace, peace, peace.

(OM shantih...)

Finally a short prarthana is chanted with everyone facing the murti with their hands together.

Om, lead me from delusion to truth.

Om, lead me from darkness to light.

Om, lead me from death to immortal life.

Om, peace, peace, peace.

(OM asato ma sad gamaya...) (BU; Iiii 28)
All those present then hail the deities represented at the front of the temple, Krishna, Rama, Ganesh, Hanuman, Shiva and Mataji ('Krishna kahiyalal ki jay' etc.), and terminate this by paying homage to their religion with the phrase 'Sanatana dharma ki jay'. This is the last upachara or offering made to the deities in the Arti service, and is known as vandana, a form of worship combining the elements of pranama and bhajana.

After this the thali and Arti lamp are passed amongst the participants who offer money, and wave their hands across the flame and over their foreheads before performing namaste to the lamp. It is said this is done in order to purify the eyes which, more than any part of the body, directly experience suffering and impurity. While this is performed one of two bhajans is sung. One of these is Gujarati (Hum tari bolavum jay...), and petitions the Lord to let the devotee stay by his side in service and the performance of vows, and the other, a Hindi song (Jag jagh samsarka...), tells the Lord of the devotees desire to submit to his control. During and after this, a part of the food offered to the deity as naivedya is distributed amongst the participants. It has now become prasada, and is either eaten then and there, or packed up and taken home to share with family and friends. Other bhajans may often be sung after prasada is shared.

As far as it is possible to tell at the present time, the majority of these prarthanas, mantras and bhajans are either to be found in the Puranas or in later collections of poems and songs. This is with the probable exception of 'Yani kani ch papani...' the circumambulation mantra, 'Sarvepi sukhinah santu...' and 'Om asato ma sad gamaya...' which are thought to be traceable to Vedic texts or to one of the Upanishads. These three verses are petitionary in kind although they are not directed to a particular deity. The other prarthanas and bhajans either mention individual deities such as Gauri, Shiva or Vishnu, or make their requests of 'Jagdesh' (Lord), 'Dev Dev' (greatest God), 'Jagh Jagh' (greatest Lord) or 'Jagne Devu' (Lord of all Gods). This varied collection of verses is interesting, because, although it is stylistically devotional, it is not strictly Vaishnavite. Despite the fact that the verses are recited in a Krishna temple, the service has retained elements that are more traditional such as the circumambulation mantra and the non-specific petitionary prayers. In Coventry, however, not only does there seem to be an absence of these traditional elements but the service is almost entirely directed to Vishnu through his avataras Rama and Krishna. It is not wise to postulate any serious explanations for these differences because of the lack of substantial knowledge about Hinduism in Coventry.
It is interesting to note, however, that the Shree Krishna temple in Coventry has a membership composed entirely of Gujarati Hindus, and that, although Gujaratis themselves may differ from one another in religious terms, it is unlikely that they cover as wide a spectrum of belief and practice as the mixed membership of the Leeds temple group. In Chapter 2 it was suggested that this membership had encouraged a wide-ranging programme to suit its multifarious needs. It is possible that this may also have had some influence on the content of the Arti service.

It has certainly been influential in the case of the fire service: Havan is not performed on a regular basis at the Coventry temple but only within the context of the marriage service or on a special occasion when, for example, a family wishes to remember their ancestors or to make an important vow. In Leeds, although Havan is of little congregational significance for most Gujaratis - there is a small group, however, that attends regularly - it has, over the years, attracted a number of Punjabi males. In particular this has included those who, in the past, were members of the Arya Samaj or those who were influenced by it either in India or East Africa.

Havan, as it will become clear, differs considerably from Arti in a number of ways. The most striking difference is that it is ritualistic rather than devotional in style. It is possible therefore that there may be some relationship between Gujaratis and a bhakti or devotional response to worship, and Punjabis and a more traditional, ritualistic and non-devotional response. This will be considered further in the concluding stages of this chapter when both Arti and Havan will be discussed in relation to the theoretical model of religious practice presented in Chapter 3.

It is appropriate to describe certain modern Hindu religious practices as 'Vedic ritualism adapted to Agama requirements' (Varma, 1956, p.461). The modern Havan ceremony is a good example of this: it was an ancient form of Hindu practice which developed over the centuries in accordance with changing traditions. However, what was once a daily family ritual is now rarely performed in India. Instead 'it has been substituted by the more popular form of worship known as tarpama, of offering upcharas (water, incense, flowers, food and so on) to the deity in the services of Puja and Arti. Modern Havan, as it will become clear in the subsequent pages, has been modified to suit the requirements of Hindus accustomed to these devotional practices.
Quite apart from recent devotional additions, Havan is a fusion of several ceremonies related to fire with different functions and processes, and suited to different situations. The earliest sacred fire recorded is that which forms a part of Srauta ritual. Keith (1925, p.287) wrote that,

The Vedic ritual, however, is long past the period when the use of fire originated: the Srauta ritual demands not one but three fires, and the time when the three were the mere expansion of the one is far behind the Rg Veda: we find already there is a distinction between the ordinary fire and the three fires of the more elaborate ritual. Each householder is bound by the ritual texts, if he be pious, to keep one fire and in it each day to perform the cult of the house: the rich nobles and princes, and even men of lower status, who can afford it, maintain in the same way a set of three fires, and with them a number of priests who are essential to the carrying on of the cult. In both cases certain ceremonies may be performed, and indeed ought to be performed, the offering night and morning of the Agnihotra, the new and full-moon sacrifices, and the difference in the two modes of performance is one only of elaboration.

Those who could afford it, then, established and maintained three fires instead of one, all of which had a different layout, and had different functions and practices attached to them. The garhapatya was the household fire which was constantly maintained, and used for cooking the offerings. From this fire the ahavaniya was lit, and this became the fire in which prepared food was offered to the gods. This fire was square in shape, representing the four-directional sky (Hopkins, 1971, p.18), and was the fire which, unlike the garhapatya which was wholly terrestrial, linked man and the gods. The daksina fire was lit after the ahavaniya. It was used to ward off danger, and for the performance of new- and full-moon sacrifices. Because of its position in the south (daksina) it was felt that it protected the ahavaniya fire, and thus the gods themselves from evil. All three fires had to be constantly tended and ceremonially reestablished at prescribed times. Of the three, it is possible to distinguish the ahavaniya fire, the fire of offering, as the original precursor to the Havan fire seen at the Leeds temple. It was the ahavaniya which received the Agnihotra twice daily at sunrise and sunset in order, it was felt, to control the sun's daily appearance and disappearance. In the evening, though the sun went down, it was symbolically present in the fire, and was served with an offering of milk and water cooked on the garhapatya. In the morning, as the fire
was rekindled, the sun reappeared.)\textsuperscript{16} This reappearance was also linked with the deliverance from sin and evil, the act of birth and the exhalation of breath. These symbolic relationships were described in detail with a rubric for the establishment of the three fires, the offerings made in them and the functions and practices of the priests and householders in the \textit{Yajur Vedic Samhitas} and related Brahmanas.

Bodewitz (1976, pp.5-13) has produced an exhaustive study of these and other texts relating to this Vedic service. Unfortunately, his exclusive concern is the actions that are performed in fire worship. No record is provided in his work of the sources of \textit{mantras} spoken out in the \textit{Agnihotra} service. As Bodewitz states, it is probably the Satapatha Brahmana (the Brahmana of the \textit{White Yajur Veda} or \textit{Vajasaneyi Samhita} which provides the earliest thorough account of the \textit{Agnihotra}. It not only systematically describes the ritual process but also discusses the mythological context, the symbolism, the interpretation, and the function of the rite. The \textit{Vajasaneyi Samhita} itself is the text which provides us with a substantial proportion of the sacrificial formulas or \textit{yajus} associated with the modern performance of the fire ritual. For the purposes of this study, it is the most important part of the \textit{Yajur Vedic texts} which, in total, provide all the information ‘for the guidance of the \textit{Adhvaryu} priest in the performance of the sacrifice’ (Stutley and Stutley, 1977, p.324). The other major section is the \textit{Taittiriya Samhita} or \textit{Black Yajur Veda} which, though earlier than the \textit{Vajasaneyi}, is less thorough. It is interesting to note, however, the page-format of this Samhita which is comprised, on one side, of verse \textit{yajus}, and, on the other, of an accompanying explanation in prose. It is this type of format which can be seen in the modern \textit{Havan} text and commentary \textit{Shri Naimitrika Karm Prakash}. The \textit{White Yajur texts}, instead of combining these functions, distinguish them: the \textit{yajus} or verse \textit{mantras} appear in the \textit{Samhita}; the prose explanations in the \textit{Brahmana}. Further illustrations from these texts will be found in the descriptive account of the Leeds \textit{Havan} service.

Unfortunately the origins of the modern \textit{fire} service are not straightforward. \textit{Havan} does not originate solely from the \textit{Vedic Agnihotra}. Since the Vedic period, the \textit{ahavaniya} and the rituals associated with it have undergone changes which have unavoidably altered both the ritual process and its meaning. Bodewitz (1976, p.199) said,

...one may state that the Srauta Agnihotra, the most performed of Vedic sacrifices, has left traces in several (daily) rituals. Its \textit{mantras}, actions or
implications play a role in the sayampratar-homa (aupasana homa), the pranagnihotra (bhojanavidhi), the vaisvadeva (devayagna), the samdhya rites and (probably) in grhya libation sacrifices in general.

The practices he mentions are all 'Griha' or domestic rituals. The Grihya Sutras were composed later than the Srauta texts, and recorded a move away from the practice of three fires and their respective offerings, utensils and priests. Griha rituals were performed in the home with one fire by the householder for the family group. Although the process of establishing and maintaining the fires was simplified, the fire rituals themselves remained fairly complex. Of particular interest for the modern Havan service was the Vaisvadeva rite, which effectively became the Devayajna, one of the five Griha sacrifices (Panchayajna). The term Vaisvadeva means 'all the gods', and, in the Srauta Agnihotra, referred to the additional offerings and mantras made and addressed to deities other than Surya, Prajapati, and Agni. Vaisvadeva, in Griha ritual, seems to have become a practice in itself, a rite in which a portion of food was offered to the deities before the main family meal (bhojana). Instead of taking place as the sun rose and set this occurred during the day. Vaisvadeva, or Devayajna as it became more commonly known, functioned as an act of hospitality, a practice in which the deities were invited to partake of food from the householder before he and his family sat down to eat.¹⁷

The Vaisvadeva or Devayajna of Griha ritual exhibits its influence on Havan in three ways. First, the Leeds Havan service is performed not at sunrise or sunset, but at 11.00 a.m., and is followed by Samuha Bhojan, a vegetarian meal prepared by the wife of the Pandit, and eaten by the participants. Secondly, it is not only the deities who were paid homage in the Srauta rituals but also those who have become important since that time who are invoked and praised. Not only are Agni, Surya and Prajapati called upon, but also Chandramas, Brahma, Chitragupta, Ganapati, Buddha, Durga, Kubera and others. Thirdly, a number of mantras from the various Grihya Sutras have been incorporated into the modern fire service.

Between the time when Griha ritual was regularly performed and the late nineteenth century the practice of offering food to the deities through the fire fell into disuse in most of North India. It remained a constituent part of the marriage service (Vivaha) and was performed in special circumstances when a Vrat or vow to a particular, deity was to be made. However, it had no daily importance.¹⁸ The Arya Samaj, a nineteenth century
Punjabi reform movement, then took an interest in the Vedic period, its Sruti texts, ritual practices, and religious and philosophical belief-system. The Panchayajnas or fire sacrifices of Griha ritual were revived as compulsory practice for samajis, and the Devayajna, one of the five, once again became a part of daily domestic worship if only for a small number of people. However, the Arya Samaj has been extremely influential in recent decades, particularly in East Africa amongst Punjabi migrants, and, as a result of this, the practice of Homa, Devayajna or Havan has spread to this country with the immigration of Punjabi Hindus.

The writings of Dayananda Saraswati, founder of the Samaj, have influenced the Leeds service. He not only revived Griha worship but traced many of the mantras to their original texts. He laid down a core ritual to be performed twice daily and suggested additional introductory mantras. One, for example, places the Havan in relation to its geographical situation and textual tradition. Another invokes the Vedic deities, and a third describes the creation of the universe as the primal sacrifice.

The core ritual, these introductory mantras, and a number of additional, final verses to non-Vedic deities (suggested by a Leeds Hindu) comprise the Leeds service at the present time. Until several years ago the core ritual alone was performed, having been introduced by the Punjabi Brahman priest when the temple first opened. This practice was passed on, by the committee, to the Gujarati Pandit who took over in 1975. In 1978 a suggestion was made, by a Hindi-speaking member interested in Sanskrit texts and the work of Dayananda Saraswati, that the service be extended to include the additional introductory mantras, and some further verses that would stimulate and interest those accustomed to devotional worship who had a limited knowledge and understanding of Vedic style practices. This suggestion was approved, and the member compiled a set of xeroxed booklets in Hindi and Gujarati to lead people through the service.

Although this has not greatly added to the popularity of Havan it has made participation easier for those with no knowledge of Sanskrit - the majority of Leeds Hindus - who are now able to follow the recitations. Another incentive introduced which encouraged attendance at the Sunday Havan was the advent of Hindi lessons in the temple. Many Punjabi families were keen that their children should learn to read and write an Indian language, and brought them across Leeds for the classes which began, like Havan, at 11.00 a.m. Fathers would then come into the mandir and participate in the service collecting their children from the class at the end of Arti. Gujarati classes
held at the same time as those in Hindi, did not produce the same effect because Gujarati Hindus were not accustomed to, or versed in, the Havan service. The influence of the Arya Samaj in India and East Africa, however, had brought Havan to the attention of the majority of Punjabi Hindus regardless of their sectarian allegiances. Migrant Punjabis in Britain were no exception to this. In November 1978, it was to ex-Arya Samajis that the editor of the Temple News directed his comments when he wrote 'for those who do not believe in idol-worship etc. Havan Puja is recommended'.

At an earlier date (April 1978) he had also tried to encourage attendance by writing a piece on 'The Purport of Havan', describing the service and its meaning, and specifying that it was the 'grace of God' rather than 'a happy life in paradise' which Vedic ritual sought to achieve for man. This publicity, and the reintroduction of Hindi lessons, renewed interest for a short period, although not long after numbers fell again to a steady weekly attendance of between ten and twenty.

Despite an apparent lack of popularity the Pandit and members of the committee consider Havan to be an important practice. Not only is it Vedic in origin but Leeds is, as far as they know, the only Hindu temple in the country to perform this ancient ritual on a regular weekly basis. In addition to this, the importance of Havan lies in the fact that it is directed to the deities without recourse to the worship of images or murtis, and, as such, is more meritorious than the devotional practices of Arti and Puja.

Havan, then, can be observed at the temple on any Sunday morning, and on each occasion the same ritual actions are performed and the same verses spoken out. There are, of course, unintentional variations according to the styles of those who take part, but, in general, the ritual is repeated weekly without change. The service lasts for an hour to an hour and a half depending on the specialist, the numbers present (each of whom makes an offering), and the number of bhajans they choose to sing after Arti. It begins just before 11.00 when the Pandit and his two assistants prepare the Havan area (vedi). They lay out floor cloths, copies of the Sanatana Agnihotra text, purified water, and the wood, grain and ghee for offering. They set out a low table on which the fire is prepared, the fire-grate (kund) itself, and then light the dhupa or incense. The service starts soon after eleven o'clock with approximately ten people present. Generally, one or two enter during the Sanskrit programme, and a further three of four come in from the kitchen for the Arti service at 12.00 a.m. From the diagram
FIGURE 4.1 Mandir layout for Sunday Mayan
(Figure 4.1) it is possible to see that the worship takes place on the floor in front of the images of Radha and Krishna, although no reference is made to them during the Havan itself.\textsuperscript{22} A kund is placed on the low wooden table, and this is surrounded by containers of ghee, water, grain, rice and petals, and by pieces of bel wood (samidh). These implements and offerings are placed alongside the person who is to make ritual use of them, either the Pandit or one of two assistants. The Pandit sits to the left of the vedi (from the point of view of one looking into the mandir from the doorway). One assistant sits facing him, and another sits between them to the Pandit’s right. Opposite the latter is a bench on which incense (dhupa), a lighted candle (divi) and a bell (ghanta) are placed.

Before Havan commences the Pandit takes the bowl of kankum in his left hand, and with his right marks the four inside edges of the kund, and the foreheads of all those present. The mangalacharan mantra, or mantra of auspiciousness is recited while this is carried out:

- May Lord Vishnu be kind to us,
- May the Garuda-banneked Lord give us his blessing,
- May the lotus-eyed Lord be good to all,
- May the auspicious Hari be bountiful.

\text{(Om mangalam bhagavan Vishnu...)}\textsuperscript{23}

Havan then begins with the recitation of a series of mantras which, according to one participant, "place the Havan in the universe". The first of these, a non-Vedic mantra, locates the Havan in time and space:

- In this month of all the months of the year, in this phase of the moon, on this auspicious day, in this house, in this locality, I perform this sacrifice, worship and prayer according to the Sruti, Smrti and Puranas, and according to my means, with the help of a priest, and offer them to Krishna, the Lord of the universe.

\text{(Om atradya mase...)}\textsuperscript{24}

All the following mantras are set out in Hindi and Gujarati in xeroxed booklets prepared by a Hindi-speaking member of the temple.\textsuperscript{25} This collection is entitled Sanatana Agnihotra and begins with a mantra calling for a successful result to the sacrifice (yajna):

- May life succeed through sacrifice.
- May life-breath thrive by sacrifice.
- May the eye thrive by sacrifice.
- May the ear thrive by sacrifice.
- May the voice thrive by sacrifice.
- May the mind thrive by sacrifice.
- May the self thrive by sacrifice.
May Brahma thrive by sacrifice.
May light succeed by sacrifice.
May Heaven succeed by sacrifice.
May the hymn thrive by sacrifice.
May sacrifice thrive by sacrifice.

(Om ayuryajena kalpatam...)

(VS; 18,29, Griffith, 1899, p.165)

This is followed by an invocation mantra, as yet untraced, calling up Agni, Vato, Surya, Chandrama, Rudra, the Maruts, and the Visvedevas. After this, many of these deities, and others, are petitioned in a series of formulas (yajus) from the Vajasaneyi Samhita. In this passage the participants ask for help and protection in their performance of the yajni.

May powers auspicious come to us from every side, never deceived, unhindered and victorious, that the Gods ever may be with us for our gain, our guardians day by day, unceasing in their care.

May the auspicious favour of the Gods be ours, on us descend the bounty of the righteous Gods. The friendship of the Gods have we devoutly sought: so may the Gods extend our life that we may live.

We call them hither with a hymn of olden time, Bhaga, the friendly daksha, Mitra, Adita, Aryaman, Varuna, Soma, the Asvins, may Saraswati, auspicious, grant felicity.

May the wind waft to us that pleasant medicine, May Earth, our Mother, give it and our Father Heaven, And the joy-giving stones that press the Soma's juice. Asvins, may ye, for whom our spirits long, hear this.

Him we invoke for aid who reigns supreme, the Lord of all that stands or moves, inspirer of the soul, that Pushan may promote the increase of our wealth, our keeper and our guard, infalliable for our (good

Illustrious far and wide, may Indra prosper us: May Pushan prosper us, the master of all wealth, May Tarkshya with uninjured fellies prosper us, Brihaspati vouchsafe to us prosperity.

The Maruts, sons of Prisni, borne by spotted steeds, moving in glory, oft visiting holy rites, sages whose tongue is Agni and their eyes the sun, - hither let all the Gods for our protection come.

Gods, may we with our ears listen to what is good, and with our eyes see what is good, ye Holy Ones.
With limbs and bodies firm may we extolling you
attain the term of life appointed by the Gods.

A hundred autumns stand before us, 0 ye Gods,
within whose space ye bring our bodies to decay;
within whose space our sons become fathers in turn.
Break ye not in the midst our course of fleeting life.

Aditi is the Heaven, Aditi is mid-air, Aditi is
the Mother and the sire and son.
Aditi is all Gods, Aditi five-classed men,
Aditi all that bath been born and shall be born.
(Om hari om anobhadrah krtavo yantu vishvato...)
(VS; 25, 14-23, Griffith, 1899, pp.226-8)

This is immediately followed by a shanti mantra:
Sky peace, air peace, earth peace, plants peace,
trees peace, All-Gods peace, Brahma peace,
universe peace, just peace peace, may peace come
to me. Om, peace, peace, peace.
(Om dhau shantirantariksadam shanti...)
(VS; 36, 17, Griffith, 1899, p.292)

The Gayatri Mantra is then recited before the purification
process begins. It is translated by Griffith as follows:
Earth, ether, heaven,
May we attain that excellent glory of Savitar
the God: so may he stimulate our prayers.
(Om bhurbhuvah svah...)
(VS,3,35,Griffith, 1899,p.21)

The ritual actions commence with jalachman, the sipping of
purified water. A short mantra is recited by all while the
assistant to the right of the Pandit pours water from a spoon
into his right hand which he then sips before passing this
hand over his forehead and crown:
Glorious Sun God we look to thee for mercy and
kindness. Purify our lives, save us from evil
and give us that which is desirable and good.
(Om shanno devi rayshtaya ape...)

This is carried out three times, and precedes another act
of purification in which the assistant with water in his left
hand this time, touches his right hand first to the water
and then to parts of his body as the following mantra is said:
I purify my tongue, breath, eye, ear, navel,
heart, throat, head.
(Om vak vak...)

More unaccompanied mantras are now recited before the fire
is made and the offerings begin. The first concerns the vyahrtis
(concealed utterances) or mystical names of the seven worlds,
hur, bhuva, svah, mahah, janah, tapah and satyah.

The
second is from the *Rg Veda* and describes how the universe came into being:

From fervour kindled to its height
Eternal law and truth were born:
Thence was the night produced and thence
the billowy flood of sea rose.
From that same billowy flood of sea
the year was afterwards produced,
Ordainer of the day's nights,
Lord over all who close the eye.
Dhatar, the great creator,
then formed in due order sun and moon.
He formed in order heaven and earth,
the regions of the air and light.
(Om rtancha satyancha...)
(RV 10; 190, 1-3, Radhakrishnan and Moore, 1957, p.25)

After this creation story the participants recite a long hymn from the *Atharva Veda* describing the Lords of the six directions:

Agni is the Lord of the East. He saves us from ignorance and fear. The bright Adityas are his arrows. We pay homage to Agni and the Adityas.
All those who hate us and all those evil-doers we dislike should be judged according to just laws.

Indra is the Lord of the South. He saves us from evil flying-beings. His arrows are the ancestors whose experience guides those who follow. We honour Indra and the ancestors. All those...

Varuna is the guardian of the West. He protects us from venomous terrestrial beings. His arrows are life-giving grains and healing herbs. We bow to Varuna and his arrows. All those...

Soma is the Lord of the North. He saves us from vain desires and the weariness of the soul. Lightning is his weapon. We bow to Soma and the lightning. All those...

Vishnu is the guardian of the nether-regions. He protects us from poison-tongued liars. His arrows are herbs and plants. We bow to Vishnu and the herbs and plants. All those....

Bhraspati is the Lord of upper-regions. He frees us from human frailty. His arrows are the rain-showers which nourish life on earth. We pay homage to Bhraspati and his arrows. All those...
(Om prachi dig agni...)³¹
(AV 3;26,1)
This is followed by a short Rg Vedic mantra:
Gazing beyond the dark we reach the supreme light
and attain the sun, the God of Gods, the light.
(Om udvayam tamaspari svah...)
(RV 1; 50, 10, Panikkar, 1977, p.323)

At this point, having meditated on the beginning of life, the
universe and the supreme light, the participant turns to
his own life and recites a petitionary prayer from the Yajur
Veda:
Through a hundred autumns may we see
that Bright Eye, God-appointed, rise,
A hundred autumns may we live.
Through a hundred autumns may we hear;
Through a hundred autumns clearly speak;
Through a hundred autumns live content;
a hundred autumns, yea,
beyond a hundred autumns may we see.
(Om pashyem sharadah shatam...) (VS;
36, 24, Griffith, 1899, p.292)

The Gayatri Mantra is then repeated, and followed by several
unidentified mantras hailing the deities. The fire ritual
then begins with further acts of purification. Jalachman
and the purification of the body are repeated, but, at this
stage, accompanied by different mantras, this time from the
Grihya Sutras. Water is sipped three times as before:
0, immortal water, you are shelter from below,
0, immortal water, you are shelter from above,
Let the truth, the fame and the wealth be in me always.
(Om amritopastaranamasi svaha...)
(MGS 1; 9, 15-17, Prakash, 1974, p.18)

Parts of the body are then cleansed. The assistant touches
his body with water as before, and the other participants
mimic his actions without water:
May speech dwell in my mouth, breath in my nose,
sight in my eyes, hearing in my ears,
strength in my arms, vigour in my thighs.
May my limbs be unhurt, may my body be united with
my body!
(Om vang me asyestu...)
(PGS 1; 3, 25, Oldenberg, 1886, p.275)

With the short phrase or bija mantra 'Bhur bhuvah svah' (GGS
1; 1, 11, Oldenberg, 1886, p.14; VS; 3, 5, Griffith, 1899,
p.17) a spoonful of ghee is lit with dhupa. It is then
poured into the kund as this mantra is spoken out:
In this yagna-grate which is in contact with the
earth and which represents the centre of the universe, we light the holy fire of sacrifice with the hope of success.

(Om bhur bhuvah svardyau...) 33

(VS; 3, 5)

This mantra, the agnisthapan, establishes the fire in the kund. The fire is then encouraged and the deities are invited to be seated around it.

0 fire, get you up, be awakened. You and he (the sacrificer) both jointly may fulfil the desired auspicious work. On this and in the higher place be seated. All-Gods and the sacrificer.

(Om udbudhyasvagne...) 34

(VS; 15, 54)

Before the samidh or fire-sticks are placed in the kund the following mantra from one of the Grihya Sutras is recited:

This fuel is thy self, Jatavedas; thereby burn thou and increase, and, 0 burning One, make us increase and through offspring, cattle, holy lustre, and nourishment make us prosper, Svaha.

(Om ayant idhm atma jatavedas...)

(AGS 1; 10, 12, Oldenberg, 1886, p.174)

Ghee is then poured into the kund by the assistant to the right of the Pandit from a spoon or jahu in order to maintain the fire. Samidhs or fire-sticks - pieces of bel wood, measured to set proportions - are then dipped in ghee and placed, one by one, in the fire by Pandit while a series of three mantras is repeated:

Serve Agni with the kindling-brand.
With drops of butter wake the Guest.
In him pay offerings to the Gods.

To Agni Jatavedas, to the flame, the well-enkindled God, offer thick sacrificial oil.

Thee, such, 0 Angiras, with brands and sacred oil we magnify, 0 very brilliant, youthfullest.

(Om samidhagnim...)

(VS; 3, 1-3, Griffith, 1899, p.17)

Each mantra is followed by a tyaga or phrase in which the participant shuns the results or fruit of his or her actions. For example, after the first of these short mantras, those present recite 'idamagnaye, idanna mama', which means 'this is for Agni, not for me'. After this, as ghee is spooned into
the kund, the mantra from the Asvalayana Grihya Sutra set out above is repeated a further five times.

Then, before the other participants are allowed to offer to the fire themselves, the vedī is again purified with the dishajaldan mantra while an assistant spoons water from a vādki to the south, west and north of the kund:

Aditi! Give thy consent! (to the south)
Anumati! Give they consent! (to the west)
Saraswati! Give thy consent! (to the north)
(Om aditemunanyasva...)
(GGS 1; 3, 1-3, Oldenberg, 1886, p.I9)

Water is then sprinkled in all directions with this mantra:

Our sacrifice, God Savitar! Speed onward:
speed to his share the sacrifice's patron.
May the celestial Gandharva,
cleanser of thought and will,
make clean our thought and wishes.
The Lord of Speech sweeten the words we utter!
(Om deva savitah...)
(VS; 30, 1, Griffith, 1899, p.255)

In this verse those who are about to offer ask for purification to improve their actions and to bring about the success of the sacrifice. Offerings of grain and ghee are then made, first by the assistants - the one on the left offering ghee and the other grain - and then by those others present. The accompanying mantras are directed to a variety of deities, at first to Vedic deities, and, after this, to those of a non-Vedic kind. The recitation proceeds as follows:

Hail to Agni, this is for Agni not for me,
Hail to Soma, this is for Soma not for me,
Hail to Prajapati, this is for Prajapati not for me,
Hail to Indra, this is for Indra not for me.
(Om agnaye svah...)
(VS; 22, 27, Prakash, 1974, p.22)

Surya is light and light is Surya, Svaha! Surya is splendour, light is splendour, Svaha! Light is Surya, Surya is light, Svaha!
(Om suryo jyotir...)
(VS; 3, 9, Griffith, 1899, p.18)

Accordant with bright Savitar and Night with Indra at her side, May Agni, being pleased, enjoy, Svaha!
(Om sajurdevenasavitar...)
(VS; 3, 10, Griffith, 1899, p.18)

For the creator, the fire and the vital-breath, Svaha
It is for the fire and vital-breath and not for me.
For the sustainer, the air and the lower-breath, Svaha.
It is for the air and lower-breath and not for me.
For the blessed, the sun and the pervading-breath
(Svaha.
It is for the sun and the pervading-breath and not
(for me.

For the creator, sustainer and the blessed; for the
fire, air and sun, for the vital, lower and pervading-
breaths, Svaha. It is for them and not for me.
You are omnipresent O God, you are light,
essence, immortality, the great, the creator, the
sustainer, and the source of joy, Svaha!
(Om bhuragnaye pranaya svaha...)
(Prakash, 1974, p.22)

That wisdom which the Companies of Gods and
fathers recognise.
Even with that intelligence, O Agni,
make me wise today. Svaha!
(Om yam medham...)
(VS; 32, 14, Griffith, 1899, p.266)

Savitar, God, send far away all troubles
and calamities, and send us only what is good.
(Om vishvani deva...)
(VS; 30, 3, Griffith, 1899, p.255)

By goodly path lead us to riches, Agni,
thou God, who knows all our works and wisdom.
Remove the sin that makes us stray and wander:
most ample adoration will we bring thee.
(Om agne nayasupatha...)
(VS; 40, 16, Griffith, 1899, p.308)

Having made these petitions and offerings to the Vedic deities
an unidentified mantra is then said to deities such as Chandrama,
Buddha, Brahma, Skanda, Chitragupta, Ganapati, Durga, Kubera
and Ananta. The Gayatri Mantra is then said, and this is followed
by a repetition of the mantra to the three worlds and three
breaths above.

A non-Vedic mataji pujan is then recited praising Shri (Lakshmi),
and asking her for happiness and good fortune.
Lakshmi is the glory of righteous households.
By her noble influence she has turned
many hearts to honesty and goodness.
By her grace she brings families happiness
and joy. We pray to Lakshmi to grant wealth
and good fortune for the well-being of mankind.

Your glory, being beyond man's imagination, cannot be fully expressed. Your valour against the forces of destruction and decay cannot be described. Your merits are too great to be described by Gods, let alone men.

This universe is the expression of your creative power. The three gunas are your three strengths. Shiva and Vishnu do not fully understand your creative mystery. This universe is the fulfilment of your life-giving wish. You are Prakriti, the mother of creation.

When offerings are made to you in a yajna, all the Gods are satisfied. With the word 'Svaha' you carry the offerings to the ancestors. You have been given the name 'Svadha' in the Vedic hymns.

(Ye shri sukritinam...)  

Shiva is then petitioned in the 'Shivastuti':

For the good of mankind we pray to the great God Shiva. We offer our humble prayer to him. May he be kind to everyone and a guiding light to truth-seeking souls.  

(Om namo devyae mahadevyaae...)  

Most of the participants have offered ghee and grain by this stage. The Gayatri Mantra is repeated until the offerings are completed, and then a sugar crystal is placed on the spoon and put into the fire as the following svastikrit mantra is recited:

Agni, you are the greatest of purifiers. Everything that is offered to you, you receive properly. We make these offerings not for ourselves but for the good of the whole universe. By your grace may all life prosper in peace.  

(Om agnaye shist kritay...)  

In this short prayer Agni is asked to forgive errors made in the sacrifice, and to help those who have offered. Prajapati, another of the three important Agnihotra deities, is then hailed in a short phrase before the vasu mantra is recited and the remaining ghee poured slowly into the fire:

You are the hundred-streamed strainer (pavitram) of Vasu. You are the thousand-streamed strainer of Vasu. May the god, Savitar, with Vasu's thousand-streamed strainer, rightly cleansing
The Havan service then finishes with the recitation of the shanti mantra (p.212). As the participants conclude with the repetition of the word 'shanti', they bow their heads and bring their hands together in vandana. The Pandit touches the kund, and then his forehead. Havan is at an end.

At this point those present stand up, and a specially prepared copper thali containing rice and petals is taken from the Havan vedi by the Pandit. A divi is then placed upon it, and Arti begins. This service differs little from the morning and evening performances except insofar as, in this Arti, the Pandit directs his rotation of the thali towards both the central murti and the Havan fire. When Arti is concluded and prasada has been distributed, the participants go into the dining/reception area for Samuha Bhojan, a communal vegetarian meal cooked by the Pandit's wife assisted by several other Gujarati women. This meal is not strictly religious, although regular customary behaviour is observed: the men eat first and are served by the women who eat only when their husbands have moved from the table to their positions around the fire. When all have eaten and rested the group disperses, and the Pandit and his family are left alone.

Havan, then, is a yajna or fire sacrifice in which Sanskrit mantras are recited, and offerings of ghee and grain are made to the deities. Unlike Arti, which is devotional, and which contains Gujarati and Hindi verses, it is foreign to the majority of the participants as its meanings and purposes are obscured by symbolic ritualism and Sanskrit formulas. Despite the popular time of its performance it is long, and considered by many to be too tedious to attend. Arti, however, held twice daily, is short, and can even be performed at home. Despite their differences both are regularly performed, and both are seen as important Hindu rituals by temple spokesmen: Arti as a daily means of serving and pleasing the deities; Havan as an opportunity for 'non-idolatrous' worship, and as a means of helping to purify and sustain the universe.

4.2 FEATURES OF RELIGIOUS PRACTICE IN ARTI AND HAVAN

Returning now to the six perspectives of religious practice outlined in Chapter 3 (space, time, religious specialist, participants, meaning and ritual) it is possible to understand and examine the two rites in greater detail. Beginning, as before, with space and time, we can observe, from what has been said earlier in the chapter, both traditional prescriptions
and modern adaptations operating in Havan and Arti. The Leeds fire ritual, though very different from that set out in the early texts, has taken up the prescriptions laid down by the Arya Samaj, in accordance with Griha ritual, on the dimensions of the kund and vedi, the length and type of samidh and the seating arrangements. However, it is interesting to note that, in the case of the Leeds service, although the layout and implements are in accordance with Arya Samaj rules, they are located in the mandir and, as a result of this, are surrounded by non-Vedic images that are generally the focus for devotional worship. These images are not used during the yajna but become the subject of attention during the Arti service which is performed directly after it. Despite having been installed according to correct procedure in the Chalat Pratistha ceremony, they form somewhat inappropriate surroundings for a service that seeks to attract people who prefer their worship to be non-idolatrous. This union of Vedic and Agamic elements in Hindu places of worship, however, is not unusual, and, although Arya Samaji popularisers of the yajna would be likely to feel uncomfortable in such surroundings, the majority of Hindus accept, and even prefer, this context for worship.

Even Arti, a ritual well-suited to such surroundings, has been adapted to allow participants to follow their worship in a temple not built originally for Hindu religious purposes. During the pradaksina mantra, for example, those present have to be content with a symbolic enactment of circumambulation in which they cannot physically take part as the temple building has no enclosed garbhagrha around which worshippers can walk.

Similar modifications have been made with relation to the time at which the rituals are performed. It is possible to see that the Leeds Havan descends from the Srauta Vaishvadeva and the Griha Devayajna because it is performed during the day before the meal, and not at sunrise and sunset. It is not performed, however, as Havan-Homas have been in the past, on a daily basis. Instead it is carried out once a week on a Sunday to suit British working conditions, and to encourage weekly congregational attendance similar to that found in churches, synagogues, mosques and gurdwaras. Arti, the devotional practice that took over from the fire-offering as a twice-daily rite carried out at sunrise and sunset, has itself undergone changes to suit the urban working situation, and the British calendar and climate. The times, of 8.00 a.m. and 8.00 p.m., were chosen to approximate traditional prescriptions, and, at the same time, to suit Hindus in Leeds. Performers of Arti and Havan, then, while taking care to continue to practise the rites according to traditional rules concerning time and space, have
modified the procedures to suit their new environment.

The roles of the religious specialist and the participants can be observed to follow the same trend. When the Havan described in this account took place the Pandit led the service, and was aided by two assistants. The Pandit is from a Brahman family that, by tradition, provides guardians of the Yajur Veda. Therefore, like the adhvaryu priests of Srauta ritual, it is this man's dharma or duty to undertake and maintain the sacrifice. However, in the Pandit's absence, and as a result of migration process, what in the past was performed by priests alone (and this can be said of the Arti service as well) is now often led by those of Sudra status. Nevertheless, there is a precedent for the performance of this practice by non-Brahmans because, in Griha ritual, householders were expected to perform their own Panchayajnas. However, in the past, a single fire does not appear to have been undertaken for a community or group of people. In Srauta ritual, householders, where this was economically viable, had three fires, and the necessary specialists to tend and maintain them. In Griha ritual, and later in the Arya Samaj movement, the fire service became a rite that each family performed daily in their own homes. The communal homa, tended by a priest in a public area for a large group of people, has no traditional precedent, except perhaps in the context of the marriage ceremony.

The composition of the participant group makes the Leeds Havan even more unusual and innovatory. Started in the early seventies by Punjabi Hindus, it now attracts a small but ethnically-mixed group. It is not a customary practice in the Indian state of Gujarat, and, therefore, is not generally popular with local Gujaratis. They do not understand the language of the service, and are unaccustomed to its formal ritualistic and non-devotional orientation. The majority of Punjabis also understand little of what is recited but have more experience than Gujaratis of fire services in the Punjab and East Africa. They have further to travel to reach the temple than most Gujaratis, however, and therefore rarely attend unless it is necessary for them to visit the temple for other reasons. On the occasions described above there were half a dozen regular attenders present including the two Gujarati assistants, who have learnt the verses and actions of Havan as an act of religious service. One Gujarati couple who attend are of particular interest because they perform the Havan in the context of their own bhakti style of worship. Before and after the service they perform a full pranama to Krishna and offer money and food to him, and as the petitionary verses of Havan are recited they place their hands together in the namaste position, their heads bowed and
their eyes closed. There are, of course, Punjabi women who are also extremely devout but devotional stances seem to be a more general feature of Gujarati worship.

The interest in Havan shown by these few Gujaratis is not without effect on the service. Not only is it becoming increasingly common for participants to adopt devotional stances before, during and after Havan, but also non-Vedic bhajans and mantras have been introduced into the service to encourage those more accustomed to the tarpana form of worship to attend. Gujarati participants have also been provided with a Gujarati transcription of the entire service which assists them in following the proceedings. The Arti which follows the yajna, although striking a different note after the performance of 'non-idolatrous' worship, regularly attracts those Hindus, generally Gujaratis, who are present in the temple on business or social visits or those working in the kitchen or staying in the living quarters. They enter the mandir as the yajna ends and participate in the singing of bhajans and prarthanas, the donating of money and the receiving of prasada. During this short service there may be as many as eight or ten extra participants who, though not attracted to the lengthy, ritualistic Sanskrit Havan, are happy to attend the shorter, more devotional Arti.

The presence of a small number of Gujaratis at the yajna itself is a trend that is likely to continue, and even to increase. Sunday is a popular time for family worship and meetings, and several families or family members have set an example by taking an interest in what was once a Punjabi-dominated ritual practice. The morning and evening Arti services performed each day of the week are rarely attended except in conjunction with festivals, by a large number of adherents as similar, equally worthwhile and meritorious practices can be performed at home.

This brings us to the 'meanings' of Havan and Arti, the articulated reasons and implicit purposes for their performance. If we recall Chapter 3 it is possible to see that the two rituals shared the same meanings, although each placed a different emphasis on them: both were performed to please the gods, to bring about karmic benefit, and to sustain and regulate the cosmos. Arti, the more devotionally orientated of the two, was performed to serve and please the deities with food, light, incense and flowers, and Havan, took up the traditional meanings of Srauta and Griha fire services, and was undertaken with the aim of bringing about universal benefit.

Let us consider Havan first. If we return, for a moment, to Vedic fire rites we can recall that the Agnihotra was held to
be linked with the nightly disappearance of the sun, its reappearance the following morning, and, through this reappearance, an escape from darkness, evil and death to light, all that is good and immortality. Even though, in later times, the Devayajna was performed before meals rather than at sunrise and sunset, the references to the sun (Surya), the light (jyoti), and the exhalation of breath (prana(ya)) remain. They can still be found in today's Havan. Perhaps the clearest example of this is the mantra from the Rg Veda:

Gazing beyond the dark we reach the supreme light and attain the sun, the God of Gods, the light.

(RV 1; 50, 10)  

Participants of the Leeds service articulate a similar reason for performing the yajna when they say it is concerned with the "burning away of desire in the fire of knowledge". In this they are not only reiterating the concept of freedom from the undesirable but stressing the idea of an unselfish detachment from actions and their results. In fact, this detachment can be seen in operation on the many occasions in Havan when a tyaga is recited (i.e. 'It (this offering) is for Agni, not for me', p.137). At these times, participants make their offerings to a deity but deny the fruits which accrue to them in doing this. This practice is common in Hinduism, and well-documented in its literature, in particular in the Bhagavad Gita. Here Krishna reminds Arjuna of the need for work and worship, and the necessity of performing these duties without desiring a good or successful result (BG III, 8-9; III, 25-26; IX, 26-8, Zaehner, 1969, pp.164-5, p.170, pp.283-4). Such a selfless attitude itself brings about reward. In Chapter XIII, Verse 12 Krishna tells his friend that the renunciation of the fruits of works done for God is preferable to wisdom and meditation, and leads eventually to 'peace' ('tyagac chantir anantaram', Zaehner, 1969, pp.327-8). Detachment, then, is regarded as an important aspect of the path to moksha or liberation, and is a valuable practice for all Hindus regardless of their karma.  

Here in Leeds, it was this unselfishness that the editor of the Temple News referred to when he said that participants should not desire a future life in paradise as a reward for their ritual practice but that they might, instead, hope for God's grace as a result of their participation.  

'Karmic benefit', then, is seen as a reason for performing the sacrifice, not because worshippers are encouraged to request boons from the deities but because the mere act of undertaking the yajna with no thought for oneself will stimulate the gods to show favour.
However, it is not so much this personal goal that is central to Havan, as the more general 'end' or objective, of sustaining and regulating the cosmos, that is sought through its performance. A number of references are made to this in the course of the service, one obvious example being the hymn from the Rg Veda (p.134) which describes how the creation of the universe ensued from the primal sacrifice: 'From fervour (tapas) kindled to its height, eternal law (rta) and truth(satya) were born'. This particular hymn, unfortunately, does not go on to draw further connexions between the need to make repeated sacrifices, and the maintenance and regulation of the universe, but, instead, confines itself to the initial creative act of sacrifice. These connexions, however, were drawn elsewhere in Vedic literature, and, in the Srauta Agnihotra, the yajamanas and priests were advised to place offerings in the fire with these verses from the Satapatha Brahmana:

And Prajapati, having performed offering, reproduced himself, and saved himself from Agni, Death, as he was about to devour him. And, verily, whosoever, knowing this, offers the Agnihotra, reproduces himself by offspring even as Prajapati reproduced himself; and saves himself from Agni, Death, when he is about to devour him.

And when he dies, and when they place him on the fire, then he is born (again) out of the fire, and the fire only consumes his body. Even as he is born from his father and mother, so is he born from the fire. But he who offers not the Agnihotra, verily, he does not come into life at all: therefore the Agnihotra should by all means be offered. (SB 2; 2, 4, 7-8, Eggeling, p.324)

The continuation of human life through reproduction and rebirth was thereby associated with the act of sacrifice. Another Vedic mantra which reiterated the relationship between the universe and the yajna is Yajur Veda 18, 29 (p.132). In this formula, which is still recited in the modern fire service, it is not only our own health that is dependent on the success of the yajna but also the well-being of Brahma (the creator), the light and the heavenly region.

Modern commentators also discuss these relationships and dependencies. Those writing on behalf of the Arya Samaj, for example, offer contemporary pseudo-scientific explanations. Prakash (1974, p. 21) refers to the sacrifice as a process of 'fumigation' that helps to stop disease and to ensure good crop production, and Rai (1967, p.64) claims the yajna 'by contributing to the purification of the air and water, and the healthy growth of
vegetables, directly tends to promote the well-being of all sentient creatures'. The major meaning of Havan, then, might be said to be, as one temple informant stated, of being "at one with the forces of nature", that is, of maintaining the ecological balance in the universe. Contemporary commentators, despite ever-changing worldviews, in their own accounts seem to incline towards the claim of those early Vedic hymns that the sacrifice is responsible for bringing about those things that are essential for our continued life in the world.

The modern fire service, like its predecessors, is performed with the aims of sustaining and regulating the cosmos, and of bringing about karmic benefit for those involved in its performance. In order for these results to occur the deities must first be pleased. As the editor of the Temple News said it is the 'grace of God' that Havan brings about. All the other rewards come about only as a result of this.

Therefore 'pleasing the gods' is an intrinsic part of the meaning of Havan, although it is only second in importance after the desire for universal and personal well-being. In Arti, however, this purpose is elevated to a primary position, and the temple deities are worshipped and served with great devotion by those present. Radha and Krishna, who have already been dressed and tended in the Puja, are praised, given money and food, and paid homage. In exchange, the participants hope to receive some benefit in their own lives. They petition the deities, asking them to look favourably on their past actions (pl 22), to forgive their sins (p.122), to remove suffering (p.121), and to bring about well-being (p.122) and immortality (p.122). This two-fold purpose, of pleasing the gods and receiving personal benefit, is encapsulated in the naivedya-prasada process (p.123). Food is offered to the deities: it is covered over with a cloth, and placed by the murtis as the prarthanas of Arti are sung, and is thought to be, in part, consumed by the gods. The remainder, after the final act of worship or vandana, is brought back from the murtis to the participants as prasada, food which has undergone an act of grace or favour by the deities. It is now sacred food which must not be refused when given, and must be shared amongst all who are present. The gods have been pleased, and have shown their pleasure by blessing the food for the participants.

In the naivedya-prasada exchange it is possible to see clearly the relationship between the meanings of a rite and the ritual process in which they are expressed. In the act of offering prepared food to the deities (naivedya) the gods were pleased and, as a result of this, the food that returned from the murtis...
and was shared out among the worshippers (prasada) was held to be sacred. As such, it was thought to confer special benefit on those that received and ate it. This close relationship of meaning and ritual can be observed elsewhere in the Arti service. For example, all the verses recited either pay homage to, or petition a particular deity. None describe the ritual actions as, for example, the agnishthapan mantra (p.136) does in the Havan service. Those bhajans which praise the deity, such as the verses to Vishnu, 'Shantakaram bhujag shayanam padmanabham suresham...', and to Gauri, 'Sarva mangal manglaye...'(p.120 and p.122) are sung to please the gods to whom they are addressed. Those that petition the deities, the prarthanas, such as the prayer to Narayana, 'Kayen vacha mansa...', and the final verse, 'Om asato ma sad gamaya...'(p.122 and p.122), ask for the gods' help in providing a better life and forgiving sins for the next life. They seek 'karmic benefit' for those that recite them. The meanings of the Arti service are clearly expressed, and worshippers find no difficulty in articulating them as reasons for their participation in the ritual process.

The same cannot be said of Havan because in this rite many of the indicators that allow us to discern the meanings of Arti are absent. Havan is not centred around a murti or a representation of a deity, and although deities are addressed throughout the service they are rarely the popular ones of Arti and the festivals. The worship is non-idolatrous and does not obviously serve or satisfy a god. The language is archaic, and it is not always possible for participants to know whether they are praising, petitioning or simply describing the ritual actions they perform. The most striking aspect of Havan for all who take part or observe it is the elaborate ritual process in which the fire is lit and maintained with ghee and bel wood and the offerings are made. Without some interest in traditional Vedic practices, and knowledge of both them and the Sanskrit language, an understanding of the purposes of this ritual process is difficult to obtain. Generally speaking, the reasons articulated by participants for their attendance concern duty, tradition, and a desire to show children the old practices. Those who attend regularly, though, have attempted to gain a greater insight into the meanings and the ritual process of the Havan service.

Havan, then, is heavily ritualistic and difficult to comprehend. Can it, like Agama forms of worship, be analysed in terms of the classification presented in Chapter 3, of the six features of ritual process? From an observation of Havan it is possible to see that those present perform acts of both purification and offering, the former before the fire is lit when the
assistants sip water and apply water to parts of their bodies, and the latter when the fire is ablaze, and the ghee and grain are poured into the kund. At first sight the other features are less easily discernible. For example, because of the initial absence of deities or their representations in or around the fire-grate (they have yet to be invoked), there is no sense in performing pranama⁴ Pranama, therefore, does not take place in Havan until the end of worship when participants bow their heads in vandana as they say 'Om shanti, shanti, shanti'. In addition to this, there seems to be no prasada, except that made sacred in Arti by Krishna. A possible explanation for this might lie in those early Vaishvadeva and Devayagna rites which were performed before the meal, and in which the deities were offered hospitality and food. Did the bhojana have the status of prasada, of food made sacred in the performance of Havan by the deities at the fire-side? Unfortunately, although this is an appealing solution to the question of prasada in Havan, there is nothing in the Leeds service to suggest that any food is cooked on the fire or taken near it for blessing. Certainly, the ghee and grain are taken from the kitchen, where they are specially prepared, to the vedi, but nothing returns. The bhojana's significance lies in its function as communal food-sharing not in its status as prasada. The Havan in Leeds provides no prasada other than that made available in the Arti that follows it.

The deities associated with Havan, while not being petitioned to show grace in blessing food for the community, are petitioned for a number of other favours. Unfortunately, because of the language problem, it is not always possible for participants to know or articulate these. They refer, however, to such things as the general benevolence of the deities, the success of the yajna, universal peace, freedom from sin, long life and wisdom. Petitions are often made on the behalf of the group or community in the first person plural with phrases like 'Make us prosper', 'May we attain...' and so on, rather than for the individual. Several of the requests are particularly interesting, and of special relevance to the meanings of Havan. One of these is the mantra that asks for success in the yajna, and for the personal and universal well-being that comes about as a result of this, 'Om ayuragena kalpatam...' (p.132). Another, one of the concluding mantras, asks Agni to look kindly on the Havan that has just been performed, 'Om agnaye shist kritay...' (p.139). These are interesting because, like the mantra which locates the yajna in time and space, they view the Havan objectively, and seek to legitimate its historical and religious location. At the same time, they are a part, if only an introductory or concluding part, of the Havan process itself.
Another important petition, one predating those similar in kind found in the Puja and Pratistha ceremonies, is avahana or invocation. In one mantra, as yet untraced, various Vedic deities are called up, and invited to be present and to provide help (p.132). Later, in the same spirit, Agni is asked to be seated in the fire, and in 'the higher place' (p.136) in order to help in the work of the sacrifice. He is then served and awakened with ghee and wood, and, as the divine messenger, takes offerings to the other gods (p.136). Such invocations are essential. Without them, the gods remain unaware of the sacrifice that is to be performed. They fail to receive the offerings, and, as a result, cannot undertake to sustain and regulate the balance of nature.

Prarthana, then, is a vital feature of Havan. Bhajana, which is a particular feature of more devotional practices, however, is less easy to discern. Agni, Indra, Varuna, Soma, Vishnu and Brhaspati are paid homage in the verse from the Atharva Veda (p.134), but the qualities of the deities are described rather than praised, and the tone is not one of devotion but one of duty and gratitude. In the later stages of Havan certain non-Vedic verses have been introduced, and it is here that the feature of bhajana is really to be found, particularly in the mataji pujan where the goddess Lakshmi is praised for her valour, noble influence and creative mystery (p.139). This song is very like those sung in the Arti service, and is devotional in tone, praising Lakshmi whose 'merits are too great to be described by Gods let alone men', whose 'glory cannot be fully expressed', and who has 'turned many hearts to honesty and goodness'. It is indicative of the changes that are occurring in relation to the content of Havan and the attitudes to it. Not only have a number of non-Vedic verses been added to the earlier liturgical material, giving it a more modern and less ritualistic tone, but participants have begun to bring their own devotional styles to the worship. Therefore, although it continues to be prescribed by ancient tradition, Havan is a dynamic ritual: the central acts of establishing the fire and making the offerings remain substantially the same, but the peripheral stages of the ritual process change to suit the time and location of Havan and the requirements of the people who practise it.

In Havan, therefore, the feature of bhajana, though less common than prarthana may well be a feature which will grow in importance. This rite, unlike the tarpana rituals, in addition to featuring prarthana and to a far lesser extent bhajana, also has several 'descriptive' verses. These verses simply describe what is taking place either in the minds of those present, or, physically,
in the ritual space. Three such verses are the non-Vedic mantra which locates the Havan in time and space (p.131), the purification mantra in which parts of the body are cleansed (p.133), and the agnisthapan mantra which is recited as the fire is lit (p.136). Generally speaking, actions are accompanied by addresses to various deities either in petition or praise, and although some such verses mention the ritual actions while asking for help or paying homage, description is rarely their chief function.

Presented diagrammatically a section from the end of the Havan service can be portrayed in the following way. The chart shows how the various actions and verses feature different aspects of the ritual process. A key is presented before Figure 4.2 showing how the figure is to be understood.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Action performed</th>
<th>Verse recited</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Name of action</td>
<td>Type of verse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ritual sequence</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**KEY**

**FIGURE 4.2 Ritual process at the end of Havan**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Offerings of grain and ghee</th>
<th>'Lakshmi is the glory of righteous households'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>UPACHARA</td>
<td>BHAJANA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Offerings of grain and ghee</th>
<th>'For the good of mankind...'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>UPACHARA</td>
<td>PRARTHANA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sugar crystal offered</th>
<th>'Agni, you are the greatest of purifiers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>UPACHARA</td>
<td>PRARTHANA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the concluding stages of the Havan service it is possible to see all the aforementioned features in operation, with the exception of prasada. A farewell pranama is directed to the deities after the offerings (upachara) of Havan have been completed. There is shuddhi or purification of the ghee (objective), and by the Pandit of himself (subjective). In the spoken part of the process, there is both praise (bhajana) and petition (prarthana). In Havan, although all the elements but prasada are present, there is an emphasis on upachara and prarthana, on offerings which please the deities and on requests for universal well-being. In Arti a different pattern emerges.
TABLE 4.3 Ritual process at the end of Arti

In this flow-diagram, which represents the last section of Arti, all the elements are present. The deities are saluted, praised and petitioned. They are offered money and light. The participants purify themselves with the light from the flame, and receive food made sacred by the gods. It is interesting to note that actions and words do not always coincide. On two occasions, here, a prayer is said which is unaccompanied by any particular action: participants just stand quietly with their hands together, and their attention focused on the deity in question. In comparison with Havan, Arti is non-ritualistic: prayers and songs are said several times without any corresponding actions being performed, and those actions which are performed are straight-forward and easily comprehensible.

Another important observation is that bhajana, the element in which participants pay homage to the deities in song, is more prevalent in Arti than in Havan. As we have already seen, this is not surprising. In Arti all actions and words are addressed directly to the deities represented in the mandir by statues and pictures that become the receptacles of divine power after their initial purification. The gods are felt, by many Hindus,
to be present in the room in the murtis. Therefore, it is only right that they should be offered salutation and praise. These bhajans make use of the familiar characteristics and qualities of the deities they praise. For example, Vishnu is said to 'rest on Shesha', and to issue forth the lotus (p.120), and Shiva is said to be 'the serpent king' and 'the avatara of mercy' (p.122). Some of the longer songs which are chanted as the prasada is shared even tell stories from the legends of the gods.

Bhajana, therefore, is a common devotional feature of Arti. Prarthana, which in Havan was general and impersonal, also differs in the context of the Arti service. Here, participants address the deity in the first person singular with questions and requests such as 'How can I meet you?' (p.121), 'Lead me from delusion to truth' (p.122), and 'You are my mother and father whose protection I seek' (p.122). However, in the 'circumambulation mantra' (Yani kani ch papani..., p.122), and the 'peace prayer' (Sarvepi sukhinah santu..., p.122), two of the older verses, the petitions are for mankind in general. The presence of both these prayers and the more personal ones shows that, although Arti is considerably more devotional in tone than Havan, the more traditional mantras have not been entirely excluded in the Leeds Arti as they have in the Coventry service.

To return, for a moment, to this comparison, we are reminded that in Coventry Arti was both more Vaishnavite and more devotional in tone than its Leeds counterpart. In addition, the traditional elements of pradaksina and impersonal petition, from the description provided by a Coventry Hindu seemed to have been left out altogether. It was tentatively suggested that this might be explained by the all-Gujarati congregation. In Coventry, although Punjabis were involved in the original negotiations for the purchase of the Shree Krishna temple, they became disillusioned, and instead made their own arrangements for a separate place of worship, a Rama temple, which they now share with a small number of other Gujarati Hindus. Nowadays Gujaratis run the affairs of the Shree Krishna temple and participate alone in its religious provision. In Leeds, both Gujaratis and Punjabis have been involved from the beginning in temple affairs. Arti, since that time, has remained substantially unchanged, and Havan has been performed weekly, a rite that is rarely undertaken at all in Coventry except in conjunction with a Vivaha or a family Vrat. In the early 1970s the Pandits in Leeds were Punjabi, and it is the religious practices which they introduced which are continued today. Do these facts account for the presence of traditional elements in Leeds
temple practice, and their absence in Coventry, or are such patterns purely coincidental? Unfortunately answers to such questions must remain open until such time as further exploration into the history of these, and other Hindu communities in Britain, can be conducted.

This brings us to the end of the analysis of Havan and Arti. In both, while continuing to take account of traditional prescriptions, practitioners have allowed some adaptations to take place to suit changing needs: the ritual space and time in which the services are conducted, and the role of the specialist have undergone change. Havan and Arti, of course, differ in many ways. The former is a continuation from, and to some extent a reinterpretation of, Vedic rites. The latter is a ritual with a shorter history, in the tarpana tradition in which worship is performed through offerings to personal deities. As a result of their functions, both require different surroundings/ a different role from the specialist, a group of participants with different intentions and expectations, and a different collection of instruments and implements. The time of performance is different and, in each, the words, actions and underlying meanings are dissimilar, although in both stress is placed on central aspects of Hindu doctrine such as dharma, karma, punya, shuddhi and seva or service.

However, it has been necessary for Hindus to carry out certain changes in ritual practice. This has been unavoidable because of their new surroundings, and the pressure which is imposed on them as members of a minority group within British society. This has encouraged adaptation in relation to the times of practice, the ritual space in which practice is performed, the scope of the religious specialist, and the number of participants. Even 'meanings' have altered to suit new requirements: the social and doctrinal elements are now of central importance for the maintenance of the religious community. In addition, the ritual processes of Havan and Arti have been directly influenced by changes in the other five features. In Arti, for example, pradaksina has now become a symbolic gesture rather than a physical circumambulation. In Havan, non-Vedic verses have been introduced to encourage greater attendance and participant interest.

Both rites have been changed to comply with their new situation, and, indeed, their survival depends upon this ability to incorporate new requirements or to adapt existing ones. The same is true for the festivals and life cycle rites of Hinduism in Britain. Changes may be slow, unwelcome by some, and unnoticed by others. They nevertheless take place, despite
the fact that Hindu ritual, like ritual in other religions, is a stronghold of conservatism. The Hindus have brought with them practices to which they were accustomed from modern Indian worship. Each ethnic group has its own collection of these. When the two groups came together in Leeds their members had to decide between them which rituals would be performed at the temple. Each rite that was chosen, whether it was a popular devotional rite or a more obscure ritual like Havan, had to be adapted to the new location, to changes in temple surroundings, the clientele, the times available for worship and so on. The process of adaptation was itself a process of reinterpretation, irrespective of any similarities the Leeds rituals had with their Indian counterparts. Each rite had to be reinterpreted to suit its context. Havan and Arti, therefore, despite their relationships with Vedic and Agamic rites, and with popular Indian practices, are a conscious reinterpretation of tradition. They are employed by local Hindus as part of the retraditionalisation process in a plural society in which their religion is only one amongst many.
Religious Practice in Small Hindu Groups and in Indian Families

Temple ritual provides newcomers to the study of Hinduism, and observers of religious practice with some insights into the nature of the Hindu tradition. Through Arti and Haven, for example, it has been possible to see how ritual and meaning are related, how rites can adapt and develop, and how they can assist in the transmission of myths, beliefs and values. Temple ritual, however, is not able to satisfy all the religious requirements of Leeds Hindus.

This is not surprising, neither is it a failing of the temple. In India it is not temple practice but domestic practice which is of most importance, and, when the appropriate time does arise for temple worship, devotees are free to visit one of a number of different mandirs depending on their family traditions, and personal preferences and requirements. In East Africa and the United Kingdom, however, the institution of the temple has taken on a new significance as a result of the transplantation of Hinduism to a new environment in which it not only has minority status, but in which its adherents are ethnically, culturally, and religiously different from members of the host community. The temple's new role, of social as well as religious intensification, then, has tended to increase its popularity, and to encourage the development of certain shared practices and beliefs, and certain common aims and ideals.

The temple is the central agency for local Hindus. It is also the agency designated by the wider society as the institution representing the interests of this religious group. Therefore, the authority the temple has is both chosen, by those in positions of power in the Hindu group, and given, by other local Hindus and by civic and community administrators. As the central agency invested by others with a certain degree of power, its leaders have chosen to pursue policies of financial and bureaucratic centralisation and religious standardisation.
Grants and funds, for example, instead of being farmed out to small groups and services in different parts of Leeds are invested in the Hindu Charitable Trust, and its temple and community centre building programme. As a result of this, the temple management committee encourages local Hindus to use these central services and facilities to the full: over recent years language classes have been held in temple rooms; library facilities have been expanded and utilised by eager members. In addition to these many and varied cultural services, temple leaders have offered a regular religious programme consisting of daily, weekly, annual and irregular rituals. As we saw in Chapter 2, this programme, and the religious ideology (sanatana dharma) which supports and determines it, suggests a policy of standardisation. Such a policy, though inevitable for an agency serving a mixed interest group, is unable to give full expression to the diversity of beliefs and practices brought about by differences of caste, family tradition, ethnic allegiance and migration history.

The Leeds temple provides us with an example of this. At present, it tends to satisfy the needs and requirements of those who live close by in Burley and South Headingley rather than those in Harehills, Armley and Beeston, and those of Gujarati rather than Punjabi ethnicity. It is also true to say that the male members, because they occupy positions of public office, have more control over temple issues than the women, and that, therefore, it is their views and interests which are expressed through the temple's avowed principles and practices. In addition to this unconscious selectivity of interests, it must be remembered that, as a public institution, the temple is committed to providing opportunities for communal worship and social gatherings. Thus, although it also allows for some freedom of personal expression in worship, the temple is not able to provide an alternative for the private religious practices performed in the home, for the daily family worship of the ista-deva, and the various calendrical rites which seek to propitiate gods and goddesses, and which ask them for help.

The temple, then, despite all its efforts to fulfil the diverse requirements of the local Hindu population, has natural limitations which stem both from the historical development of the Hindu religion, and from the effects of its transplantation to a new and different environment. Local Hindus, like their relatives in India, continue to practise their religion at home, and many, in addition to both their domestic and temple worship, also choose to join small religio-cultural mandals and sabhas which meet outside the auspices of the temple.
None of these forms of religious practice preclude the others, and all have legitimate historical and religious precedents.

In total, they provide the full complement of ethnically related Hinduism in the city. It is undeniable that it is the temple and its leaders which inform so much of the religious self-understanding of local Hindus, and the host community's knowledge and understanding of the Hindu religion. But the other areas cannot be ignored. It is important, however, to point out that they are more difficult to research, and that the effects they have on the development of Hinduism are more difficult to gauge. For these reasons the following discussion takes the form of a survey of these two areas as they are manifested in Leeds rather than a detailed analysis of them.²

The area of domestic worship is an important one because it is in the home that many of the religious and cultural traditions are transmitted from one generation to another. In the 1960s there were fears that the 'second generation' of South Asians, under the influence of Western education and cultural forms, would rebel against the traditions and values of its parents. However, in the majority of families this did not happen, and, instead, young people willingly learnt and took on the practices and principles of their elders. In the homes of many young Hindu families the same process of transmission is now in progress. Daily worship, life cycle rites, and even the traditional aspects of 'common religion' (p.168) are still vital dimensions of Hinduism in Leeds. We will return to this later.

5.1 ETHNICALLY-RELATED GROUPS

First let us conclude our examination of organised Hinduism with a description of the small Hindu groups which function in the city. In Chapter 1 a portrayal of the features of identity and the relationship of identification and group affiliation was presented. It was shown, for example, that ethnicity is an important feature of association and allegiance but that nationality, despite its undeniable relevance in relation to the 'host community', does not have a great deal of effect on internal relationships.

Bearing identity and temple selectivity in mind, it is possible to see why some Hindus have felt it necessary to form small groups outside the auspices of the temple. The Punjabi Sabha, for example, has tended to meet in member's homes. It seeks to look after the interests of those who are both Hindu and Punjabi, and although its members share many of their religious
precepts and practices with Gujaratis, they have felt that the temple is run by and for these Gujarati speakers to the exclusion of those of their own ethnicity. Likewise, the Pragati Mandal (the Gujarati shoemaker's guild), despite its ethnic base, feels that it has an allegiance to the issues of caste rather than to other interests. On rare occasions, however, it does use temple premises but questions of religion remain peripheral to its caste concerns.

In addition to these, there are two other Hindu-related groups, the Hindu Swayam Sevāk Sangh and the Leeds University Union Hindu Society, which, because of their requirements and priorities, do not choose the temple as a venue for their meetings. The Leeds Hindu Swayam Sevāk Sangh, while taking place against a religious and political background, is essentially a male youth organisation with a special interest in active sports requiring the facilities of a gymnasium and a sports field. The University Union Hindu Society, while attracting members of a common religion, emphasises their student status, and seeks to provide leisure services as well as religious ones. These take place mainly, as one might expect, on university premises.

Although the groups mentioned above, and others, such as the Ramakrishna Bhajan Mandal, the Garaba Group and the Swadhyaya Mandal meet generally in premises chosen to suit their needs and priorities, all have availed themselves of the temple and its services when the nature of the occasion has demanded extra space, dining facilities or a religious setting. This is quite acceptable, because, although the groups are mainly cultural rather than religious, this does not interfere with or call into question the Hindu beliefs, practices and values of their members. Some of the groups, however, do extend or reinforce normal worship. The members of the Ramakrishna Bhajan Mandal, a Gujarati music group, show their devotion to the deities through the medium of religious songs. The Garaba Group, an organisation based in Harehills, and composed mainly of the middle to high Gujarati castes in Leeds, although essentially a folk-dance group, concentrates much of its effort on providing a colourful programme during the nine nights of the Navaratri festival in late September and early October. In doing this they encourage member families, not only to enjoy themselves but also to express their praise and devotion to Shakti in the forms of Mahakali, Mahasaraswati and Mahalakshmi.

The Swadhyaya Mandal, another home based group is openly dedicated to religious rather than cultural interests. Members of the weekly-held Mandal, however, do not engage in worship,
but rather in discussion of topics such as the *Rhadgavad Gita*, the concept of *karma* and the temples of India. The group is open to all, although the membership, and therefore the language spoken, tends to be Gujarati. The *Punjabi Sabha*, unlike the *Swadhyaya Mandal*, with its closed membership and its emphasis on mutual assistance and ethnic representation, is also concerned with religion, although, in this case, with its practical provision rather than its intellectual content. The members, through the *Sabha* and its new-found power in temple politics, seek to express and fulfil their religio-ethnic requirements. One example of the way in which they have seized their opportunities is the temple *Divali* celebration. Organised by Punjabi Hindus in the last two years, this has consisted of a cooked meal offered to all Hindus and provided by the *Sabha*, preceded by a children's *Puja* and a *bhajan* meeting.

The Punjabi group and the Gujarati groups mentioned above are often formed to pursue ethnic, cultural, or caste interests. However, they nevertheless endeavour to serve the religious interests of their members. The groups, therefore, have a tendency to reinforce rather than contradict or act against temple religion. The deities are served in ways common also to temple worship, through song (*bhajan*) and prayer (*prarthana*) and, in addition, through dance and discussion. Sometimes this takes place on temple premises, and at other times in homes or hired halls. Some occasions are calendrically apposite, and some fit in with a programme of regular weekly meetings. Most of the groups are small, numbering perhaps twenty active members, although the potential size of both the *Pragati Mandal* and the *Punjabi Sabha* is in excess of five hundred members. Some of the groups are religio-ethnic or religio-cultural but none exists solely for the purposes of worship.

Having surveyed in brief a number of the small Hindu-related subgroups, let us now look more closely at two in particular. One of these, mentioned already, is a self-identified religious society, the *Leeds University Union Hindu Society*. The other, the *Shri Satya Sai Baba Mandal*, is a devotional group formed for the worship of a living *guru* from South India, Shri Satya Sai Baba. Religion, rather than caste, aspects of culture, or ethnicity, is the central and acknowledged feature of both of these groups. Despite this, the two are very different from one another.

The *Leeds University Union Hindu Society* (the L. U. U. Hindu Society) was first started in 1967 with the following four objectives: 'to promote a better understanding of Hinduism, its thoughts, philosophy, culture and way of life'; 'to provide
a forum for discussion on the permanent values of Hindu ethics, and its forms and attitudes as applied to modern life; 'to organise and celebrate the main Hindu festivals'; and 'to provide a common platform for Hindu students from all over the world and to help those who want to understand Hinduism'.

The society, which competes with university groups such as the Indian Association and the Sikh Society for overseas student members, is primarily concerned with the maintenance of a link with 'bharatiya samskrithi', the Indian tradition and with its avowedly religious aspects.

In the late seventies the membership remained stable at approximately fifty a year, although in 1979 interest began to decrease, and the annual newsheet publicised social gatherings and cultural events rather than religious aims and ritual practices. In the years before this change, however, the society had fostered close links with the Hindu temple, had held its annual meetings and dinners there, and had used temple services at the time of Divali. This relationship was strengthened because of the large proportion of Gujarati members in the society. From 1977 to 1979, the two presidents were both Gujaratis, one from Rajkot and the other from Vadodara, and both established close friendships and ties with the Leeds Gujarati community. To them and others, the wife of the Pandit was known as 'masi' or aunty, and those students who went home to Gujarat during the vacations visited the extended families of their local Hindu friends.

In both 1977 and 1978 a Divali Puja was held in an overseas students lounge in the university union building, which was conducted by the wife of the Pandit or the Pandit himself. Large prints of Lakshmi, Saraswati and Ganesh, thalis, ghee, divis and kankum powder were brought from the temple. These were then used to construct a temporary deri, around which the Arti prayer and a devotional bhajan to Lakshmi were sung by the fifty or so participants. All removed their shoes and received a tilaka of kankum. Some of the student members assisted by rotating the Arti lamp in front of the picture of Lakshmi, and by passing out prasada at the end of the Puja. Several members told the story of the god, Rama, and of his return to the city of Ayodhya. Visitors who were eager to see the Puja, but who had little or no knowledge of its mythological context, appreciated this narrative. Other members looked after the small collection of books which could be lent out to interested readers on subjects such as Vedanta and Yoga, by authors such as Vivekananda and the Rajasthan based Raja Yoga group.
The Puja, although performed in an unlikely setting, were similar in many ways to temple Divali Pujas also known as Lakshmi Pujas). They took place at the right time and were led by temple specialists. The same mythological story was revitalised, and the same ritual process was carried out. Undoubtedly there were certain differences in context and in mental attitude from the temple ritual. The society's Puja, for example, did not take place in a space held by the participants to be special or sacred, and the pictorial objects of worship had none of the power generally invested in an image installed in a Pratistha ceremony. Nevertheless, they directed devotion and respect to the picture of Lakshmi, placing flowers at her feet and kankum on her brow. In performing the Puja many said they were reminded of the Divali rituals carried out at home with their families. Nostalgia and homesickness were perhaps felt more deeply by these students than by temple members who were well-established with families and friends in Leeds.

The University Union Hindu Society, then, is an organisation which seeks to bring students together for the reinforcement and understanding of Hindu beliefs, values and practices, and in order to provide a social setting for these religious objectives. Worship, although one facet of the society's programme, has been by no means the only facet or the most important one. In fact, temple Hinduism as it is practised in Leeds has been felt by some society members to be a modest, even rather 'primitive' form of Hindu religious activity. To students of Hinduism they recommended not this but practices pursued at the large, well-known temples of India, and the intellectual and philosophical endeavours of saints and teachers such as Ramakrishna, Vivekananda, Aurobindo and Gandhi. Their attitude reflected their generally high caste position, their family background, student status and temporary residence in Leeds. While they formed friendships and pseudo-family ties they were not committed, as were local Hindus, to establishing themselves in a country where their religion and culture necessarily took on minority status. As a consequence, while local Hindus sought to create an environment in which they could maintain many of the aspects of their past way of life, the students were both participants, on occasions drawn into this environment, and observers, peripheral to the main practices of the local Hindu population, and, as a result, able to witness and question them.

The other group, the Shri Satya Sai Baba Mandal, unlike the University Society, has a regular membership composed almost entirely of local Gujarati residents. Despite this, in the
past it has attracted some student curiosity because of its acknowledged interest in philosophical and doctrinal concerns as well as devotional practices.

The international organisation, of which this mandal is a part, follows the principles and precepts laid down by the living teacher, Shri Satya Sai Baba. Born in 1926, in Puttaparthi Andhra Pradesh, Satyanarayana as he was then called, became known for having unusual experiences. In 1940, after an illness, he claimed to be a reincarnation of Sai Baba of Shirdi, a Muslim saint from Maharashtra who had died in 1918. From that time on, he began to strengthen his claim by holding discourses, and by materialising small items such as sweets, flowers and 'vibhuti' or sacred ash.

As a result of this, since the early 1940s the number of followers has multiplied, and Satya Sai Baba's philosophy has matured. Now he sees himself as an avatara, not of Vishnu, but of Shiva, and he articulates a doctrine of Vedanta. In this, he sees Man who - though atman and a part of God - has lost his way, and perceives himself, other people, and the world as real and permanent. What man has to realise is that this perception is false, that the world is maya or illusion, and that God, although able to present attributes and qualities for the immature and unready amongst the faithful, is really 'nirguna' or beyond qualities. This realisation or understanding of that which is true comes about for man through bhakti.

It is not so much the doctrinal elements outlined by this saint, however, as the powers that he possesses, which are of interest to devotees and doubters alike. He has been called 'a magician' and 'a man of miracles', and is renowned for his manifestations, transformations and cures. Indians from many parts of the world travel to South India to see his skills, as do many Americans and Europeans. It is to capture the interest of these people that the Shri Satya Sai Organisation has opened centres in other parts of India, in America, East Africa and the United Kingdom. In addition to these 'official' centres there are also many home based groups that have sprung up for the purposes of his worship.

The Leeds Mandal is one of the latter. It was inspired by the Bradford 'Sai Mandir', which was opened in 1970, and was England's first Satya Sai Baba Centre. The small informal Leeds group was first started in August 1976 in a private house in Leeds 4. The family which opened the Mandal and still continues to run it in its new location in Armley, and the majority of those who come to worship there, are Gujarati Patels.
Anyone from any caste, however, is made welcome. Unlike the students in the society discussed above, the members of the Mandal are firmly established in the local area. They work at the same jobs as other Gujaratis, use the same services and facilities, and attend the temple for important festivals and Pujas. Their regular worship, however, takes place on a Saturday in the Mandal. This worship has a great deal in common with the regular temple worship which was described in Chapter 4 (Map 1.5).

The Sai Baba Mandal's mandir is also similar in style and layout to its temple counterpart. It is composed of a room, one corner of which is decorated with photographs and prints of Shri Satya Sai Baba, and the goddesses and gods with their consorts. Adjacent to this collection of pictures, is a low stool covered with an orange cloth on which the saint is invited to sit during the evening bhajan programme. There are also several low tables on which incense, lamps, flowers and food for offering are placed. On a Saturday, when the regular fifteen to twenty participants have arrived and greeted the saint in pranama, worship proceeds in a similar way to corresponding evening Arti worship in the temple. First of all bhajans are sung, not only to Satya Sai Baba but also to Ganesh, Rama and so on. These are often led by one devotee, and repeated in chorus by the other participants. The main difference, however, is that each song is divided into two sections, one slow and the other fast, creating an atmosphere of devotion and enthusiasm amongst all those present. After the bhajans everyone stands, and the Arti prayer is sung, addressed to Satya Sai Baba rather than Jagdesh, the Lord of the world. This is concluded with several short prarthanas, as it is in the temple, with a period of silence, a long slow repetition of the word 'Om', and a final 'Om shanti, shanti, shanti'. During this time, the saint is felt to be present in the room, sat on the stool provided for him. After the Arti prayer, the head of the leading family requests in song that he return again next week. Food has been offered to him during the service, and prasada is then shared amongst those present. This generally consists of fruit, nuts and coconut. Many participants, mostly males, stay on after this to talk about Satya Sai Baba, his teachings and philosophy. The other males and most of the women return home or sit in a separate room and talk about their families.

The worship performed by these devotees has a great deal in common with temple Puja and Arti. The participants pay homage to the object of worship as they enter the small mandir. In their songs they both petition and praise the saint. They
However, in the case of the Satya Sai Baba Mandal a full range of religious provisions is presented which, if members desire it, can serve all their religious needs and interests. This organisation, like the others mentioned above, is used by its members as an expression of identity. This one, in particular, reinforces Gujarati ethnicity, middle to high caste status, and devotional religiosity through an identification with a popular guru movement. The Punjabi Sabha provides another example of this. It was formed with the intention of serving religious needs but it functions primarily as an ethnic organisation whose leaders are empowered to represent ethnic interests to the Gujarati Hindu majority.

5.2 DOMESTIC HINDUISM

Organised Hinduism, despite its range, is not the sole haven of Hindu religious practice. In Leeds, as in other Hindu communities, domestic Hinduism prevails, and provides an opportunity for private family worship in addition to the public and communal practices of the temple and the small interest groups. The area of domestic Hinduism includes a wide variety of beliefs, values and practices not catered for in organised Hinduism, and is an area as worthy and interesting to the study of Hinduism as its organisational counterpart. It is unfortunately the more difficult of the two to research, requiring a degree of knowledge, time and confidence possible only after relationships of trust and friendship between researcher and researched have been established and well-tried.

Some initial investigation, however, has been made of this area. Prior to a discussion of this, let us first consider in brief the theoretical context against which these beliefs, values and practices should be seen. Domestic Hinduism, then, refers to the area of unorganised religion. A number of useful terms have been employed for this type of religion. Folk religion (Mensching, 1964), common religion (Towler, 1973, 1974, 1981) and popular religion (Schneider and Dornbusch, 1958; Vrijhof and Waardenburg, 1979) all refer to that area of religiousness which is characterised by a lack of official organisation, and which deviates from institutional norms and expectations. In the anthropological literature on India, another term is used which has some application to this area of religion. This term, the 'little tradition', was discussed with the 'great tradition' in Chapter 3. The former referred to local vernacular cultures, and the latter to Brahmanical Sanskrit tradition. Neither is exclusive and both are found throughout rural and urban India, and in Indian communities abroad. The great tradition is the culture of the Sanskrit texts, inculcated
through the passage of time by Brahman specialists, aspects of which are now known and passed on by generations of Hindus everywhere. The little tradition represents the many locally-based systems of thought and practice which are no less ancient, and no less significant in an understanding of contemporary Hinduism. The great tradition is contiguous to what we might call institutional Hinduism, that form of Hinduism which derives its authority from the Brahmins. More often than not, it is the religion of Indian religious organisations, but it is also found in the domestic arena, in the stories told, the Pujas performed to major deities like Krishna and Rama, and in life cycle rites. The little tradition, however, informs the greater proportion of private thought and practice, especially amongst the women of the community. In Gujarat, for example, a variety of practices are performed to secure benefits from the gods and goddesses: rags are tied to the branches of bushes in which a Mata is said to reside; the goddess of smallpox, Shitala, is worshipped at village shrines; wall-paintings in charcoal are made to propitiate the snake god, Nag Shesha; and both women and men have been known to fall into trances in which they become Mata, perhaps in the form of Kali, Ambamata or in the form of a minor village devata.

Both traditions have affected domestic Hinduism in the Leeds community. It is of course important to attempt to distinguish them, but we must also recognise that the beliefs and practices of the two are difficult to separate, and that such a task is largely anathema to the understanding of the Hindus themselves. It is true that, when asked about home religion, some people single out 'swastik' religion, the ancient tradition of the Brahmins and the early texts. Most, however, do not see any qualitative difference in performing Pujas or Vrats to Shri Krishna, or the nineteenth century Gujarati saint Jalaram Bapa. They often seem uninterested in the task of categorising their thoughts and practices into different areas or types. As Susan Wadley (1973) suggested, there is little reason to suppose that the deities acknowledged by Brahmanical tradition are used for a higher purpose than those of the little 'tradition. Both groups seem to function in both the 'transcendental' and 'pragmatic' complexes (Mandelbaum, 1966, Wadley, 1973). Both are petitioned for help for the long term welfare of society and for personal benefit in the here and now.

Thus, although distinctions such as great tradition and little tradition, and institutionalised and non-institutionalised, and terms such as 'common religion' and 'folk religion' are not unhelpful in describing the composition of the area known as domestic Hinduism, none serves our purpose exactly. Domestic
religion, although incorporating many elements of popular belief and practice, also encapsulates, but to a lesser extent, certain features of institutionalised religion or great tradition. Some descriptive terms are more helpful than others in assessing this religious area: it is 'unorganised' as opposed to 'organised', 'private' as opposed to 'public' and, to a large degree, 'female' as opposed to 'male'. We can add to this preliminary sketch, the role of ethnicity in shaping the variety of beliefs and practices, and the effect of the transplantation of Hinduism on its perpetuation in the domestic arena.

Let us begin this brief portrait by describing, first of all, Punjabi Hindu unorganised religion, of which little has been written, and of which little is known. One Punjabi writer, Prakash Tandon, wrote of his early home life:

We feared God and invoked his name, but there was no daily worship or ritual, or much visible influence of religion on our daily life. We were only conscious of our religion at festivals and fasts, weddings, earnings and deaths... (Tendon, 1961, p.25)

This closely resembles the accounts given by some of the Leeds Punjabi Hindus. One man said that, as a group, Punjabis were not always keen on attending temple worship because after a hard day's work they wished to stay at home. Punjabis, he said, were 'home lovers' and 'family lovers'. Despite this, hardly any homes had a corner for worship - a small deri or mandir where daily Puja and Arti could be performed. Another man said that, although regular worship was not undertaken most families had a favourite deity. In many cases this was Mataji. The women in the family might think of this goddess or of another deity before going to sleep, he said. Men, even those who were supposed to have an allegiance to the Arya Samaj, rarely thought of God. The Punjabis stated that Gujaratis were more religious than themselves. To them 'culture was stronger than religion'. This, they felt, was supported by their 'sense of fun', and their open attitude to smoking and drinking.

Despite their view of themselves as non-religious Punjabi Hindus share with Punjabi Sikhs an appreciation of and interest in religious teachers and saints. Most of the Leeds families, in addition to visiting the gurdwaras, have attended talks given by leaders of the Nirankaris, the Namdharis or the Radhasamis, three Punjabi groups situated at the interface of Sikhism and Hinduism. One family donated a large framed photograph of Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji, head of the Namdhari or Kuka Movement to the Leeds Hindu temple. As Webster suggested, this guru 'visits Hindu congregations, and the Hindus have
great love, respect and reverence for him' (1974, p.35). A number of Hindu families have also encouraged visiting teachers to stay at their homes, and to eat with them, despite the fact that the teachers themselves are closer in allegiance to Sikhism than Hinduism. None of these groups meets formally, however, and individual family effort rather than organised procedure has allowed such interest to take a hold in the community. Although Punjabi Hindus in their new environment have a common interest with Sikhs in teachers and saints, other religious differences between the two groups have been maintained. Their life cycle rites differ considerably. Part-time Punjabi Brahmans, for example, are hired by Hindus to perform rites at birth, marriage and death. These are generally carried out at home, or, where necessary, in local halls. At weddings (Vivaha), which are large family affairs, the couple circumambulate the fire (agni-pradaksina) just as other Indian Hindus do. At birth, although the pre-natal rites are often ignored, the child is named by the family according to the traditional practice of astrological naming (namakarana) in which a first letter is chosen according to the time of birth. No reverence is shown in any of these rites, as it would be in their Sikh counterparts, to the Guru Granth Sahib.

The evidence suggests that Punjabi Hindus have less interest than Gujaratis in both the organised and unorganised aspects of religion. This is supported by the testimony of Punjabis themselves, and is reinforced by interviews with young Punjabi Hindu males in Newcastle-upon-Tyne (Taylor, 1976), most of whom knew little about temple worship, the meaning of domestic and temple rites, and the ethics and philosophy of the Hindu religion.

Gujarati Hindus provide us with a sharp contrast to this. Not many of them rigorously perform all the relevant rites or are able to articulate a full doctrinal position, but most interpret at least some of life's events in religious terms, and carry out practices in which supernatural agencies are affirmed. In order to illustrate this domestic religiousness 'let us examine, in brief, the beliefs and practices of several Gujarati families. Two of these are Mochi families, one from Naysari and the other from Vihan near Surat, both in South Gujarat (Map 1.8). Of these two, one family does not consider itself religious while the other, despite a previous period of residence in East Africa, continues to practice a variety of traditional domestic rituals associated with its social and regional origins and background. The third family is from the upper eschelons of Hindu society, with both partners occupying teaching or lecturing posts in Leeds. While the husband
is non-religious by self-definition, the wife takes an interest in the philosophical and historical aspects of Hinduism and continues to perform practices which she learnt in the family home in Ahmadabad. We will consider this family first.

In this nuclear family religion is the domain of women. Not only does the woman of the house take both a semi-professional and personal interest in it, the daughter of the family sees her religious and domestic education - the two are closely linked - as an essential part of her growth and development. There is a strong family tradition of support for the Swaminarayan Mission, an organisation of which there are branches in London and Birmingham but not in Leeds. It follows the teachings laid down by Sahajananda, later known as Swami Narayan, a nineteenth century exponent of Ramanuja's theology. These teachings espouse the concepts of the acharya or guru, prapatti or faith and bhakti yoga, the path to final knowledge through love. They also stress sobriety, sexual segregation, and purity, discouraging participation in such activities as Kali cults, and the taking of prasada in temples not sanctified by one of the mission's leaders. This sectarian orientation influences the beliefs and practices maintained by this family. The wife, when visiting relatives in London, journeys to a mission temple in Islington to pay homage to Lakshminarayan, and attends lectures given by visiting swamis. She defends the mission's attitude to sexual segregation, and to that which many would see as sexual discrimination, but to the members of the mission is a justifiable apportioning of roles and responsibilities. It also strengthens her rigour concerning domestic practices.

The whole family, strictly speaking, are vegetarian, although the male members are less interested in adhering to this practice than the women. Their vegetarianism is total. It prohibits the eating of eggs, fish, garlic, onions, and very hot spices. Related to their vegetarian austerity is the discipline of fasting (upvas), a practice which the female members undertake whenever their family traditions require it. Each Ekadashi or eleventh day of the lunar phase, they cook a meal without grain, and strengthen their resolve to serve Hari (Vishnu). Then, during Sravana month, they fast, eating only once a day. The daughter, although only in her mid-teens, is keen to learn and practise these rites, even though her mother is cautious that she takes care not to upset her health. She is also taught the principles of food preparation, and the myths and meanings which are attached to each fast and vow. This transmission helps to ensure that family traditions of belief and practice will continue for at least another generation.
There is no apparent concern for this type of religious perpetuation amongst the members of one of the Mochi families mentioned above. This family unit is composed of a mother, father and eight children. The father is in his early sixties, and the wife is about thirty, having been taken away from her home in Naysari to come to Britain to marry at the age of seventeen. To some degree, then, her links with the domestic and religious traditions of her family have been severed. She has no deri, only faded pictures of her parents and sister, new polaroids of her own children, and several calendars depicting the popular manifestations of the divine such as Shankar Bhagwan, Balaji Krishna, and the trimurti of Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva. She does not keep fast days, and her children are ignorant of their occurrence or meaning. Her family, she says, are not religious.

In one's initial meetings with the couple this attitude seems to be endorsed. However, as more time is spent in their company, more is revealed of their belief in supernatural forces, and of their pragmatic use of these beliefs in daily life. The wife is very nostalgic about her childhood and youth experiences. She remembers the Hanuman temple she visited daily, and the festivities associated with Divali, Navaratri and Holi. She remembers dressing up in new clothes, family visits, and fasting and feasting. Now she performs no regular domestic or temple rites, although the Pandit, in his role as domestic Purohit, does come to her home at the time of Raksha Bandhan to tie threads around the wrists of the family members. She also consults either him or an astrologer in India when her children are born in order to assess from the panchang (almanac) the future of the child, and the first letter of its name.

Her husband, who has now stopped work due to ill-health and a disagreement over pay, has some interest in philosophical questions, although he is not concerned with worship. Both he and his wife, however, do give credence to the power of 'witches' and shamans. Once they told the story of 'Mali', a local witch, whose reputation had been established in Nairobi, and who, because of her own unhappy family life, caused family problems for others. Mali, also a Mochi, has the power to bring misfortune on a family just by looking at one of its members. The couple recounted the tale of how she had come to the door time and time again to look at their seventh baby. She was at least partly to blame, they said, for his 'forceps' birth. They did not utilise the term 'najar', but in all likelihood it was 'najar' or 'the evil eye' that they felt was the source of their problems. 'Najar' is a look or glimpse which, when combined with a feeling of jealousy, denotes the
evil eye. This look has a power to bring misfortune to everything that is potentially lucky and good (Pocock, 1973, p.25) It generally operates within the boundaries of a single caste. Everyone has the potential to have it, and everyone has the potential to be its victim. Those who have suffered in life or who have had misfortune, however, are more likely to feel bitter and jealous. Children, as we have seen, are particularly vulnerable, because they are innocent, and they symbolise their parents' good fortune. The child of this Mochi family suffered through the power of this najar in the caste 'witch'. What the family did to deserve this misfortune is not clearly known, although it is said that it might have been the result of an incident in India in which the wife's family were disgraced.17

The wife also mentioned 'Prabha Devi', another local woman, this time with a power or shakti which operated not for evil but for good. Prabha Devi is a popular figure to whose 'mandir' (Map 1.5) men and women come in great number to ask for help in matters concerning their families, their health and their businesses. More information on this woman, and her skills was provided by one of the women who had married into the Mochi family from Vihan. This respected woman, it was said, served her clients by falling into a trance, in which, as a female deity (Mata), she was able to answer their questions and give them advice. Her popularity was evidence of her skill and success, and she was always busy. But, it was added, Prabha Devi was not the only woman in Leeds who fell into trances. In fact, the mother-in-law of the respondent herself also had this power. This woman, at the time of Norta (Navaratri), and during intimate family weddings, went into a trance in which she became Kali, the black goddess. As a bhuvi - the female counterpart of what Pocock calls a bhuvo or 'devotee priest' (1973, p.44) - she could help solve the problems of those who believed in her skills. Although she was respected in family circles and by older caste women, her behaviour was lightheartedly mocked at local festivities. As a result of this, she preferred to spend Norta in India with her old friends and relatives.

This second Mochi family are keen to retain their domestic traditions. The elder couple are both regular temple attenders. The wife, who was described immediately above as a bhuvi, has a special love of Kali, and continues various practices concerned with her worship. For example, Kali is remembered on the occasion of each family life-cycle rite when she, with five women of the family (kutumb), is symbolically fed before the other family members sit down to eat. She is the ista-deva or family deity, and is represented in prints at the domestic deri.
In addition, there are pictures and statues of Ambamata, Shankar Bhagwan, Vishnu, Ganesh and the two popular saints, the Muslim Shirdi Sai Baba, and the nineteenth century follower of Rama, Jalaram Bapa, both of whom are said to grant the requests of those who remember them.  

The son of this couple and his wife both support and respect their parents' views concerning family traditions, although in many areas they are more Westernised and self-determined. One example of their attitude is suggested by their feelings before the birth of their first child. They very much wanted a girl, an unusual desire for an Indian couple. Had they had one they would have chosen a name for her themselves. In fact, they had a son, which greatly pleased the grandparents. As a result, they followed tradition, and allowed the first letter of the name to be astrologically calculated by the Pandit, and the choice of the name to be decided by the aunts of the child.

In other matters related to the life-cycle they have also followed traditional procedure. They participated in the full rites undertaken at the time of the wedding of the younger sister of the family. These rites included Mandap Muhrat, the erection of the wedding canopy, Heidi or Piti in which turmeric paste was rubbed on the bride, Grah Shanti, when offerings were made to the family deity (Kali) and to Ganesh, the present-giving, feasting, and Bidi, when the bride left her family to start her new life. They performed the Namakarana, the naming ritual, and, after approximately six months, the Chudakarana or tonsure, when the baby's head was shaved. This rite is rarely undertaken by Leeds Hindus because of the absence in the city of anyone from the Nai or barber's caste. This Mochi family, however, had the ingenuity to arrange for a male hairdresser they knew (incidentally, a man from the same caste as themselves) to carry out the procedure. This was done, as far as possible, according to traditional prescriptions, although Kali, the ista-deva was addressed instead of Ganesh, the god known traditionally for removing obstacles at the time of life cycle rites. A mandir was erected with a picture of the goddess, surrounded by roses and divis, placed in the centre. The eldest sister of the father (although it should have been the mother's sister) took up the baby, laid it in a position of prostration (pranama), and put kankum on its forehead. She then held him while the barber first cut, and then shaved the hair from his head. After this she put kankum on his crown, in the shape of a swastika on which she placed uncooked rice. For good luck she had money tied in her sari throughout the proceedings, which, after the event, was given to the child with presents.
of more money, and clothes. He was finally given a sweet called 'sikund' to eat before the guests sat down to their meal. It was hoped that now he would be free of all impurity, and would live a long and healthy life.

This family, which acknowledges itself as religious, shares with the other two families a respect for some of the institutional aspects of domestic practices such as life cycle rites. Like the other Mochi family, which is non-religious by self-definition, it also recognises that supernatural powers can communicate through mediums, and that, as a result, they can both speak to people and cause changes in their lives. All three families, regardless of how they see themselves in terms of traditional religiosity, continue to think and act in the home in a way that is religious, but unorganised. Their domestic religion includes beliefs and practices which derive from both the great tradition and the little tradition: the two Mochi families incorporate elements from the latter, whereas the high caste family retains only those features sanctioned by the authority of the Brahmins and the Swaminarayan Mission.

If we compare what is known of the domestic religion of these three families with the little that is known of the Punjabi community, we cannot fail to acknowledge that, in Leeds at least, Gujaratis seem to be more attentive to religious beliefs and practices than their Punjabi neighbours, and that women in both communities seem to be more religious in the home than men.

In this chapter the discussion has centred around the two subjects of interest group affiliation and domestic religion. While one is part of the wider issue of organised Hinduism, and the other represents its unorganised counterpart, both have in common the fact that they operate outside the temple, providing in many cases an extension of temple religion, and in others, a practical alternative to it. They do not constitute a sectarian approach, and indeed, in many cases, reinforce the institutional authority invested in the Pandit, and expressed in the regular daily, weekly and annual temple rituals. In those domestic areas where Brahmanical tradition does not exercise authority, in those features known as 'folk religion' or 'common religion', tradition is no less evident but is vernacular rather than Sanskrit, and local rather than pan-Indian. However, beliefs and practices of this kind are not inauthentic. The Hindu religious system is a complex of traditions both 'great' and 'little' with little unity and few possible sources of integration.
The religion of the domestic arena, when added to the organised religion of the small groups and the temple, completes the range of Indian Hinduism in the city. The temple, which acts in many ways as a social and religious 'centre', provides the services which might be expected in a temple in India, but, in addition to this, acts as a representative agency attempting to serve the interests of Leeds Hindus in the wider non-Hindu society. In fulfilling these roles its spokesmen and leaders have sought to understand the nature of their religion (sanatana dharma), and to define it in relation to the other faiths with which it comes into contact. As a result of their efforts to serve the various interests of the people under their auspices and to present a conceptual and practical system to outsiders, they have, to some degree, standardised temple religion. As we have seen in this chapter, this has contributed to the desire of a number of Hindus to fulfil some of their religious requirements elsewhere, either in the home, a traditionally acceptable alternative to temple worship, or in small formal or informal groups. Therefore, although the temple continues to play a vital role in the maintenance of the Hindu religious identity in Leeds, the responsibility for cultural, social and religious transmission, and the perpetuation of related beliefs and practices is decentralised.

As a result of the transplantation of Hinduism to a new and different location, Brahmanical authority, domestic religiosity, and the relationship between the two are undergoing changes. In the future, Hinduism in Leeds may look very different by comparison with its Indian counterpart, and even in relation to the contemporary British form. As more families adopt rational and secular strategies, there is a danger that traditions of belief and practice may fall into disuse. At the present time, however, although some practices, such as Upanayana and Jatakarma (initiation and birth rites), are rarely performed and the relationship of religion to other social institutions is changing, Hindu religious and social traditions, in many cases, are maintained. For example, caste is still effective in many areas of community life. Punjabis and Gujaratis continue to dress, eat and spend their leisure time in different ways, and family deities are still worshipped by new generations. Even young couples, like the one mentioned above, who have never known life in India, are keen to practise annual rituals and life cycle rites, and to educate their own children in the vernacular languages and the religious stories of the Epics and Puranas. Changes are bound to occur but there is nothing to suggest that traditional religious forms will vanish altogether from the lives of local Hindus.
Indian Hindus in Leeds have retained many of the social and religious practices to which they, or their older relatives, were accustomed in India. A large number continue to undertake their duty or dharma as they see fit in their new location. The social and behavioural dimensions (Pye, 1979) that are of such importance in the Hindus' own understanding of Hinduism are prevalent in the British form of the religion. However, they do not exist here unchanged. The transplantation of Hinduism to East Africa and to Britain is a dynamic process which has encouraged a great number of Hindus to reassess the meaning and content of their religion. Hinduism cannot have the same role in this country for its adherents as it had in India. There, to a large degree, it was the source of answers to the majority of autological questions. It was able to provide responses, in many cases, to questions about social position (jati and varna), age and stage of life (ashrama), occupation (jati) and religion. In Britain, although some of the same responses obtain, the new social location has provided these with new meanings, and has introduced possible alternatives. Ashrama, the stage of life, has a new meaning in British society: the householder's role is all-important, and the later ascetic stages are private and internalised, and are incorporated into ordinary working life. In addition occupations no longer necessarily bear a strict relation to traditional social rules pertaining to varnashramadharma. The changes, of course, are slow to occur, and are not without their counterparts in modern urban India. However, with each generation the changes are more obvious. Younger people in Britain articulate an identity which bears almost as much resemblance to traditional Western patterns as to their Hindu equivalents. However, they do not abandon or reject Hinduism. Its social and behavioural dimensions are as much in evidence among young Hindus as their older relatives: endogamy, family duty, and temple and domestic worship all continue to be practised. To a certain extent, however, they have taken on the status of 'traditions' and 'customs' rather than social and behavioural norms. They are practised more self-consciously than they would have been in India. Hindus have an awareness of their own new ethnic and minority status, and varnashramadharma is interpreted to suit this stance. In addition, many Hindus have developed an interest in the texts and doctrines of their religion and in inter-religious encounter. As a result, the retraditionalisation of Hinduism in Leeds has not called solely on the social and behavioural dimensions of popular dharma. It has also utilised aspects of the conceptual dimension which are drawn, via a nineteenth and twentieth century repopularisation, from the Sanskrit texts and from classical Hindu philosophy, and has encapsulated these in the term 'sanatana dharma'.
Hindu-Related Groups in Leeds

In the city there are a large number of 'new' religious groups ranging from the occult (e.g. the Sorcerer's Apprentice) to the quasi-Christian (e.g. the Children of God and the Unification Church), and from the Eastern (e.g. the Buddhist Society and the Ba'hai Association) to the spiritualist (e.g. the Greater World Spiritualist Sanctuary).

Although a small number of these were founded in the last century, most were born out of the late sixties and early seventies 'counter-culture' (Roszak, 1970; Campbell, 1980). Many grew out of Californian movements which developed in a spirit of what has been called, the 'new religious consciousness' (Glock and Bellah, 1976).

In Britain and America, however, an interest in the East, its philosophies, spirituality and practical religious techniques, predates these recent developments: its presence is apparent in the late-nineteenth century interest in Vedanta, the thirties interest in Zen, in the poetry of Walt Whitman, Waldo Emerson, and, later, T. S. Eliot, the works of Hermann Hesse, Christopher Isherwood and Aldous Huxley, and in the Theosophical Society.

The religious developments of the late sixties and seventies are relatively independent of this earlier interest, have come about largely as a result of missionary activity either by leaders or followers direct from India or from America, and have made their way into popular consciousness through the medium of public figures such as George Harrison and Pete Townshend, and the popular press.

Like most British cities Leeds accommodates a number of groups with an interest in Indian philosophies and practices. These are made known to potential clients in 'a market place' comprised of bookshop windows, public library leaflets, street sellers, newspaper advertisements, mailing lists and poster hordings.

Last year (1981), in the city, the first Northern F. A. I. R. (Festival of Answers, Insights and Revelations) was held, in association with which groups from the entire spectrum of the 'New Age' movement came together (F. A. I. R.). In these various ways interested members of the public are able to observe,
read of, and sample the choices on offer to them. This is not intended to suggest that the 'buyers' are not selective in their choices: what the various groups offer, and what the potential clients desire and demand from them will inevitably be related to one another.

It is to this area of study that a number of sociologists of religion have addressed themselves. Why, for example, have these groups recently become popular among the young (Campbell, 1972; Clock and Bellah, 1976; Wuthnow, 1976; Wilson, 1981)? Who joins them, and what needs do they serve (Needleman, 1977; Judah, 1974; Cox, 1977; Wallis, 1978 (a), 1979; Wuthnow, 1978; Price, 1979)? These are interesting and important questions in the study of new cultural movements. They are, however, of only secondary value in a study of religion. The questions that must be addressed here refer not to the sociological issues related to the development of new religious groups but to their religious context and content: which new religious groups in the city of Leeds display a relationship with Hinduism, and what is the nature of this relationship?

It is useful, as a forerunner to this discussion, to reiterate the scepticism expressed in the Introduction concerning the conceptualisation of Hinduism as an 'ethnic' religion per se. This view results, on the one hand, from a desire to typologise Hinduism as a non-universalising world religion, and an ethnic system related exclusively to India and the Indian people (Sopher, 1967), and, on the other hand, from a desire to characterise the new Western groups as movements seeking to affirm Hindu spirituality over and above Hindu society (Saran, 1969). Both views see the Hindu religion - as opposed to the Hindu spirituality of the sannyasi - as the domain of those born to live in accordance with varnashramadharma. Misgivings about this approach have already been expressed vis-à-vis Indian Hindus abroad who, despite having breached a dictum laid down in the Laws of Manu, have continued to practice their socio-religious duty in their new location. New religious groups which display a relationship with the Hindu tradition present us with a different set of questions: do these groups provide us with reasons to suppose that the typology which categorises Hinduism as 'ethnic' is too rigorous (Sopher, 1967)? Is there, perhaps, a message with universal appeal in this religion that attracts those outside the Indian sub-continent to take up its concepts and practices? Has there been a development in Hinduism of the importance of the idea of mission? Do these groups take up the social aspects of Hinduism, or are they simply attracted to its spiritual message and, if the latter is true, does this exclude them from being a part of the Hindu religion? A survey of the groups, with reference to
their utilisation of the social, psychological, conceptual and 
behavioural dimensions of Hinduism, will provide some tentative 
answers to these questions, and to the criticisms inherent 
in the conceptualisation of Hinduism as an 'ethnic' religion.

The material which follows was gathered between 1978 and 1980. 
Because of the rapidity with which these groups have been known 
to change, some of it may now be obsolete. All the groups 
are socially dynamic. People leave the movements, newcomers 
take their places, central addresses change, and whole groups 
appear and disappear in the market place. Shri Chinmoy and 
Krishnamurti groups, for example, have recently begun to adver-
tise locally, too late unfortunately for inclusion in this 
survey. Ananda Marga, a group that, at one time, seemed likely 
to become established in the city, failed to do so, and the 
Divine Light Mission, once a group with three or four houses 
and shops in Leeds, no longer has a permanent ashram here. 
Despite this social dynamism, and their changing self-perception 
and self-presentation, the groups' conceptual and practical 
content is generally firmly established and without change. 
It is, therefore, on the basis of their philosophical stance 
rather than on their social composition or social function 
that the Hindu-related groups in the city will be discussed.

Most attempts to typologise new groups have been based, to 
a large degree, on their social roles and functions (Campbell, 
and Richardson (1978), however, utilised a categorisation derived 
from the teachings the groups expounded. This approach considered 
their responses to the question of morality. Dualistic move-
ments, 'which reaffirm elements of traditional moral absolutism 
in an exaggerated and strident manner', tended to be quasi-
Christian, whereas monistic movements, 'which affirm relativistic 
and subjectivistic moral meaning systems' were generally 'Eastern' 
(1978, p.101). Seen in this manner the distinction is a little 
overstated for the purposes of this study. All the groups 
referred to here are 'Eastern' but two in particular, Krishna 
Consciousness and Raja Yoga, present philosophical stances 
which are not characteristically monist. They both recognise 
a cosmological distinction between God and the souls: there 
is a plurality of souls, and these souls are different from, 
but related to, God. Linked to this is a conceptualisation 
of a degree of individual freewill and personal moral choice. 
This is not expressed, however, 'in an exaggerated and strident 
manner' (Robbins, et al, 1978, p.101). These two groups do 
not assert the monist position generally associated with Advaita 
Vedanta or the teacher Sankaracharya. Their roots are more 
aptly traced to the later Vaishnava philosophers, Ramanuja
and Madhya. The two groups utilise elements from both philosophers (Visishtadvaita and Dvaita) but both express a moral attitude which owes more to Madhya than the earlier teacher, Ramanuja. The monistic movements, which express a conceptualisation of Universal Oneness, rarely show an interest in questions of moral meaning. Like the two groups mentioned above, they are concerned with the realisation by man of his true nature and relationship with the phenomenal world and God. Generally, however, they assert the irrelevance of moral questions rather than their importance. Such questions obscure the path to realisation, and characterise a misunderstanding of the true nature of reality. The issue of moral meaning for both types of groups is inextricably related to the wider subject of philosophical perspective.

The division, nevertheless, has value in a classification of new 'Eastern' groups: the dualistic movements are those which recognise a distinction between God and the souls, and which, therefore, perceive the importance of moral questions, and the monistic movements are those which assert Oneness and the indivisibility of the souls. These groups subjectivise moral meanings. The monistic groups can be further divided according to the nature of the path they offer for spiritual progress. Some of them offer an alternative view of the world and of man's position within it without demanding allegiance to a spiritual master. Instead, they offer a technique for spiritual progress that everyone can adopt and that can be carried out within the framework of ordinary life. These groups are the 'monistic-technical' groups (Robbins et al, 1978). The others offer a similar world view, but one that is available through a living master. They are 'monistic-charismatic' groups (Robbins et al, 1978).7

6.1 MONISTIC-TECHNICAL MOVEMENTS

6.11 Transcendental Meditation

The practice of Maharishi Mahesh Yogi's Transcendental Meditation came to light in the mid-fifties in India, when the Maharishi himself first began to teach it. After thirteen years of study and spiritual practice with his guru, Swami Brahmananda Saraswati, at the Sankaracharya Jyotir Math in the North of India, he had gone his own way and evolved, as his guru had requested he do, a simple form of meditative practice that everyone could learn and perform (Mangalvadi, 1977). Having no success with it in the subcontinent he went, in the late fifties, first to England and then to the States. The rise of the movement which developed around this meditative practice occurred from
the mid-sixties to mid-seventies. In America this resulted in a rise in numbers from approximately one thousand in 1966 to over nine hundred thousand in 1977 (Bainbridge and Jackson, 1981). First known as the Spiritual Regeneration Movement it moved on, in 1972, to found the Maharishi International University (mIU) in California (and the discipline known as the Science of Creative Intelligence (SCI)) and, in 1976, the World Government of the Age of Enlightenment. In Britain TM, as it became known, first came to the attention of the public with The Beatles in 1967, and has since then grown considerably, to about ninety thousand in 1978. In recent years, schemes such as the Skelmersdale 'Ideal Village' program, the 'Kent 1% Campaign', the TM 'Sidhi Courses', the establishment of the capital of the Age of Enlightenment at Mentmore Towers in Buckinghamshire, and the concept of 'City Parliaments' have become operational. In Leeds itself the movement has been established for some years at a centre in the north-west of the city (Map 6.1) run by a qualified TM teacher. In addition, the homes of dedicated practitioners are used for 'checking' sessions and group meetings. It is not possible to provide a figure for the total number of meditators in the city, although newsletters show that in 1977 ninety one people learnt the technique, with a further one hundred and thirty seven doing so in 1978. A number of those who were initiated into the practice will have abandoned it, others will have learnt it, and some will have gone on to do SCI courses and the 'Sidhi' programme. A number of keen meditators will also have been on weekend retreats, to seasonal parties and for 'checking' sessions.

The central practice of TM is the meditation itself, which is learnt and checked in an eight session programme, consisting of two introductory lectures, a personal interview, the initiation, three follow-up meetings and a final checking session (Hemingway, 1976; Bloomfield et al, 1976). The mantra for meditation is taught personally in a short religious service, although the practice of meditation is articulated and understood quasi-scientifically in relation to stress, 'restful alertness', metabolic rate, blood pressure and increased intelligence. It is to be performed by individuals in their normal surroundings twice daily, and is felt to benefit mental and bodily health, to improve personal behaviour and relationships, and to assist in bringing about world peace. Fees are charged for learning this technique and for attendance at the SCI courses - in which the student hears the Maharishi tell of his plans for the development of both the individual and society as a whole - and the 'Sidhi' programme, where advanced students are taught techniques to accelerate the growth of consciousness.
Despite its non-religious self-presentation, and its use of scientific justification and Western mental health models, the movement bears a close relationship to the Hindu tradition.\(^9\) In terms of activities it teaches a meditation based on the repetition of bija mantras, Sanskrit words which, according to TM teachers, have been spoken in the Himalayas for thousands of years. These mantras are passed on to the student in a short Puja ceremony.\(^10\) At the popular level, and in the initial stages of involvement, the concepts used are largely Western, but in the SCI courses and in Maharishi Mahesh Yogi's own works greater use is made of Indian terms and aspects of monistic philosophy such as 'samadhi', the 'seven states of consciousness', the philosopher Sankaracharya, the doctrines of karma and of Absolute Reality (Brahman), and veneration to the guru figure (Maharishi Mahesh Yogi, 1969; Mangalvadi, 1977). The concepts of 'transcendental meditation', 'restful alertness' and the 'seven states of consciousness' all bear a relation to states of mind articulated in the Upanishads and Patanjali's Yoga Sutras. These relationships are not overtly stated by teachers of the technique. Many, in fact, stress that TM need not interfere with the meditator's own religious position or experience. However, at its most fundamental level TM is based on a monistic philosophy which runs counter to traditional Christianity.\(^11\)

6.12 The School of Economic Science and The School of Meditation

Little has been written about the Economic Science Movement despite the fact that it has been established in Britain since the 1930s (Annett, 1976; Saunders, 1975). Its conceptual system is not wholly Indian in origin but certain Hindu texts are read by members. In addition, those who become committed to the principles of the group are then initiated and take up meditation as a daily practice. The headquarters of the movement is in London, as is the headquarters of the subsidiary organisation, The School of Meditation, set up in 1961 by The School of Economic Science after a visit to England by Maharishi Mahesh Yogi. The School of Economic Science has a centre in the north of Leeds (est. 1976). A branch of The School of Meditation has also been established in recent years in Roundhay, although what exact relationship it bears to the Leeds centre for Economic Science is unclear (Map 6.1).

Economic Science is held to be based on the work of G.I. Gurdjieff through his follower and friend P. D. Ouspensky. It teaches new members courses in philosophy and economics which 'appear to be pretty general, but there is an increasing leaning towards Ouspensky's teachings as students progress. The school is in fact a vehicle for his doctrine and a means of filtering
out would-be-followers, who are also asked to practise the
Maharishi's form of meditation' (Saunders, 1975, p.157). The
teachings of the Leeds group support this view: after the initial
'philosophy' course which 'enquires into man and his place
in the world; his thought, feeling and action' (The School
of Economic Science, n.d.) the regular student joins a regular
seminar group. In the seminars a passage from a particular
work (the title of which was unknown to the respondents) is
read and discussed. The passages are comprised of a mélange
of world philosophies and include material from Western thought,
the history of art, Eastern texts and so on. After seven
terms of study a student is felt to be ready to undertake
initiation and to become a regular meditator. He or she would
then be taken to Sheffield for the initiation (although it
is possible that this practice now takes place at The School
of Meditation in Leeds). The transmission of the mantra from
teacher to pupil and the practice of the meditation is the
same as that described in the section on TM.

The Leeds branch of The School of Meditation advertised in
the local press soon after its establishment in the city in
1979. It offered teaching in meditation for the 'realisation
of the true nature of man', and in addition, if this was desired,
made 'available to its members a systematic teaching designed
to illuminate man's place and purpose in creation' (The School
of Meditation, n.d.). This systematic teaching is none other
than Economic Science.

Neither of the two schools openly acknowledges a monistic
philosophy although their use of the texts of the Upanishads,
their advocacy of the importance of the realisation of the
inner self, and their use of transcendental meditation certainly
points to this view. Both make use of Hindu sruti texts
and of meditational practice, and are thus related, though
not as closely as some groups, to Hindu tradition.

6.13 The Theosophical Society

This group has the longest history of all the Hindu-related
groups in Leeds. Founded in 1875 by Madame H. P. Blavatsky
and Colonel H. S. Olcott, it inspired interest in both America
and Britain at an early stage, and helped to popularise and
reinterpret aspects of Hindu tradition to Europeans and Indians
alike in the subcontinent. The headquarters of the movement
was established in South India, and its continuing influence
was guaranteed by the leadership of Annie Besant after the
death of Madame Blavatsky. Despite the disturbance created
in the late twenties by Besant's introduction of the young
Krishnamurti as the 'new messiah', the scope and influence of the society have continued unabated with national sections being established in various countries of the world. In Britain the national centre is in London, with a further ninety lodges distributed throughout the country. The Leeds branch has been established in Queen's Square near the centre of the city since the 1920s - although the group was first started in Leeds in the 1900s - and has an interested and supportive membership of regular attenders. The majority of these are now in their seventies and eighties, and have been in the society since their youth. There is a general concern about the age range, and the committee members are eager to attract 'new blood'. This lodge, like many of the others, offers regular public lectures, society meetings and library services, providing books by writers such as Blavaksky and Besant, and on subjects such as astrology, the Hindu tradition, the psychic world, healing, occultism and the practice of yoga (Popenoe, 1979, Pp.604-14).

The tenets of the society in Leeds are held to be the same as those recognised by the society in the late nineteenth century (The Theosophical Society(a), n.d.). Members are concerned to know and pass on to others 'the wisdom of the ages' which is expressed in many of the world's great religious texts but that is, in some sense, beyond words, understood only through the realm of spiritual experience. The society is also concerned with the concept of brotherhood, of man's understanding of the unity of all things, and his place in the material and spiritual world. Although aspects of the philosophical background of the society are related to Christian tradition and the spiritualist movement, the central tenets are Hindu: the society is avowedly monistic, stresses the karma doctrine, and the possibility of 'human perfectibility and self-transcendence' (The Theosophical Society (b), n.d.). In addition, the Leeds group takes a lively interest in modern Hinduism, for instance, in Krishna Consciousness and in ethnic Hinduism in the city. Like many of the other groups it offers advice on the practice of meditation, the goal of which is 'the experience of peace and enlightenment' (The Theosophical Society (b), n.d.).

The relationship the society has with the Hindu religion relates largely to its philosophical position, although aspects of the behavioural and psychological dimensions of the tradition are also stressed. Despite the fact that the group offers an alternative understanding of the nature of man, the world and the divine, it has not attracted a younger 'counter-cultural' membership. This may be a consequence of its special emphasis.
on philosophical questions over and above its interest in techniques for spiritual progress.

6.14 **Ananda Marga Yoga**

Unlike most of the other new religious groups Ananda Marga attempts 'to synthesise the two ideals of inner realisation and social development' (Ananda Marga (a), n.d.). Founded in India in 1955 by Shri Shri Anandamurtiji, it sought to propound a practical system of self-development based on the physical, mental and spiritual disciplines of yoga. It was not until 1968 that the group's teachers began to work in other countries, and it did not become established in Britain until 1973. Since then it has opened centres in London, Birmingham and Liverpool, and has house-groups in other cities. Bradford provides the nearest meeting place for the Leeds population, although teachers based in other centres have visited the city to talk on the subject of meditation, and 'Food for All', a restaurant in Liverpool, has supplied whole-food for the recent Leeds F.A. I. R. Therefore, those Leeds people interested in the practices and philosophies of new Hindu-related groups have had several opportunities for meeting the members of Ananda Marga Yoga.

The most commonly known aspects of their activities are the social and artistic projects they have set up in recent years such as therapy and yoga groups in hospitals and day centres, hostels for homeless women, the 'Renaissance Artists and Writers Association', the wholefood restaurant and AMURT, the Ananda Marga Universal Relief Fund. Less is known of their philosophy and their religious practices, which owe a great deal to the Indian Yoga school and the work of Patanjali. They are the only meditation group to be found in the area which stresses the value of the preparatory 'limbs' of yoga discipline, yama (abstention) and niyama (observance). In addition, they advocate the importance of hatha yoga, good diet, fasting, cleanliness, kirtan (song) and tandava (energetic dance). They are all preparatory stages for the practice of sadhana or meditation. The meditation itself consists of a mantra - for which the student is given the meaning - the repetition of which leads practitioners on the spiritual path towards 'the infinite, all pervasive creating consciousness of the universe' (Ananda Marga (b), n.d.). This consciousness is understood to be 'the supreme consciousness which guides and controls the entire universe', the realisation of which brings meditators to 'peace' and 'eternal bliss' (Ananda Marga, (b), n.d.). On the path to this goal students feel an increasing sense of love and joy which inspires them to work with others in the world for a better and healthier society.
The monistic stance of Ananda Marga is expressed in terms of personal control, and social and moral welfare, and, despite the movement's belief in the unity of all existence, its teachers and members adopt a critical attitude to some of society's institutions. Many interested members, in addition to articulating Ananda Marga's conceptual framework and practising the stages of the path to enlightenment, join collectives with like-minded yogis. Here they attempt to live their personal lives apart from society while continuing to work within it for its improvement.

All the five monistic-technical groups, despite their many differences, provide their clients with techniques with which to achieve 'restful alertness', 'samadhi', 'enlightenment', 'peace' or 'eternal bliss'. The practices they provide differ according to their degree of difficulty, their style, the stage of membership at which they are offered, and their significance to the group. Ananda Marga's technique is arduous and many-faceted, whereas TM's technique is easy to learn and practise. They both use mantra meditation, whereas The Theosophical Society uses a contemplation technique. TM teaches its meditation immediately, but The School of Economic Science tests the interest and knowledge of members beforehand. To both them and the members of The Theosophical Society meditation is only one aspect of the path to personal development. TM, however, offers the initial meditation in isolation from other features of philosophy and practice.

The two 'charismatic' groups found in the city also offer techniques of meditation, but these are only made available and given value and meaning by the spiritual master of the movement. As a result of this, the leadership within the movements is invested with greater power and responsibility. There are teachers in the 'technical' movements, but their roles do not extend to the transmission and interpretation of the charismatic message of a divine guru. Neither Guru Maharaj Ji nor Acharya Rajneesh have visited Leeds, but the local Divine Light Mission and Sangeet Rajneesh Meditation Centre have functioned nonetheless to inspire and enlighten members through the power of their words.

6.2 MONISTIC-CHARISMATIC MOVEMENTS

6.21 Divine Light Mission

Divine Light Mission (Divya Sandesh Parishad) was established officially in India in 1960 by Gurudev Shri Hans Ji. In his youth he had been influenced by the Arya Samaj, and had then
met a saint called Dada Guru. He became his disciple, and later his spiritual successor. He preached in Delhi on the knowledge of Divine Light and the Holy Name, and attracted many followers. Then, before his death in 1966, in the Indian 'sant' tradition, he passed on the leadership of the Mission to his young son, Balyogeshwar (Guru Maharaj Ji) (Divine Light Mission, 1970; Mangalvadi, 1977).

In 1969 the first missionary was sent to London, and, in 1971, the young Guru himself paid a visit (Price, 1978). In the following years many ashrams were established, including the Leeds mission at the end of 1971. In the next three years the centre had moved three times, several shops had been rented and a number of private homes had become mission houses for devout premis (lovers of truth). In the mid-seventies about eight thousand people had 'received knowledge' in Britain, and there were thirty to forty active members in Leeds. In the next few years the international Mission became the scene of several premi court cases, and a dispute between Guru Maharaj Ji in the States and his mother, Mata Ji, in India (The Times, 27.4.75). As a result of this second incident, the disciples in India, of whom there were a large number, withdrew their support from the Guru, and proclaimed his younger brother the true 'living master'. Western devotees, however, remained faithful to Guru Maharaj Ji. Sometime after this, the Mission in the West began to alter its public image, becoming more overtly respectable and Westernised in appearance. Its message, however, remained very much the same.  

To Divine Light meditators the Guru is the living embodiment of God, the spiritual master for the present age. 'He is the manifestation of the power that breathes life into all human beings', and it is this power that is sought in the meditation of Divine Light (Divine Light Mission, n.d.). The meditation, or 'knowledge', 'is not a religion; it's a direct experience of God, or eternal energy', experienced by the premi as divine light, divine music, nectar and the word (Cameron, 1973, p.18). This knowledge is passed on to the initiate by a mahatma (initiator) who allows him or her to experience these four divine qualities through meditation, and through a devotional relationship with Guru Maharaj Ji. Through constant meditation on the light, it is hoped that the meditator will have the experience of becoming the divine light itself, and of reaching a state of samadhi. In addition to the meditation the premis take part in satsang, in which they discuss their experience, and carry out seva or service in the world for the master. Those who wish to live their whole lives in his service, in obedience and chastity, join an ashram. Other premis, although
participating in the social activity of satsang and the communal meditation, are free to live as they wish.

In many ways the Mission has remained close to traditional Hinduism, although it does not see itself as a religion or as a Hindu group, and has, in some ways, de-Indianised its public image in the West. Because it stresses the importance of the Guru as a means to spiritual experience and possible enlightenment it is perhaps closer than the technical groups to contemporary popular Hinduism. The nature of the experience also bears a close resemblance to the experiential aspects of Indian religion, particularly in the sant tradition of North India: in Sikhism, for example, reference is made to the holy music and to repetition of 'the name'. The group also has a flexible, but nonetheless traditional social base: it allows members the freedom to choose a life of renunciation in an ashram but also stresses the importance of a happy and devout family life of worship, satsang and seva in the world.

6.22 Sangeet Rajneesh

Compared with most new religious groups Sangeet Rajneesh has a short history in this country. Despite this, in a relatively short period of time it has become much publicised, and its members have become easily recognisable in their orange and maroon clothes and males (beaded necklaces with pictures of Bhagwan Rajneesh). The movement's guru, Bhagwan Rajneesh was born in 1931 to Jain parents in Madhya Pradesh. After a university education and a period of college-teaching, he began lecturing on the spiritual regeneration of humanity, and conducting meditation sessions in Bombay. Then, in 1974, he moved to Poona and began to work from there, gradually attracting a number of Western devotees. Recently he has left this centre for America and gone into the next stage of his work, 'speaking through silence' in which he has 'heart-to-heart communion' with his disciples, and for which he has invested two 'mediums' with the power to work for him (Leeds Sangeet Rajneesh, May 1981).

The Leeds group, originally known as Alive in Leeds, was established in late 1978 in Headingley, and presented an introductory programme in January 1979 which offered sessions in dance, encounter, meditation, massage and bio-energetics. Any relationship with the Bhagwan and his movement was not publicised at that time, and the programme was said to offer the chance 'for you to spend more time on yourself and to explore your relationships with others' (Alive in Leeds, n.d.). Later in the same year the two leaders of the group, who were both sannyasis, were able to open a new meditation centre in
central Leeds (Map 6.1). Since that time various leaders have run courses and sessions in a full range of psycho-therapeutic techniques, meditational practices and movement studies. Membership is composed of those who have taken 'orange' and become sannyasis through initiation (a small but growing number), and those who attend classes but have not 'surrendered' to Haggwan.17

Bhagwan Rajneesh is an Enlightened Being. He is 'one who can see, one who has attained his own divinity', and who is held to be a living proof for those in the world who do not recognise that 'the kingdom of God is within' (Bharti, 1981, pp.4-5). The Guru, to his followers, is the catalyst that initiates the process of realisation, a process that is active and intense rather than relaxed and peaceful. He teaches a 'dynamic' meditation in which the practitioners pass through stages of chaotic breathing, catharsis (or 'let-go', in which they often remember past lives or past experiences), Sufi mantra repetition, stillness and celebration. This practice is said to counter our 'neurosis'. Rajneesh stated that 'every man is schizophrenic: divided against himself, fighting against himself... My emphasis is first to dissolve your inner division, to make you one' (Bharti, 1981, p.15). He feels that life is unserious, that it is lila' or play, and that it should be lived passionately and dangerously. We should not try to understand its meaning and process with our minds - it is all rationally unknown and unknowable - but should, through different meditational practices, through sexuality and tantra, transcend thinking, and realise the oneness or self through speechlessness and mindlessness: For those for whom this realisation comes quickly samadhi or super-consciousness is the result. For the rest there is karma and rebirth until self-realisation is achieved.18

The path to this realisation is best achieved, according to Rajneesh, through the taking of sannyas: 'dying to the old and becoming open to the new' (Bharti, 1981, p.22). This transformation, of name, clothes and personal style, allows the initiate to take a new look at herself or himself. Where possible, initiates loosen the ties they have established over many years, with their individuality and image. Sannyasis need not take sannyas direct from Rajneesh, although this is obviously preferable. Instead, they may receive it by proxy at a local centre, after which they may choose to live communally with other sannyasis or may live in non-orange homes.

Like Guru Maharaj Ji, Bhagwan Rajneesh makes use of concepts
from different world faiths and philosophies, and sees his message as the essence of religiousness rather than as a new religion. Despite this syncretism, both groups display an overall system closer to Hinduism than to other world faiths or to scientific rationalism. In both the emphasis is on the One Reality, and the individual's path to its knowledge or realisation. In the first two of the 'dualistic' movements described below it is not the Vedantic vidya or supreme knowledge that is so earnestly sought but the relationship of the individual soul with God.

6.3 DUALISTIC MOVEMENTS

In addition to new fundamentalist Christian groups which perceive an absolute moral duality of God and Satan, good and evil, there are several new 'Eastern' groups which recognise a distinction between God and the souls, and which give credence to the problem of evil, the question of freewill and the power of God's grace. The groups which are to be found in Leeds are very different from one another, although all three offer techniques, either for personal improvement or spiritual progress. Raja Yoga is essentially a meditation group similar in style to some of the monistic groups but with an alternative doctrinal position whereas Krishna Consciousness is more 'a way of life' in the service of Krishna. Hatha Yoga, which is also included here, is a practice generally confined to physical rather than spiritual well-being. It does not present a worldview or religious framework.

6.31 Raja Yoga

The founder of Brahma Kumaris Ishwariya Vishwa Vidyalaya revealed the word of God rather than taking up the role of the guru. Dada Lekhraj of Sindh, later known as Prajapita Brahma, received a series of divine visions in 1937. As a result of this experience he established the Brahma Kumaris Spiritual University, known as Madhuban, now situated in Mount Abu, Rajasthan. Prajapita Brahma, after thirty years of service, then 'broke free of all bondages and limitations and achieved the stage of perfection' in 1969 (Raja Yoga, n.d.). Dadi Nirmal Shanti was left to act as his medium and the administrative head of the university. The London Centre is also run by one of the earliest Raja Yogis, and through her inspired work a number of subsidiary centres have now been set up throughout the country, in Leicester, Bradford, Leeds, and Edinburgh. The Leeds centre has been operating for three or four years, and is situated in the north-west, on the outskirts of the city (Map 6.1). It has had between three and four hundred people pass through its introductory course, its lecture courses, and teachings on meditation.
Raja yoga, the highest path, seeks to bring the individual soul to a relationship with the supreme soul, God (Shiva or Shiv Baba). The supreme soul, although of the same nature as the individual souls, is quite separate from them, and, unlike them, never takes a gross or subtle body. This soul has the qualities of love, peace, purity and bliss and is perceived as a divine light. Our own souls are also points of radiating light, and, like Shiva, cannot be created or destroyed. The body which houses them, however, is subject to karma, and will leave impressions (samskars) on the soul according to the actions and thoughts it has performed. Shiva is the supreme teacher of men but also their judge, and will only give deliverance in this life (jivan mukti) to those who have led a good, moral life. It is only through good and moral works and the practice of raja yoga (a practice that incorporates the lower stages of jnana and karma yoga and includes the further dimension of a relationship of love, peace and purity with the father, Shiv Baba) that souls, after death, will be able to leave the corporeal world, pass through the subtle world, to the incorporeal soul world, Brahmlok or paramdham. All individual souls, however, continue to take corporeal bodies in all stages of the world cycle: those that have reached perfection will be born in the Golden Age, the age of Shri Narayana and Shri Lakshmi, whereas those whose bodies led an evil life subject to Mammon will not take a new body, but will remain in the subtle world until the Copper or Iron Age when false consciousness abounds. At the present time we are at the end of an Iron Age or Kali yuga, and should prepare for the end of this cycle and the beginning of a new drama (each cycle lasts five thousand years and is composed of four yugas of decreasing morality and beauty) by leading a good life and by practising raja yoga.

The members of the movement are keen to pass on their knowledge of world drama (murli) and of the nature of the world and the soul. A number of them take up residence in centres or are encouraged to set up new centres in their own homes or in other towns or cities. They become known as 'Brahmans'. Individual meditation and communal meditation, both of which bring peace and purity, teaching and religious programmes (on the occasions of traditional Hindu festivals such as Shivaratri, Raksha Bandhan, and Diwali) are all important aspects of their personal spiritual development and service to God. Many of the outward forms of their teachings bear a relation to elements of tradition: they use many Sanskrit terms, share 'borg' or prasada, keep festivals and have a sizeable Indian membership, both here and abroad. However, their cosmology and their concept of world 'drama' is unusual. They could be said to owe their understanding of the nature of the material world to the
Samkhya school, their teachings of the souls and on the subject of evil to Madhya, and of the four yugas to Puranic texts. Because of the absence of information on the religious background of the founder - on his own knowledge and tradition, or pramanas - it is impossible to be too bold in an assessment of the movement's relationship to Hinduism. Perhaps its major debt is to Patanjali in as far as it reiterates his teaching on the samskars or impressions, on the nature of God, and the progress of the soul in concentration and meditation. A further discussion of this group will be provided in the following chapter.

6.32 Krishna Consciousness

Unlike the members of Raja Yoga, who do not see themselves as Hindus, those who follow the teachings of A. C. Bhaktivedanta Swami Prabhupada are more inclined to acknowledge this definition.

The Swami, who only founded the International Society for Krishna Consciousness in 1966, was, like Maharishi Mahesh Yogi, following the spiritual direction of his own guru. This man, Bhaktisiddhanta Saraswati Goswami, was the founder of a number of Gaudiya Vaishnava Maths in India, and it was in the 1920s that Prabhupada met him, and joined the Chaitanya movement at the Gaudiya Math in Bengal. Before the death of his guru, Prabhupada was instructed to spread the knowledge of Krishna to the West. The importance of this did not impress itself on him until the mid-sixties when he went to America to begin his mission (Harper, 1972, p.230).

The movement did not establish itself in Britain until some years later, but now has four centres here. The nearest to Leeds is in the Oldham area, and it is devotees from this centre that visit the city to sell the books of Bhaktivedanta Prabhupada and records of Krishna Consciousness Kirtana or chanting. In this way large numbers of Leeds people have come into contact with the movement, although it is probable that very few of these have taken an active interest in its philosophy or practice. In addition, the national organisation has formed a relationship with several non-Christian religious groups in the city.

Krishna Consciousness is very different from a number of the other new Hindu-related groups because it is overtly theistic, seeing Krishna as the 'supreme personality of Godhead', the creator and maintainer of the universe. This supreme-being, who created Brahma, the universe and each of us, has also appeared in countless forms, such as the historical Krishna and Lord Chaitanya, 'for the purpose of attracting conditioned
souls back home, back to Godhead' (Krishna Consciousness (a), n.d.). These souls, the 'children of God', which themselves are unchanging and eternal 'parts and parcels of Krishna', are caught in the process of karma and rebirth, until such time as the body takes up devotional service to God in the form of Krishna consciousness. Bhaktivedanta Prabhupada, who himself is in direct disciplic succession from Chaitanya, and originally Krishna, has brought the knowledge of this 'consciousness' to the West to allow and encourage us to free our souls from 'bad karma' and to go back home. For this purpose his devotees have distributed his writings, and established temples in which those who are interested can live in a way best suited to service of the Lord, and to eventual release from rebirth. In the age of Kali we are now in ascetic practice is difficult, and the temple provides the most conducive atmosphere for spiritual advancement. Those who become Brahmacharis must live according to the rules of temple life, becoming vegetarians, abstaining from alcohol, tobacco, drugs and gambling, and from sex, except where this occurs between married devotees for the conception of Krishna conscious children. All participate in private japa, where they repeat the names of God, and in sankirtan or congregational chanting (Krishna Consciousness 'meditation'). These practices are the most effective ways of engaging in transcendental activity, and of thus coming closer to God. All devotional practices, however, should be accompanied by faith, service, 'the removal of misgivings' and of a growing realisation and love of God. Only then will a devotee come to the 'ecstatic absorption in God consciousness' (jivan mukti), and will thus, after bodily death, return to the eternal spiritual world 'where we can enjoy blissful pastimes of loving exchange with Krishna' (Krishna Consciousness (a), n.d.). The movement is related closely to devotional Vaishnava Hinduism. The temples display the images of Krishna and Radha, and of Jagannath. Hindu festivals are celebrated, Arti is performed daily, food is offered to the deity and prasada is distributed. In addition, the literature of the movement discusses karma and varnashramadharma, advocates the four varnas, and expounds from 'Vedic' texts, which it sees as including the Bhagavad Gita and the Bhagavata Purana. Every effort is made by devotees to emphasise the movement's relationship with what it understands as traditional Vedic religion, and to bring this religion to the people by distributing literature, and providing hospitality. They seek to reach many types of people, and are able to interpret their message in the appropriate style: the two British magazines 'FOLK' (Friends of Lord Krishna) and 'Mahabharat Times' (both of which are received by Leeds residents) are intended respectively for an interested audience who are keen to practice japa and to read the literature but
who continue to live and work from their own homes, and for the growing number of Indian Hindus living in Britain who respect the movement and provide it with financial support.\textsuperscript{21}

Many Indian Hindus recognise Krishna Consciousness as a genuine expression of sanatana dharma. To them, the Brahmacharis are leading superior spiritual lives in devotion and service to Krishna. Their dress, diet and practices look familiar. Their understanding of the nature of God, the material world and karma also has much in common with their own Vaishnava traditions: Krishna is supreme and has qualities that can be known; the souls, although they are 'parts and parcels' of Krishna, are as children to their father and, as such, are separate from him. These souls are trapped in the material world in a dark, evil age, in bodies subject to karma until, through service, they can return to Krishna. Prabhupada did not compromise or complicate his philosophical position with inclusions from other world religions, and was very keen to authenticate his message by referring to the spiritual succession of the Gaudiya Vaishnava movement. His group is more obviously Hindu than the other new religious groups surveyed here.\textsuperscript{22}

6.33 Hatha Yoga

Despite this relationship with tradition, Krishna Consciousness does not have quite the same impact that some of the other groups do on those with a potential interest in Hindu-related groups living in Leeds. This is because there is no temple or centre in the city to which visitors can go to sample the beliefs and practices on offer. A movement which differs radically from Krishna Consciousness in its impact and popularity is Hatha Yoga, possibly the one group known in one form or another to the vast majority of the Leeds population.

Hatha Yoga is unlikely to be described by anyone as a religion but, despite this, its relationship with Patanjali’s path of spiritual progress is undeniable. In Britain, the asanas or postures of the bathe yoga technique are generally performed in isolation from the higher (raja) forms of yoga and the philosophical context of the Yoga school, and for this reason the classification of Hatha Yoga as a dualistic movement is only tentative. However, if we assume that students incorporate the physical practices of yoga into their own understanding of the nature of reality we have more reason to believe it to be dualistic than monistic: the variety of responses in the West to the question of cosmological and moral relationships express duality rather than unity. Patanjali, in the Yoga Sutras, expressed a philosophy of dualism in which Ishvara or God and the individual purushas or selves were separate but
of a similar nature. Thus, irrespective of the varying interest expressed by different yoga groups of philosophical questions, the movement as a whole is more appropriately seen as dualistic than monistic. This particular form of yoga has been practised in Britain since the early nineteenth century, although its popularity increased immensely in the 1960s and seventies. It is taught at extra-mural classes in all British cities, and is learnt from books, television and records. It is publicised at a serious level through two organisations, the British Wheel of Yoga and the BKS Iyengar Yoga Group. In Leeds there are a large number of practising groups ranging from the elementary to the advanced, from hatha to iyengar yoga (those classes emphasising exercises for the back), and from groups which emphasise physical fitness to those incorporating simple relaxation and meditation or raja yoga techniques. The University of Leeds has had an active Yoga Society for many years with a large annual membership. In the past it has provided students with a choice of about three or four sessions with differing emphases and at different levels of advancement. Each is run by a qualified local teacher. The Yoga Society tends to attract more females than males, and the majority of these confess an interest in physical suppleness and fitness rather than relaxation or mental calm. Despite this, the group does have a small library of books which students can borrow or buy on subjects such as raja yoga and bhakti yoga, TM and Haridas Chaudhuri's 'integral yoga' as well as hatha techniques.

The asanas or postures of hatha yoga were placed in the context of the eight limbs or angas of the path to kaivalya or liberation in the Yoga Sutras of Patanjali. In his system, they represented the third stage, after abstention (yama) and observance (niyama), and before the meditational practices. The asanas themselves are mentioned in a variety of early Hindu texts. They are felt to be a preliminary stage of yoga, and it is perhaps for this reason that some of the groups add meditative or contemplative practices to their range of activities. Two of the university classes offer relaxation techniques. One teacher suggests a rose or a favorite place as a subject for concentration. The other asks students to contemplate a candle flame.

The Hatha Yoga movement, like TM, The School of Economic Science and The School of Meditation describes itself as non-religious. Several of the other groups surveyed refer to themselves as the 'essence' of all religions. Underlying some is an understanding of the unity of all existence. Others state the difference between God and the souls, and stress that human effort and God's help are necessary to bring about liberation from the material world in this dark age or kali yuga. It is only
the Hatha Yoga movement which does not present a philosophical framework for its practices. Nevertheless, it makes use of aspects of traditional Hinduism. Every group surveyed here offers practical techniques such as postures or asanas, concentration or meditational practice, service to God or worship. Some of the groups provide a radical reinterpretation taking aspects of tradition and implanting them in totally new contexts. Several others present unadulterated Hindu tradition through the medium of English rather than Sanskrit. In TM and Krishna Consciousness a further feature of traditionalism is apparent: both Maharishi Mahesh Yogi and Bhaktivedanta Prabhupada were instructed by their own gurus to popularise and spread the teachings of the order to which they belonged. Both, therefore, recognised their own place in the disciplic succession, and interpreted their task according to the philosophical traditions of their predecessors. This concern to continue the teachings of the school (sampradaja), and to legitimate one's own contribution in traditional terms (pramana), is understood by Indian teachers as the correct procedure for the transmission of knowledge. Some of the other founders of Hindu-related groups have ignored this practice, and, although influenced nonetheless by particular gurus or teachers, schools of thought and styles of practice, have been more free in their interpretation of Hinduism and their use of other traditions.

This system of classification has enabled us to see the groups on offer in the city and to observe the variety of philosophical responses to the absolute, man and the world which they provide. These range, as we have seen, from the reinterpreted Advaita Vedanta of TM to the monotheism of Raja Yoga. Some of the literature on new groups tends to suggest that there is little to choose between them, particularly those of the 'Eastern' type but, in fact, if we look at the content rather than the membership of these groups, we are able to see the variety of different conceptual stances, experiences, practices and social organisations which they offer.

Some of the groups present the complete range of Hindu religious provision, while others stress the behavioural or conceptual to the exclusion of the other dimensions. Each group’s response to the four dimensions to religion is outlined in Table 6.1.

In the behavioural dimension, all the groups (except some Hatha Yoga groups) offer some form of meditation to their members, ranging from the japa and sankirtan of Krishna Consciousness to the mantra recitation of the monistic-technical groups. In addition, a number have a programme concerned with physical and moral progress, and others of active service to, and worship
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<th>FOUR DIMENSIONS BY GROUP</th>
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<th>Conceptual</th>
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**TABLE 6.1 The four dimensions of Hindu religiousness by group**

* Dimensions open to all members of the group

** Dimensions only open to more advanced members
of, God. Only The School of Economic Science sees this dimension as a part of the second level or advanced stage of membership.

All the groups, though not all their members, are able to articulate a conceptual framework for these practices. In most cases this extends to a full philosophical system, although in the cases of Hatha Yoga and The School of Meditation they may relate only to an understanding of the purpose of the practices themselves. As is the case with all religious movements, the members of these groups are free to learn in full or to ignore the doctrines on offer, although pressure may be put on the members of some organisations to adopt them.

The psychological and social dimensions are not common to all the groups, although in a number of cases one of the two may account for the group's popularity. The opportunity for an experience of God, of 'restful alertness' or of one's own true nature is made available in most groups. A number, however, stress that it is not necessarily open to all, and state that effort and time may be required in order for it to come about. The terms 'enlightenment', 'samadhi', 'cosmic consciousness' and 'knowledge' are used by groups to describe the state that meditation is held to lead to, and, to some, this is characterised by the termination of the process of rebirth and the action of karma.

Not all the groups, by any means, provide a Hindu-related social organisation to which members can belong and with which they can identify. Krishna Consciousness, although it does not have a temple in Leeds, and Sangeet Rajneesh offer members this opportunity at the time of their initiation. The former sees those who accept this opportunity as Brahmachari, and those who are 'Krishna conscious' while continuing to live in the world as Grhastha or householders. It has incorporated the system of varnashramadharma into its worldview. Bhagwan Rajneesh, however, sees his disciples as sannyasis, as followers who renounce the life they have been used to and take on a new approach to themselves. This initiation is instrumental in bringing about 'realisation', and does not necessarily bear any relation to the ascetic renunciation of Hindu tradition. Divine Light Mission, Ananda Marga and Raja Yoga, however, which offer religious communities to those who have made a positive decision to work for the movement, do so in a recognisably Hindu manner. They expect celibacy, correct diet, service and communal worship or religious practice from their members (Raja Yoga 'Brahmins' or 'Brahma Kumaris', Divine Light 'premis' and 'Ananda Margis'). In TM only those at a very advanced level, TM teachers, those who have done 'sidhi'
programmes and so on, make use of their own homes as communal centres, or join TM community projects. Even at this stage the emphasis is on meditation rather than on renunciation or service.

None of these groups, it seems, is entirely 'new', although most of them may be presenting concepts, practices and experiences which are comparatively new to the British public (Werblowsky, 1980). The Theosophical Society, Hatha Yoga groups and The School of Economic Science have been operating for a considerable length of time, but, except in the case of Hatha Yoga, their doctrines and activities have not received widespread interest or publicity. It was not until the 1970s that aspects of Hindu spirituality began to attract a small but noticeable following in this country. None of the groups, however, would describe itself as 'Hindu'. Even Krishna Consciousness declares that Krishna is the supreme personality of Godhead, and is, as such, above all religions. It would be inappropriate, therefore, to call them Hindu or neo-Hindu movements. Despite their self-definition, some would accept that the founders were Hindus, all would admit that they owed some of their beliefs and practices to the Indian tradition, and all would be likely to acknowledge that the East has something to offer the West.

The pattern of religiousness adopted by these groups is different in many ways to that practised by most Indian Hindus in the city. For Indian Hindus (except perhaps those who faithfully retain their Arya Samaj connections) the emphasis tends to be on devotional practice: Arti, Puja and the popular Jayanti festivals; socio-religious duty, that is, attention to caste prescriptions, service to the family and life cycle rites. Personal experience, articulation of Vedantic doctrines and renunciation are all of secondary importance. There is, of course, some crossover: some local Hindus take a special interest in the early texts and the philosophical schools; a small number, like Prabha Devi, make social use of their own personal religious experiences; and most, when asked, are able to express an understanding of karma and samsara. Some of the new groups — we will continue to refer to them as 'new' in order to distinguish them from the local Hindu interest groups — also share an interest in devotionalism and duty. Krishna Consciousness, for example places murtis in its temples, and offers food, light, flowers and money to the deity in a similar manner to Krishna devotees in India and Britain. Divine Light encourages devotion and service to the guru, a practice that many of the older Indian population in this country would also recognise as traditionally Hindu.
In addition to the religious similarities and dissimilarities between Hindu-related groups and the ethnic Hindu population, it is necessary to consider the attitudes they have to one another. For example, do local Hindus see any of these groups as 'Hindu'? Do the groups themselves feel they have common interests? And do they interact with the city's Indian Hindus, and thus see themselves as related to popular Hinduism?

Figure 6.1 shows that several attempts have been made by non-Indian groups to form relationships with, or express interest in, other Hindu-related organisations. Not all the interactions have been mutually well-received: some have made an advance and have received a poor response. Many of the contacts indicated do not represent a relationship between two local groups. They represent an interaction between one local group and a national organisation. The Hindu temple's interchanges with the Krishna Consciousness movement are an example of this. Several, however, have been entirely local: Leeds Raja Yogis visited the university Yoga Society to advertise their practices. The full range of interactions is expressed diagrammatically on the following page.
Several Leeds Hindus whose families belonged to The Theosophical Society in East Africa visited the Leeds lodge. They found it very different from the lodges in Kenya because of its small size and non-Indian membership, and did not seek further contact. The Leeds lodge has recently begun to express an interest in local Indian Hinduism, although, as yet, they have made no formal advances to the temple.
In the early 1970s several young Indian Hindus joined the Divine Light Mission. One of these was later married in the temple, and invited premi friends to the service. This relationship has not been renewed, although the temple library does have several books on the Mission and its guru.

The Leeds Raja Yoga centre has made several advances to the temple in recent years. On one occasion the management committee invited its national head, Dada Jayanti, to speak to a group of interested Hindus. Following her talk she was request to perform Arti and eventually did so, despite her own misgivings about this. The temple library has a number of books written and published by the movement. A large number of local Hindus have heard of it, and several young Indians have visited the centre and attended the courses on offer.

The temple also has a relationship with the other theistic group, Krishna Consciousness. Local Hindus have made several visits to Bhaktivedanta Manor, made offerings to Radha and Krishna in their temple, bought books and subscribed to temple maintenance. The relationship is mutual.

The relationships between The School of Economic Science, The School of Meditation and Maharishi’s TM were outlined earlier. Nothing at present is known of any interactions at the local level between the groups.

The Theosophical Society in Leeds, which shows a catholic interest in religious topics of all kinds, invited a speaker from the Krishna Consciousness movement to give a public lecture several years ago. He addressed the subject of the Bhagavad Gita, a text of interest to both groups and of which their interpretations differ considerably. No further contact has been initiated between these two groups. The Theosophical Society, however, has recently invited a speaker from the Raja Yoga centre to address the group.

Members of Raja Yoga recognise that people who already perform the postures of hatha yoga may well feel that they would benefit from mental relaxation techniques as well. A number of these members teach or belong to yoga groups, and the leader of the Raja Yoga centre on one occasion approached the Leeds University Union Yoga Society to explain the aims practices and experiences offered by the Raja Yoga movement.

As this shows there have not been a large number of relationships formed between Hindu and Hindu-related groups. The Leeds temple has welcomed advances from groups which seem to have
common principles and practices. Members of Raja Yoga and Krishna Consciousness, who have shown an interest in this relationship, suggest, by doing this, that they feel that there is some common ground between their own movements and the beliefs and practices of Indian Hindus.

Very few of the 'new' groups have sought a relationship with one another, although the older-established ones such as Hatha Yoga, The Theosophical Society and The School of Economic Science have been more open in their interest than those groups established in the 1960s and 1970s. The implication suggested by this lack of mutual interest and concern is that the members feel that their own mission is separate and perhaps superior, and that the group to which they belong cannot benefit from an interaction with other groups.

In general, then, the groups do not actively recognise or discuss the similarities they have with one another. On occasions, members may refer to the practices of another group in order to show their own group's superiority. Ananda Marga, for example, denigrates the mantra repetition of TM because those who practise it are denied its meaning, and TM itself criticises the 'contemplation techniques' of Raja Yoga as superficial.

Despite these mild polemic attitudes and the general insularity of Hindu-related groups, they do seem to have certain things in common with one another. Meditational practice is the most obvious of these, and other shared aspects include the doctrines of karma and samsara, the experience of samadhi, and various forms of personal and communal renunciation such as sannyas, vegetarianism and celibacy. These principles and practices are not those commonly associated with popular Indian Hinduism, but are instead held to be aspects of traditional Hindu spirituality, the domain of sannyasis and sadhus rather than Hindu householders (Saran, 1969). However, it would be a mistake to assume either that Hindu spirituality bears no relation to popular Hinduism or that Hindu-related groups restrict their meaning systems to the realm of Hindu spirituality.

First, it must be recognised that, although the sannyasi is held to be structurally 'outside' the system of varnashramadharma, the concepts, practices and experiences which constitute his worldview are understood and reiterated by many caste Hindus. In addition, these same Hindus see sadhus, sannyasis and swamis, not as 'outside' society, but as spiritually 'higher' than themselves. Many Leeds Hindus, for instance, see the Bramcharis of Krishna Consciousness as an example to themselves: these spiritual young people are leading a good Hindu life which they
feel they should aspire to within the context of their own family lives. It is certainly true to say that most Hindus are unable to give a full account of Advaita Vedanta, or even of the more theistic interpretations of Vedanta to which many of their own beliefs and practices owe allegiance. Neither, however, can the majority of members of Hindu-related groups. To them, like most Hindus in the city, it is the practice and the experience or feeling that this brings about - whether this be of release, relaxation, love or duty - that is of most value and importance.

Secondly, it is clear from the survey presented above, that, because of their origins in the subcontinent, a number of the groups contain features of religiousness which owe more to popular Hinduism than to Hindu spirituality: the relationship of disciple and guru; the use of murtis and pictures for worship and initiation; the use of dance and song; and the use of practical religious service. These are all aspects of this. In addition, while few groups make use of the caste system, all, except Sangeet Rajneesh, accept and even encourage the fact that most members are not prepared to renounce or alter their lives in a radical way. They would rather live and work in the world, allowing their lives to be affected and enhanced by their practices and beliefs. Sangeet Rajneesh purposely articulates an alternative view of reality, and sees life in the world as a means of bringing members to a true realisation of their own natures. Sannyas is an instrumental stage. It is not 'spirituality for its own sake'.

The relationship which these groups bear to Hinduism is undeniable, but it does not militate against their own self-understanding and self-description. All the groups recognise the relationship they have with Hinduism but none sees itself as a 'Hindu group'. Therefore, it would be inappropriate to judge them according to the truth or accuracy of their reproduction of tradition. The groups themselves are not concerned with whether or not they are related only to Indian spirituality or to the wider realms of Hinduism. Their missions are related to the Hindu tradition and a development from it, but in other ways they are different, and thus separate from it.

The fact that Westerners have taken up and used aspects of Hindu tradition brought to them by Indian teachers and leaders, however, challenges the view that Hinduism can only be seen as an 'ethnic' religion (Sopher, 1967; Saran, 1969). During the last century, with Vivekananda's mission to the West, The Theosophical Society's international growth, the movement of Indians abroad, and the development of 'new' Hindu-related groups
aspects of Hindu tradition have become known world-wide, practices have been taken up, and a religious dialogue between East and West has come into operation. A large number of Hindus now feel that Hinduism has a universal message. The future of these groups is uncertain. Will they develop closer ties with Indian Hindus in this country as Krishna Consciousness has aimed to do? Will they become more Westernised, using fewer Sanskrit terms and rejecting aspects of Indian culture as Divine Light chose to do? Will new groups continue to become established or were those of the seventies simply a response peculiar to their time? Irrespective of their future, however, the historical significance of these particular groups - as distinct from the development of new religious movements as a whole - lies in their interpretation of the Hindu tradition. This interpretation has not concerned itself solely with philosophical questions but has taken up and adapted all the dimensions of the Hindu religion.
Some Aspects of Religious Practice in Two Hindu-Related Groups

In the last chapter ten Hindu-related groups were surveyed, all of which were present in Leeds, either in permanent centres or in the form of missionary activity between 1978 and 1980. Two of these will now be discussed in more detail, with special reference to the question of religious practice.

In Chapter 3, the examination of communal temple practice was conducted in relation to the six categories of space, time, religious specialist, participants, meaning and ritual. In the TM and Raja Yoga groups the central activity, the meditation, is performed largely by individual practitioners on their own for the sake of their own physical, mental and spiritual self-development. Nevertheless, a study of meditation, which, as we have seen, is a practice with a close relationship to the Hindu spiritual tradition, can benefit from the same type of consideration.

Although TM and Raja Yoga in Leeds both offer their clients a form of meditation and the possibility of consequent spiritual experience, the two groups are strikingly different from one another. TM, which was classified as a monistic-technical movement, presents its meditation technique as a scientifically legitimate practice for personal development and world growth. The philosophical framework for this, however, is not always considered to be significant by the mass of meditators. In Raja Yoga the practice of meditation and an understanding of the nature of the individual souls, God and the material world are held to be of equal importance. The leaders of this group are unequivocal about their own religiousness, although this is not something they demand immediately of new meditators. Despite their self-presentation, a closer examination of the two groups does, in fact, reveal surprising results concerning the relationship of their practices to the practices of modern Hinduism. For an exploration of this relationship the teaching and practice of meditation will be described and discussed for the two groups.
7.1 THE TEACHING AND PRACTICE OF MEDITATION IN TM

In TM the interpretations provided to explain the need for meditation and the benefits it brings vary according to their source.¹ Teachers of meditation in Leeds remind their pupils of the stress of everyday life. Meditation allows this stress to be relieved, and brings about an improvement in physical and mental health, personal relationships and, ideally (when enough people meditate), world peace. Maharishi Mahesh Yogi, however, provides a more detailed account of the context and results of the meditation process. According to the Maharishi, although in reality we are pure Being, we are influenced by karma, the creative force, which, in turn, causes us to see ourselves as individuals and the world as real (Mangalvadi, 1977, p.108). We are bound by our ignorance to this view of reality, and need some help to attain an altered understanding of the nature of things. Transcendental meditation, the 'mechanical' approach to liberation, provides us with the help we need, giving us access to the seven states of consciousness, and starting us on the path to samadhi.² It is seen as a very easy practice, of greater value as an initial path than Patanjali's techniques of abstention and observance, and one which is said to combine both knowledge and devotion in the tradition of the Bhagavad Gita and the philosopher Sankaracharya (Maharishi Mahesh Yogi, 1969, pp.11-16). When the meditator is in transcendental consciousness 'the heart is so pure as to be able to flow and overflow with waves of universal love and devotion to God, while the mind is so refined as to enjoy awareness of the divine nature as separate from the world of action' (Maharishi Mahesh Yogi, 1969, pp.11-12). In this state we become aware of our own true nature as Being.

A full understanding and acceptance of this view, however, is not felt to be necessary for most meditators, because the Maharishi believes that the repeated experience of transcendental consciousness will cause them to seek changes in their way of life, and in their understanding of their own true nature. In addition, because of the nature of modern Western values, he feels that TM must be sold in secular terms, in relation to the goals of peace and happiness.

This conflict of interpretations is made markedly clear in relation to the issue of initiation, the stage in which the meditator is given his or her mantra. Before potential meditators become involved in TM they have often heard about the ceremony that takes place in which the mantra is given, and they are often desirous of an explanation of its meaning and purpose. In response, the TM lecturer will mention in brief the ancient
Himalayan tradition of mantra recitation. He or she may add that the traditional ceremony is performed as an act of respect, and that it represents nothing other than the principles of hospitality and purity. Irrespective of this explanation, for many meditators the rite of initiation remains purely instrumental in their quest for the mantra and for the experience of meditation.

The ceremony is the fourth stage in the learning process. First, those interested are invited to a public lecture in which the lecturer introduces them to the benefits of TM, and allows questions to be asked. The second lecture and the private interview take place shortly after. Here the students are told what takes place in meditation and shown how it differs from 'contemplation' and 'concentration'. They are then asked about themselves, told where to attend the 'ceremony' and what to bring with them.

The practice of meditation is then taught on an individual basis to those eager to learn it and prepared to pay the fee asked. This takes place, not in a public hall like the introductory lectures, but in the TM centre (Map 6.1). Each student is asked to bring along five flowers, a clean white hankerchief, two items of sweet fruit and the fee. In turn they are then initiated into meditation. This stage takes place in a quiet room in which a temporary shrine has been erected, consisting of a garlanded picture of Guru Dev Brahmamanda Saraswati - vases of fresh flowers, a candle, small bowls of water and rice, incense and a small brass tray. Before going into the room the student is asked to remove his or her shoes. On entering, the teacher tells the student to stand and watch, and then proceeds to perform a series of actions. The incense is lit, a flower is passed to the student, and the teacher holds the others while he or she chants a Sanskrit verse.

A flower is then dipped in water by the teacher, touched to the forehead and placed on the tray. A handful of rice is then taken and scattered on the flower. Water is sprinkled over these items. More flowers, then the fruit and the hankerchief, are offered, the hankerchief having previously been sprinkled with sandalwood. The incense is then rotated in front of Guru Dev as another verse is recited. White camphor is then placed on the tray and lit, and the candle rotated. The student is then asked to participate by kneeling down and bowing to the picture. On rising the teacher speaks out a word which he or she asks the student to repeat. First it is spoken out loudly, then more quietly until eventually
the student is only saying it to him or herself. Both teacher and student then retire to another room in which the student is told to meditate silently for fifteen minutes. Having done so he or she is asked to fill in a questionnaire, has the hanker-chief, fruit and a single flower returned, and is told to practice the meditation twice daily for twenty minutes and to visit the centre for three further support sessions during the week. Aspects of this ceremony bear a close resemblance to the popular Hindu Puja and Arti services: the small mandir with the murti of Guru Dev is the focus of worship; the Guru and his lineage are invoked; and the Arti prayer is recited as the candle is rotated (Maharishi Mahesh Yogi, 1969, p.469; Bjornstad, 1976, pp.73-6). Traditional offerings are made and the Guru is paid homage. In addition, consideration must be given to the link between this ceremony and the traditional initiation or diksha of the chela by the guru: gurudaksina, the fee for the teacher's services, is paid, and the mantra is passed on to the student in secrecy in one of the three traditional methods of guru-disciple transmission. Both these broad similarities can be examined in more detail through a discussion of the different elements of religious practice.

In the examination of temple ritual time and space were discussed, both of which were generally prescribed according to a traditional understanding of Indian Hindu temple worship. In TM, the teachers of meditation pay some heed to these two issues, although the practitioners themselves may not consider them to be of very great importance. It is clear from the descriptions above, that a special mandir is set up for the initiation which bears a close resemblance to domestic mandirs and temporary deris. The room in which this is situated - a bedroom - is treated by those who enter it with respect: shoes are removed before entering, and those who approach the murti bring offerings. There does not appear to be any special time prescribed for initiations (although traditionally they were astrologically calculated for the individual involved), but meditators are advised to practice mantra recitation twice daily in the morning and evening. This suggests that the tradition of acknowledging the rising and setting of the sun in daily rituals has been influential. It is unlikely, however, that meditators, having passed through the initiation, consider it important to meditate in a special place or at a regular time.

The same casual attitudes pertain to the role and relationship of the teacher and the student. The teacher is instrumental in the student's quest for the personal mantra. 'For the Westerners, it is meditation they want, spiritual peace,
contemplation. The Guru is a means to that end, a mentor and a focus' (Brent, 1973, p.263). The guru's traditional significance in the initiation process, however, extends far beyond this. In the Upanishads gurus were recognised as teachers, men of enlightenment able to impart the knowledge of Brahman. More specifically they were responsible for giving initiation, and for maintaining the knowledge passed on through spiritual succession. In TM, Maharishi Mahesh Yogi, who is himself in line from Sankaracharya, passes on the Himalayan message of mantra recitation. As he is not able to initiate every disciple, he has invested others with the power to do this for him. Their role is not one of ritual specialist, although they are able to carry out Puja, but of teacher, of one who has knowledge and is able to pass on the traditional mantras. Thus, it is the teacher who decides which mantra is appropriate for each person, and who transmits this knowledge in the initiation. This process is known as anavi diksha, an initiation in which the teacher gives the disciple a mantra. This is an alternative to initiation by contact or by divine power through which the guru's shakti is said to enter the body of the disciple. The transmission of the mantra by the TM teacher is similar to the process described in other sources: it is performed individually, and each student is given an appropriate mantra which is spoken privately to him or her by the teacher, and which is held to be secret (Damrell, 1977; Bharati, 1965; Brent, 1973). The student then has the mantra to use for his or her own private benefit.

From the beginning a student is held to be ready to begin the path to spiritual progress. In this respect TM differs from some other traditional guru movements. It is generally accepted that a period of residence with the guru, of training and service, is required before initiation takes place. 'By initiating a disciple, the Guru recognises his spiritual worth, his fitness to continue on the path towards liberation' (Brent, 1973, p.16). However, in TM the experience of samadhi is held to be a more suitable starting point than the preparatory stages of personal training:

The practice of Yoga was understood to start with yama, niyama, and so on (the secular virtues), whereas in reality it should begin with samadhi. Samadhi cannot be gained by the practice of yama, niyama and so on. Proficiency in the virtues can only be gained by repeated experiences of samadhi. (Maharishi Mahesh Yogi, 1969, p.15)

For this reason meditation is offered immediately in TM, and students are not required to prove their competence beforehand. The fact that they have chosen to become initiated in itself
shows that they are ready to be subjected to spiritual experience. Although preliminary training is not required of students, other aspects of the traditional initiation process are. Secrecy is one example of this. In TM, the meditators are requested to sign a form stating that they will not tell anyone else their mantra, and will not teach them the practice of meditation without first being trained in the teaching of TM by the Maharishi. The same secrecy has been demanded by initiates outside the TM movement because the mantra is said to lose 'its power if revealed to the non-initiate' (Bharati, 1965, p.118). Other common features of mantra initiation are noticeable in the ritual process of the TM ceremony, and will be discussed later (p.216).

Unlike temple practice, the teaching of TM takes place on an individual basis, fitting people for private meditation and private experience. No stress is laid on the value of communal practice. TM is a 'self-religion' (Martin, 1981) and the meanings of the initiation into meditation have to be seen in these terms. On the one hand, there are the reasons outlined by meditators for their decision to do TM and, on the other, the purposes underlying their decision which are often known and articulated by the Maharishi or by commentators of TM but rarely expressed by the majority of its practitioners. The reasons given relate generally to the experiential or psychological dimension. Individuals are keen to experience the feeling of cosmic consciousness, and to gain peace and happiness in their lives. They want to be better people, with improved relationships and less personal stress. The initiation is a means to this end, fitting them for the task of self-improvement through experience. Thus, irrespective of the participants' own understanding of the teaching process, it is, in some ways, a means of status conferment, giving the students a different view of themselves and causing their peers to reassess their social positions vis-à-vis the meditators and their social relationships with them.

Most of the other purposes relate specifically to the results and ends of meditation, and are generally concerned with doctrinal reinforcement. First, there is the understanding and acceptance of the claims of Advaita Vedanta, of the philosophy of Sankaracharya that state that we are none other than Absolute Being and will realise this in ourselves in the higher levels of meditation. Secondly, there are the levels themselves: the teaching of meditation provides meditators with the opportunity to know of and experience seven states or levels of consciousness. Thirdly, the practice itself reinforces the reputation of the 'mechanical' practice of mantra recitation
which seeks to combine the paths of knowledge and devotion (Maharishi Mahesh Yogi, 1969). And fourthly, the process, in world terms, assists in the development of world peace. These four purposes, outlined by the Maharishi, apply to all TM initiations, each of which represents an extension, however small, of missionary activity.

Another purpose is apparent in the teaching of meditation, in this case a short-term objective rather than a result or consequence. It relates specifically to the ritual process, and is concerned with the worship of Guru Dev and, through him, God or Absolute Being. Meditators, before their initiation, are told that the ceremony they are to take part in is retained in the West because it is a traditional Indian ritual in which gifts are exchanged, and the recipient is made pure. No reference is made to the question of religious worship. Maharishi Mahesh Yogi, however, openly acknowledges this element in the initiation. 'The holy tradition of great masters', which is invoked in the ritual, 'is not merely held in high regard, but has come to be actually worshipped by seekers of Truth and knowers of Reality' (Maharishi Mahesh Yogi, 1969, p.257). This does not constitute idolatry because in the monistic philosophy of Maharishi Mahesh Yogi all men and women are 'Being'. Once this reality is recognised, as it has been by the masters of the Sankaracharya tradition, then worship of their divine nature as Being is not inappropriate. The Puja ceremony functions to praise and remember Brahmamanda Saraswati who inspired the Maharishi to popularise the message of transcendental consciousness.

The meanings of this teaching process vary according to their source. The interpretations of the initiates, their teachers, the Maharishi and his commentators view the reasons for initiation and the purposes of meditation quite differently. Expressed diagrammatically these meanings can be seen to cover several themes:

**TABLE 7.1** See page 216.
TABLE 7.1 Themes of TM initiation and meditation

Some of these meanings are expressed symbolically in the ritual process of initiation, although others (such as doctrinal intensification and cosmos regulation) are a necessary result of it rather than issues contained within it. The ritual aspects of the teaching of meditation are no less important than the meanings, and, in TM as in temple practice, attention is paid to action, to correct pronunciation, the right order of events, the participants' offerings and so on. As we have seen, the initiation itself bears a close resemblance to the temple practices of Puja and Arti. Both the teacher and the initiate bow down and perform namaste to Guru Dev (pranama). Shoes are removed before approaching the mandir, and a clean hankerchief, said to represent purity, is offered (shuddhi). The masters of the tradition of Sankaracharya are invoked and praised (bhajana). A range of traditional offerings are made: flowers, incense, light, cloth, water, food and sandalwood are presented, and, in addition, the gurudaksina or fee is paid (upachara). Finally, after the reception of the mantra by the student, he or she is given a flower, the hankerchief and some fruit to take home (prasada).

With the exception of prarthana or prayer, all the features of ritual outlined in the discussion of temple worship, are present in the process of meditation teaching in TM. However, the central act of the diksha, in which the student is given the mantra (anavi) and told to practice its repetition, cannot be incorporated into this classification of ritual. Anavi
is specific to the diksha process, and does not occur in other ritual situations. It is this act in particular which distinguishes the TM ritual process from temple practices. It is also this act which brings non-Hindus into a relationship with aspects of popular Hinduism: the majority of potential meditators, as we have seen, have no prior interest in the religious aspects of TM but are drawn to the movement through a desire for self-improvement and heightened experience. Irrespective of their reasons for taking up TM, they find that it is necessary for them to take part in a ritual process associated with mantra transmission, a process which, in fact, is concerned with the traditional religious aspects of worship, offering, obeisance and purification. These religious aspects are tolerated by the participants for the ends they bring about, whereas similar aspects have meaning in themselves for local Hindus who take part in them at the temple. Nevertheless, the ritual process surrounding the anavi diksha cannot be without effect on those who pass through it. It may, for example, cause them to take the practice of meditation more seriously, encouraging regular periods of mantra repetition, and it may enhance the element of secrecy attached to the ownership of a mantra.

The perception of the meaning and value of this ritual process by participants is very different from the corresponding perception by local Hindus of the temple practices in which they participate. The TM ritual, for example, does not stress the importance of social intensification, instead providing meditators with an individual initiation into a personal experience with personal goals. Temple rituals, although they serve the participant's needs, are not concerned with the process of initiation or the practice of meditation, as these are generally features of the individual's private religious path. Those who are concerned with spiritual progress might seek a guru or religious mentor to whom they might then vow allegiance, and from whom they might receive help and guidance. This is not a temple matter, however. It is for this reason that, despite the historical relationship between TM and the Hindu tradition, temple practice and TM practice have in common only those religious aspects which relate to worship.

The second Hindu-related group, Raja Yoga, is different again. It shares with TM the practice of meditation but envelops this practice in Indian religious terms rather than the language of scientific rationalism. It seeks also to appeal to local Indian Hindus as well as interested Westerners. Its doctrinal position, its attitude to religion, and its self-presentation all differ radically from their equivalents in TM.
7.2 THE TEACHING AND PRACTICE OF MEDITATION IN RAJA YOGA

To those involved in the Raja Yoga movement the world and the activities which take place within it are a drama or 'murli', providing experiences for the soul or jiva. Unfortunately, as a result of the progress of historical world cycle, and of our position within it as souls bound by karma, we are unable to see our own true nature or to free ourselves from the bonds we have established with the material world. To help us in our path of spiritual progress to realisation and God consciousness our teacher, the Supreme Soul or Shiv Baba, came into the world through Prajapita Brahma to spread the teaching of Raja Yoga. This practice provides the highest and easiest way for souls to come to a knowledge of their own true nature and the nature of the Supreme Soul, and, in addition, to jivan mukti, liberation in life through union with God in which the soul becomes free from past impressions (samskars) and from the present cycle of rebirth.

This meditational practice is taught to interested students, in conjunction with the philosophy of the movement, in a series of introductory lectures and additional classes. In this way they are provided with a contextual understanding of the raja yoga technique, of the world cycle, the tree of life, world drama, the nature and progress of the souls, and so on. The lectures are open to the public, and those people who then show an interest in learning more and in continuing with the meditation are invited to the Raja Yoga centre (Map 6.1) for further instruction.

Whereas in TM the teaching of meditation was preceded by introductory sessions and an interview in which the student's intention and needs were assessed, in Raja Yoga the meditation is offered in the first meeting, is free of charge, and is presented without recourse to esotericism, secrecy or ritual. In this first session those present are told of the nature of the soul, of the relationship of the soul to the body (the soul's clothes), and of the necessity for soul-realisation. It is said that if we want peace and happiness we must not wait for realisation to occur, but must make a positive effort to bring this state of affairs about. This can be achieved through the easy path of raja yoga, the highest connection, which allows us to remove the soul from its 'clothes', to become mindful and conscious of its own true nature, and to 'connect' with the Supreme Soul or force. It is not necessary, however, for us to believe in God to do this, as the meditation has value in itself.

Having explained this process in brief, one of the lecturers
then leads the meditation or *raja yoga*. Gentle music is played, and those present are told to sit comfortably and to listen to, and think about, the words that are spoken:

I am a soul, a pinpoint of light resting in this body. My body is just a costume I have been given to enable me to play a role in the world. I step away from this body. I am a tiny spark of light, unfettered and free. I fly away, past the sun and the stars, beyond the subtle world, towards my home, the soul world. As I approach I see it is filled with light. All is pure and peaceful. I fly to my Father, Shiv Baba, the essence of love, peace and purity. With him I become strong and bright. Re-freshed, I, this soul, come back from the world of light, back past the sun to my body. I live in this body but I am detached from it, keeping a continuous link with the Father, the ocean of peace, in the soul world.8

After the meditation it is suggested that students practise the technique at home. No insistence is placed on the length of time this should take, or when it should be performed.

Those who are interested return on a weekly basis to hear the other introductory lectures. The practice of *raja yoga* learnt in the first session is further substantiated in terms of the desire of the soul to return to its 'original state' of purity, peace and happiness. Meditators are taught about the 'Golden Age', the nature of the souls as points of light, *karma*, the different levels of consciousness, and so on. During this general introduction those interested are invited to attend classes at the Raja Yoga centre in which the philosophy of the movement is further expounded.9

The practice of meditation on a communal basis continues at these advanced sessions. It is performed in a special room, carpeted and decorated to enable the meditators to practise *raja yoga* in comfort. Shoes are removed and the participants sit crosslegged on the floor. Although at this stage the meditation has no overt narrative structure (as this has been internalised by individual meditators), a leader is still elected for each meditation session, and may talk in brief about the virtue of meditating with the eyes open, of not worrying about thoughts arising during the practice, or of the benefits of meditation in relation to health, relationships and so on. The participants sit, as far as possible, in a semi-circle facing a low table on which rests a picture of Prajapita Brahma and a vase of fresh flowers. Music is rarely, played, the
meditation is now silent, the light is low (special Raja Yoga shades are used casting a warm orange light), and the leader centres his or her attention during the meditation on the souls of each of the meditators in turn. This communal practice takes place early in the morning and in the evening, and numbers of participants vary according to the occasion, the weather and so on. After each session the meditators are given 'borg' in remembrance of Baba. Borg is a sweet made of semolina and fruit offered to Shiv Baba in the Thursday morning meditation. Those people who are unable to come to these sessions are advised to meditate in their homes twice daily, and invited to attend the 'world meditation session' at midday on every third Sunday in the month when all Raja Yogis meditate together.

In the classes and 'murli gists' - in which the messages of Shiv Baba and Prajapita Brahma, received through the mediumship of Dadi Nirmal Shanti, are shared and discussed - the meditation is further explained and described. It is acknowledged as the 'highest connection' which allows us to see our own true nature as a soul rather than a body, and which brings us into a relationship with the Supreme Soul or Shiv Baba. The meditation provides the short-term benefits of peace, improved physical health and so on, and contributes to the long-term objective of preparing souls for the collapse of the world at the end of the Iron Age or kali yuga and for their glorious rebirth in the Golden Age. The aim of raja yoga is to allow souls to lead a more satisfactory life in the world. If this is combined with brahmacharya, the practice of such things as moderation, celibacy, self-control and abstention, and a true love of God, jivanmukti or liberation in this life is achieved. The final liberation or mukti, that state in which the soul's relationship with the body and the samskars or impressions has ceased in this life and the soul has returned to the soul world, occurs at the time of death only if the yogi has led a good life in godly knowledge. This state does not simply come about as a consequence of the effort of the individual soul, but results from the intervention of God's love on behalf of this soul.

The significance of the doctrinal context of meditation in Raja Yoga has little in common with its equivalent in TM. The former is concerned to present both its practice and its philosophy as inseparable, and does not seem to make use of different levels of explanation. Those who show an interest in Raja Yoga, however, do not all perceive its provision in the same way. Some, for example, are concerned with mental and physical self-improvement, like many TM meditators, whereas others are seeking a relationship with God. The varieties of
interpretation of the role and value of this form of meditation will become more clear in the consideration of our participants themselves, and their understanding of the meaning of the \textit{raja yoga} technique.

In relation to the features of time and space, the first two elements of religious practice outlined in Chapter 3, \textit{Raja Yoga} is very like \textit{TM}. Meditation is not taught at any special time, but practitioners are advised to perform it regularly twice a day, early in the morning and in the evening. This does not require a prescribed environment although when members attend the centre the practice takes place in a room designed to suit the needs of meditators. The picture of Prajapita Brahma, however, acts as a focus for remembrance rather than worship, and seems to have a different meaning from the \textit{murti} in the Hindu temple. Therefore, although the room is treated by participants in a similar way to the Hindus' treatment of the \textit{mandir} in the Hindu temple, its function is different. Not only is it used for meditation as opposed to ritual practice, but also, despite the tone of the meditation, it is not performed in a context of worship.

Because of this there is no ritual specialist. In \textit{TM} although the emphasis was placed on the leader's role as teacher, as one chosen to pass down the \textit{mantra} to the student, this role required a knowledge of the ritual process and an ability to carry it out. This is not considered important in the \textit{Raja Yoga} group as meditation is taught in lectures and classes, and not through initiation. Those who lead the meditation or give the lectures are not trained to do so. They are just ordinary members who take on this role as and when they feel confident to do so, and perform it in a spirit of service and love. Some of the leaders have only attended the centre for several months before they feel ready to do this. This lack of role-specification can be understood by examining the nature of the \textit{Raja Yoga} movement. Prajapita Brahma was not, strictly speaking, a guru, and made no attempt to authorise his teachings by referring to spiritual succession or \textit{sampra-daya} allegiance. This was not felt to be necessary as he had received direct revelations from Shiv Baba. These teachings have remained, the source of the movement's doctrinal position, and have been reinforced by Dadi Nirmal Shanti, the present head of \textit{Raja Yoga}, who receives messages or \textit{murli gists} from both the Supreme Soul and her predecessor, Prajapita Brahma. These revelations are freely available to all souls.

The revelations teach that each of us is a soul, but that we are all bound, in varying degrees, by our ignorance of
our own true nature. The souls are distinct but similar, and are only deemed superior according to their degree of self-knowledge. Therefore, if a Raja Yogi has practised meditation for twenty years it is presumed that this soul has more self-knowledge, and thus has more to teach. It is for this reason that the social divisions in Raja Yoga relate to the length of time of membership, rather than to teaching ability, qualifications, status and so on. All the souls are children, and Shiv Baba is their Father. Thus, any system of hierarchy would be misguided.

From the point of view of those committed to the movement each new member or 'soul' has different requirements relating to their degree of self-knowledge, knowledge of God and understanding of 'drama'. Those who begin to attend classes and meditation sessions have a different perception of their own needs and desires. These may be concerned with a desire for mental and physical well-being, a relationship with God, spiritual experience or the fulfilment of social needs. In addition to these individual evaluations, the movement as a whole expounds a doctrine on the nature of the soul and its path to liberation which, as we have seen, is passed on to meditators in lectures and classes. All human souls, irrespective of the relative views and attitudes articulated by meditators, are bound by ignorance and by their presence in the Iron Age. Those in the Raja Yoga movement have recognised the importance of the search for knowledge, connection with God, and liberation. It is these goals which meditation is held to bring about: each connexion with Shiv Baba destroys samskars or impressions on the soul built up in the progress of daily life, and reveals to souls a knowledge of their own true nature as inner light. Communal meditation shows souls that, despite their individuality, they are a part of a divine family, as children to their Father, and in a brotherly or sisterly relationship with one another.

An understanding of these goals is articulated to meditators at classes and lectures. As a result of this, there is not a radical divide, as there is in TM, between the meanings attributed by beginners to the teaching and practice of meditation, and those perceived by more experienced adherents. There are differences, of course, but there is a general desire on the part of Raja Yogis to bring new members to an understanding of the relationship between meditation and the role of the soul in the sacred cosmos. In the initial stages of TM, however, this aim is not important.

Most new Raja Yoga meditators express their understanding of
the meanings of meditation and the reasons for it by referring to their mental, physical and spiritual health before, during and after their involvement in it. They often describe a previous feeling of pain, depression, isolation or sense of meaningless, to which they compare their new-found peace, joy, feeling of love, good health and so on. A number begin to make use of Raja Yoga terminology very early on in order to describe their assessment of the experience and benefits of meditation: they reflect on karma, the soul's daily connection with Shiv Baba, the peace and bliss of meditation, and the destruction of impressions or samskars.

Unlike TM initiates, most meditators refer not only to the progress and experience of their own soul, but also to the central importance of God. The meditation is not taught or performed to 'please' or serve Him as He is All-Benevolent, and entirely unselfmotivated. He is, however, the supreme example to human souls, and, as their Benefactor, is responsible for transforming weak souls and destroying evil. In the meditation His qualities are remembered, and in the classes and murli sessions His teachings are heard and welcomed. He is not worshipped in the way that Krishna is worshipped in the Hindu temple: He is remembered through, but not 'present' in, the picture of Prajapita Brahma. He is Shiva not Shankar, and, as such, is not represented by any human form. He is light and has no corporeal form. He is also All-Merciful and Beneficent, undertaking the serious role of serving the human soul rather than performing lila or play. The worship of God through images and rituals, therefore, is felt to misguide souls and to cause them to neglect their search for enlightenment. Thus, God is central to the meditation process but not an object of worship. He has a relationship with the meditating soul, of Father to child, but is not an idol or object of reverence. However, the division between love and devotion is not always clear, and the use of the 'family' metaphor sometimes gives the impression of worship and obeisance rather than of 'God-realisation' and a relationship of divine love.

In a restricted sense, the teaching and practice of raja yoga is also concerned 'to sustain and regulate the cosmos'. This is not achieved through the act of sacrifice as it is in traditional Hindu ritual practice. Instead, souls are prepared for the destruction of the world at the end of the kali-yuga, and for their new birth in the Golden Age. To this end they are provided with an opportunity for self-knowledge and realisation of God. The destruction of the world is predestined to occur at the end of a five thousand year cycle, and, although
souls are encouraged to improve their own future lives through happiness, good works and meditation, the destruction and recreation of the world is unavoidable. The quest for world peace and world improvement has no relevance in Raja Yoga, and the fate of each soul is the all-important concern. Missionary activity is seen, therefore, as a powerful method of bringing new souls to the path of self-realisation. The communal and world meditation sessions celebrate the coming together of realised souls in anticipation of the Golden Age. They are not designed to sustain the cosmos, which is predestined to fall and be recreated, but they serve to enhance in meditators an awareness and recognition of the world cycle, and of their place within it.

The meanings contained within the teaching and practice of raja yoga have a superficial similarity to those expressed in the TM initiation ceremony: many individual meditators understand the practice in relation to their own needs and desires, but underlying references nevertheless are made to a spiritual authority and to the relationship of meditation to the cosmos; a meaningful experience is offered, and doctrine is reinforced. In the case of raja yoga, however, the philosophical context of meditation necessitates a qualification of the Hindu themes or meanings outlined earlier (Table 7.2).

As we have seen Raja Yoga reinforces the concepts of remembrance and love rather than worship and 'idolatry', which it sees as barriers to spiritual progress. Its doctrines, of the world cycle and the four yugas or ages, influence its understanding of the role of meditation in the regulation of the cosmos, and of karma and the progress of the soul. These interpretations differ considerably from those which underlie the initiation and meditation of TM, and those articulated with reference to Hindu temple ritual. In addition, unlike TM, the teaching process does not ceremonially confer a new status on meditators. There is no ritual carried out in which a new student is officially initiated into the practice of meditation.

However, those who do become interested in, and then committed to, the philosophy and practice of the Raja Yoga group are not unchanged by their experience. Early on they begin to use the terms and phrases of the movement such as 'yogi', 'Supreme Soul', 'the body as the instrument of the soul', 'this body is called Brother...', and 'Om shanti'. They often interpret life's events as 'drama', and feel that it is not chance but Shiv Baba who brings new members to introductory classes and lectures.
Pleasing the gods  * Remembrance and connection with Shiv Baba

Personal karmic benefit  * Improvement in this & the next life

Sustaining and regulating the cosmos  * Collecting souls for the Golden Age

Religious intensification
  Social  * Communal meditation, divine family of souls
  Doctrinal  * Raja Yoga philosophy
  Experiential  * Self-realisation
  Moral  -

Social rebellion  -

Status elevation and conferment  -

| TABLE 7.2 Themes of Raja Yoga meditation |

Therefore, although no traditional initiation or diksha takes place and although their membership of Raja Yoga is not officially endorsed, changes nevertheless occur in the attitudes and behaviour of new members. In Raja Yoga and TM the social changes, whatever their nature, which accompany the entry of members into the movement, may or may not influence their relationships in the outside world. In both, however, entry does not require renunciation of society or an abandonment of family, work or the home. As is the case in popular Hinduism the role of the householder is respected, but the operation of karma and the progress of the soul towards self-realisation are also recognised.

Raja Yoga does not share with TM or local Indian Hinduism the ritual practice of Puja, despite its apparent theistic bias and dualistic philosophy. In fact, Indian Raja Yogis have attacked Hindus for their 'ritualism, blind faith and worship of imaginary gods' (Raja Yoga, 1975, p.60). As we have seen, they distinguish between the angelic of subtle beings (Hindu deities such as Shankar, Vishnu and Brahma) and Shiva, the incorporeal Supreme Soul. They do not, therefore, recognise the worship of images or representations. Sources of light such as stars or candles are merely a reminder of the true nature of the soul. Despite this, in the teaching and practice of meditation some aspects of the Hindu ritual process are in operation in a restricted manner. Food, for
example, while not being offered to a divine presence, is prepared and placed near the picture of Prajapita Brahma during the morning meditation on a Thursday. It is then shared amongst the meditators after each session in remembrance of Shiv Baba. These actions bear a close cultural relationship to naivedya (upachara) and prasada although the interpretation placed on them is slightly different. Another feature of this relationship is the practice of removing shoes before entering the meditation room, an action generally performed in a spirit of purity, and in reverence to the presence of God.

Although no prayers are recited and no songs sung in lecture and meditation sessions, bhajana is apparent in the internalised narrative of raja yoga: Shiva's grace and love are petitioned, and His qualities and attributes are contemplated. It is not overtly ritualised and operates at the discretion of the meditator, but it is potentially present in the practice of raja yoga.

This practice is not a traditional Hindu ritual. It bears only a slight cultural resemblance to the rituals considered in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4, and the interpretation of it by its practitioners has still less in common with popular Hinduism. However, their understanding of the metaphysical context of meditation does bear some relationship to both popular Hinduism and Hindu spirituality. In relation to the first, they articulate a dualistic doctrine of God and the souls, a relationship of love, and an acceptance of karmic laws. In relation to the second, they acknowledge a debt to Patanjali's understanding of the benefits and nature of yoga, and conceive of the possibility of both jivanmukti and mukti or liberation with God after death. In terms of contemporary relationships they might be said to have reiterated the polemical attitudes of the Arya Samaj, and to have incorporated many of the same aspects of tradition as The Theosophical Society: karma, the four yugas, contemplation rather than mantra meditation, and the concept of the religious 'tree of life'.

Although they teach meditation, they are not offering this in isolation. In TM participants chose their level of involvement with the beliefs and practices of the movement. In Raja Yoga, although it is possible for meditators to discontinue tuition after learning meditation, the practice of it is indivisible from Raja Yoga philosophy. It has meaning as well as instrumental value.

Thus, although the two groups offer a form of meditation, both the teaching of it and its practice are very different.
The time chosen for meditation teaching has little importance to either group. Physical space and layout, however, are given more consideration in TM than Raja Yoga as a result of the requirements of the diksha ceremony. The anavi diksha of TM, in fact, is instrumental in bringing about a number of the special features of TM practice, such as the interest of the movement in Hindu ritual, the large fee payable by the student, the secrecy, and the relationship and roles of guru, teacher and initiate. In Raja Yoga these features are not significant, and it is the importance of the metaphysical understanding of the nature of God and the soul, rather than ceremonial initiation, which determines the teaching process. In this group the teaching does not take place in the context of a ritual process, and there is no particular moment in the lectures, classes or meditations that students could identify as the moment at which they were initiated as members of the movement. A surprising consequence of this is that it is the Raja Yogis rather than the TM meditators who show an interest in articulating doctrines and publicising the group. TM meditators are not particularly encouraged to share their experiences or to recruit new members, and, although they are kept in touch with events and course opportunities, they are given very little indication of what an advanced interest in TM might mean in terms of doctrine, service and personal expense.

This must have some bearing on the perpetuation of the different levels of understanding and explanation in the TM movement. Most meditators, despite their initiation, seem to articulate TM in terms of personal improvement and experience, using the language and values of Western health models. Those who are more advanced make greater use of a religious understanding of TM practices. In Raja Yoga these levels are not equally apparent. There is an early use by meditators of the language associated with Raja Yoga doctrines.

In addition to its use of religious terminology, Raja Yoga openly desires to be considered a religious organisation. Evidence for this can be seen in their acknowledgement of other religious bodies such as The Theosophical Society, the Hindu temple, the Sikh gurdwara and many local Christian churches. They have sought to attract, and have succeeded in attracting, a large number of Indian Hindus both in the subcontinent and in this country. Despite this, they continue to have a polemical attitude to many of the forms of popular Hinduism, and have rejected the use of ritual and image worship in their teaching and practice of meditation. Thus, although TM describes itself as a non-religious movement, it can be seen to bear a closer relationship than Raja Yoga to popular Hinduism.
We can see, then, that both groups have ties with popular Hinduism, although these ties differ for each of the two groups. The initiation ceremony of TM bears a striking resemblance to the Pujas performed in Indian homes and the Arti carried out in the temple. Raja Yoga does not accept the importance of Hindu ritual but has sought instead to make contact with the Hindu community for the purpose of theological dialogue. The other Hindu-related groups described in Chapter 6 are linked in similar ways to popular Hinduism, either indirectly, through common ritual practice, or directly through group contact. In addition, all the groups are related to Hindu tradition because of the concepts they have chosen to articulate. Each has selected elements of tradition, from Vedanta, from Vaishnava Hinduism, or the Yoga school, and has utilised these to create a system of meaning which is suitable for meeting contemporary needs and problems. Most of the groups express an interest in elements of Hindu spirituality rather than in the popular Indian socio-religious system. This is partly because they have already established social forms as a result of their rejection or affirmation of the available contemporary institutions that surround them (Wallis, 1978 (a), 1979). Some groups, however, have adopted socially-related concepts, either from Hindu spirituality (sannyas, ashram, guru and brahmachari) or from ordinary Hindu life (grhastha, varna-shramadharma and Brahman). Therefore, it would be incorrect of us to assume that the religion of the Hindu-related groups has no relationship with Hindu social forms, or that it has failed to consider and utilise concepts from popular Hinduism. Very few of the members of these groups - none of whom, incidentally, call themselves Hindus - were born into Indian caste society. Nevertheless, they have sought to explore the Hindu religious tradition, and have chosen to make use of a range of elements from it. This process is not dissimilar to the process which characterises the British Indian reinterpretation of Hinduism.

Generally speaking, the Hindu-related groups have chosen elements from the conceptual and psychological dimensions of religion whereas the Indian Hindus in Leeds have persisted in practising their socio-religious duty, and have stressed the behavioural and social dimensions of tradition. Both these two religious minorities, because of their geographical and social location, have adopted a self-conscious attitude to their religion. They have considered the concepts and practices of historical Hinduism, and have chosen elements which suit their understanding of the world and the way in which they seek to present themselves in it.
Conclusion

This study has been concerned to characterise the two forms of Hinduism which are to be found in Leeds. The first five chapters discussed the city's Indian Hindu population. A statistical analysis, and information on settlement, identity and group identification were provided in Chapter 1. Chapter 2 then examined the role of the temple, and the views of the local population on the nature of Hinduism. The following two chapters discussed religious practice, the first adopting an operational model, and the second examining this in relation to Arti and Havan. The consideration of Indian Hinduism was then concluded in Chapter 5 with a survey of the other forms of organised religion, and of unorganised domestic practices. The beliefs and practices of the Hindu-related groups which, by and large are composed of Western adherents, were then outlined in Chapter 6. In the final chapter the meditational practices of two of these groups were considered in more depth. It is useful at this stage to draw together these two forms of Hinduism, to consider and compare their beliefs and practices, and to discuss the ways in which they utilise aspects of the Hindu tradition.

In Leeds, as we have seen, two distinct varieties of Hinduism are present, the social and religious 'dharma' of the Gujarati and Punjabi Hindu population, and the religion of the small Western groups which have employed some aspects of the Hindu tradition in their religious morphology. How have these two groups perceived and presented their forms of Hinduism, and what is the nature of these forms? These are the two issues which this study has sought to illuminate.

Hinduism has generally been understood to be an 'ethnic religion', one related closely to the homeland and its social and cultural frameworks. It has even been equated with 'the true nationalism' of India (Chaudhuri, 1980). The two forms of Hinduism present in Leeds, by their very location, challenge this chauvinistic understanding of tradition. It might be suggested, of course, that they usurp the name 'Hinduism', and that they fall outside
its true jurisdiction. Ignoring the credentials of these forms for the time being, let us establish how the two groups see themselves, how they present themselves to others, and what aspects of tradition they consider to be important.

The main focus for organising Indian Hindus in the city is the temple. Because of the comparatively small size of the Hindu population in Leeds and the historical development of the temple trust, it is shared by Gujaratis and Punjabis despite their linguistic and cultural differences. To some degree these regional differences (which shall be referred to as 'ethnic') are able to be expressed at the temple: the two groups choose to attend different functions; they ask for different actions or verses to be included; and they provide different foods for the naivedya or offering. In many cases, however, temple members have to accept a programme which does not necessarily suit the local traditions to which they are accustomed.

The religion of the temple, irrespective of these variations, is called 'sanatana dharma', the eternal law or religion. This is a term known and used by all local Hindus, and hailed by them in the Arti service. They mean by it the textual tradition to which they owe allegiance, the gods and goddesses of popular Hinduism, and the major concepts of Hindu orthodoxy such as karma, samsara, avatar, moksha and varnashramadharma. The temple, as the central organisation for Hindus in the city, embodies these meanings and interprets the practices it offers in terms of them. This presentation has two effects. It is employed in the dialogue with interested outsiders, and it increasingly determines the content of temple religion in the city. In relation to the first of these, when school, college and church parties attend the temple, spokesmen can be heard to discuss textual tradition, the doctrines of sanatana dharma and the roles of the deities. This provides the visitors with an overall impression of the unity of the beliefs and practices of Hindus, and of the close religious community to which they all belong.

The social and religious complexities of Indian Hinduism are not expressed in this presentation of sanatana dharma, and, generally, it is the overtly doctrinal rather than the social and practical elements that are portrayed in these interchanges. Temple spokesmen with their knowledge of the Christian religion choose areas from their own tradition which they feel will have meaning for their audience. They are aware both that Hinduism is a minority religion in its new social location, and that religion is understood by those in the West to relate
particularly to questions of belief. This awareness is apparent in their presentation of the Hindu faith.

This understanding is not without effect on the content of temple Hinduism. It has undergone a process of standardisation, selecting key 'national' festivals, and daily and weekly rituals, serving major deities, and acknowledging the early texts. It has set regular times for Arti and Havan, and weekend dates for festivals: solar and lunar estimations now provide only the roughest of guidelines.

Temple religion has changed to suit its new social and geographical location, and, as one might expect, not all of the requirements of local Hindus can be met by its provision. Small subgroups are able to express some of the other social and cultural aspects of their identity, while non-institutionalised beliefs and practices - those not authorised specifically by Brahmanical tradition - are generally restricted to the domestic arena. The areas which are not catered for in the temple are precisely those which in India were served in the home and in ordinary relationships, and include such aspects as caste practices, song and dance, propitiation of local village deities, worship of the family deity, the making and keeping of vows, and the performance of life cycle rites. Whereas in India these constituted a part of normal social life, in Britain they must be incorporated into a new location in which different concepts of work, leisure and relationships are employed, where the calendar, climate and environment are different, and in which religion can either be chosen or rejected, and can take the form of a way of life or a pastime.

The 'new' religious movements discussed in this study have not had to cope with the effects brought about by the transplantation of their religion to a new social location. Although they have a historical relationship with Hinduism their development has been patterned to suit Western values and expectations, in particular those that were prevalent amongst the young in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

Despite the fact that many of the new groups have arisen from the same social milieu, and have a common reference to traditional Hinduism, their members are not conscious of being part of a general socio-religious movement, even though this is often how the groups are perceived by outsiders. Neither do they see themselves as 'Hindus', but rather as 'Raja Yogis', 'Ananda Margis', 'premis' or 'sannyasis'.

Unlike the Indian Hindus in Leeds, who do not seek to attract
new members - they feel the 'dharma' of the host society is Christianity - the 'new' groups, by contrast, attempt to recruit adherents using a variety of missionary techniques. They share, however, a number of common features, particularly the awareness that they are in a 'market situation' within which their message must compete with others in order to be heard. The main thrust of the messages on offer tends to be that direct experience of the transcendent is available using a variety of simple techniques such as meditation. This can be seen to have direct reference to the early Hindu concepts of samadhi (spiritual insight), jivanmukti (realisation in this life), and moksha or mukti, the final liberation from the karmic process of life and death. The concentration on these concepts can be contrasted with the emphasis in modern Indian Hinduism on ordinary life and its rules and obligations. This contrast was very much in evidence in the early history of these new groups, although more recently a change in their missionary message can be discerned. There seems to be a general acknowledgement that enlightenment is not instantly available, and that happiness, health and improved relationships are also important. These worldly rewards can equally be realised through meditation. Experience, then, remains of central importance, but the benefits that accrue from it now bear more relation to worldly concerns than to those of an exclusively spiritual nature.

A parallel development to this changing religious message is the alteration in the groups' self-presentation. Divine Light Mission, for example, has replaced Indian terms with English alternatives, and Krishna Consciousness has adopted Western dress for street missionary work. This second group has also accommodated its message to the needs of sympathetic adherents who do not wish to dedicate the whole of their lives to the movement. In relation to traditional terminology it might be said that there is now a new emphasis on the role of the grhastha or householder, in addition to the existing concentration on the quest of the brahmachari and the sannyasi for direct spiritual knowledge and realisation.

This general characterisation is made more complex by the fact that certain groups, particularly Sangeet Rajneesh, dissociate themselves from the normal rules and boundaries of society. In their need to be 'alternative' they have continued to make use of Indian names and terms, and distinctive forms of dress. Thus, although there are trends and tendencies which can be discerned in the Hindu-related groups, the general portrait is a fairly complex one which may well incorporate several different attitudes to the question of self-presentation.
Despite the fact that most of these groups consider only their own message to have any real validity, several have been seen to show an interest in other groups or in the Hindu temple. These interactions have failed, in general, to bring the new groups closer to one another, although the contacts made with the temple have shown that, while members of Western groups identify themselves specifically with their own group, local Hindus often recognise and stress a link between such groups and their own Hindu spiritual roots. There is even a feeling on occasions amongst members of the Indian population that these young converts observe the traditions of Hinduism with greater duty and piety than they themselves do. This attitude is an example of the local Hindus' changing conception of the nature of their own religion. Where once they practised their religion unself-consciously, they are now forced to recognise its altered status, role and authority in their lives, and have begun to perceive it more as a religion in the Western sense, that is, as one aspect of life among many, concerned particularly with overtly religious beliefs and practices.

It is important, however, to acknowledge that the presentation offered to outsiders, and the self-perception of those involved in the religion may well differ from the way in which the religion is lived or performed. Thus, despite the attitudes they now have about sanatana dharma or 'eternal Hinduism' and the importance of its philosophical heritage, a great number of local Hindus continue to live according to varnashram-adharma: they practise the social and religious duty of responsible householders in the caste to which they were born. Although their interactions with others suggest a growing awareness of Hindu spirituality and interest in the texts and doctrines of early Indian religion, the way they live affirms the importance of the social and behavioural dimensions of contemporary Hinduism.

In order to answer the second of the two questions with which this study was concerned, on the nature of the varieties of Hinduism in the city, it was decided to consider in particular the area of religious practice, because of its central significance in most definitions and understandings of 'dharma'. In the investigation of Indian Hindus organisational practice rather than domestic practice has been the main focus. This area, although determined by traditional regulations and prescriptions, has undergone a certain transformation in the new situation. This applies to the role of the specialist as well as the conditions of space and time Brahmins no longer exercise an exclusive right to perform rituals; the temple
building does not conform to traditional layout and setting; and religious services are accommodated to the Western calendar and clock. As well as these practical changes, the meanings which underlie temple ritual processes have undergone subtle modifications. While traditional explanations for the performance of rituals are still articulated the rites themselves have additional significance in their new location. For example, there is scope for the necessary reinforcement of traditional caste and kinship ties. Such occasions provide unique opportunities for the re-affirmation of doctrine and myth, and thus an objective expression of Hindu religion. There are no other outlets for this reflexive process in which the religion is outwardly expressed, and thereby reaffirmed and internalised by the 'community' as a whole.

Both Gujaratis and Punjabis seek to assert their own style of religion in this single organisation. By and large, they attend different rituals which, over a period of time, have begun to reflect their ethnic interests. Divali, for example, has tended to become a Punjabi temple festival in which aspects of North Indian culture are expressed, and Arti, the daily service in which the gods are offered light, is generally attended by Gujaratis and terminated with Gujarati songs. The participants, as a result of their own particular customs and habits, have begun to alter aspects of the ritual processes they take part in. The content of Havan is another example of this, in as far as it has been extended to include verses to attract and suit those from both ethnic groups, but particularly the Gujaratis who are accustomed solely to devotional worship. Various aspects of ritual have also had to change to conform to the demands made by the new geographical and social context. Participants, for example, cannot circumambulate the mufti in the Leeds mandir, and, instead, witness a symbolic pradaksina performed by the Pandit.

In temple worship attention is still paid, as far as possible, to the practice of correct action, and the rituals themselves continue to be important for their own sake as well as for other social and religious reasons and purposes. In the Hindu-related groups this does not generally seem to be the case. The chief form of practice, meditation, is not performed for its intrinsic qualities but for the experience that it is believed to give, and the individual and social benefits that it brings about. The TM initiation service (used also by The School of Meditation and The School of Economic Science) is an exception to this general tendency, but the regular practice of meditation that is designed to follow on from it provides a good illustration of this point. The reasons given
refer not to the value of the ritual itself but to its results. They also focus on the individual and his or her well-being. In fact, in all those groups identified as 'monistic-technical', those which stress Universal Oneness and the techniques by which its realisation becomes possible, the value of the meditation is felt to be mainly personal. In the other groups guidance and help are believed to come from the guru or from God himself, and he, as a consequence, shares in the rewards of religious practice. The other features of the practices are also affected by the reasons and purposes given for performing them. Their lack of intrinsic importance is reflected in the groups' attitudes to the outward forms of ritual, the times at which they are performed, and the space they occupy: in most meditational practices ritual action and liturgy play no part at all, and the times of performance and surroundings are largely irrelevant. In some cases there is a residual interest in Indian cultural forms, and there may be pictures of gurus or deities, incense, vases of flowers or Indian music which express this.

Occasionally, then, the practices of the Hindu-related groups have a visual similarity to those of the Indian Hindus. This is particularly obvious in the TM initiation ceremony, and in the rituals performed by Krishna Consciousness at their temples in Watford and London. It is much less apparent in the individual or group meditation sessions undertaken by the groups, which, though related to popular Hindu practices both historically and doctrinally, serve different purposes. In general, it might be said that through the behavioural dimension, in the form of meditation, the groups are seeking to provide experiences for their members (the psychological or experiential dimension) and to popularise a religious or philosophical message (the conceptual dimension).

The discussion of religious practice, to some degree, has revealed the diversity of these two forms of religiousness, of the Indian Hindu population, and the Hindu-related groups in Leeds. Their geographical location has challenged the view that true Hinduism operates only in India. However, although both exhibit a greater or lesser resemblance to Indian Hinduism, only the Indian Hindus in the city have sought to practise their religion in relation to the caste system. They have attempted to transplant the rules and obligations of this system abroad, although, in the process, some aspects have taken on a new significance and others have been abandoned altogether. Modifications in the attitude to and practise of caste relationships in the new situation are not alone in their influence on Hinduism, and, in Britain, the host society's cultural and religious forms have brought about further change. Generally speaking, however,
Leeds Hindus acknowledge *varnashramadharma*, and live according to it, serving their particular castes and their householder status. *Karma* is allowed to take its natural course, and spiritual goals are rarely features in discussions on the meaning of life.

For the Hindu-related groups an accurate characterisation produces a very different account. A number of the groups initially concerned themselves with paths to liberation, *samadhi* and *moksha*, and ignored the related concepts of *dharma*, *karma* and *ashrama*. Instead of contenting themselves with this-worldly benefits, members sought to experience the transcendent. They were not householders but renunciates. This response did not reflect a dissatisfaction with Hindu society but with Western society. Members had not rejected *varnashramadharma*; they had chosen Hindu spirituality. Neither did they seek to be recognised as Hindus, or even, in many cases, as religious people. The articulation of their way of life was seen as an alternative to all previous attempts at religious categorisation and definition. Several of the groups continue to stress these factors. Others, however, have begun recently to interpret their religious message for those who are desirous of admitting it into their lives but reluctant to devote themselves to it entirely. The ordinary practices and stages of life are enhanced by religious experiences and alternative meanings and explanations. Neither of these two styles corresponds exactly to what we think of as Hinduism. Both, in fact, bear a greater structural relationship to Western forms of mysticism and religion, although all the groups employ a number of the features of Hindu tradition. This suggests that far from being 'new' religions, they represent new forms of established religion.

This relationship with past tradition is something they share with contemporary Indian Hinduism in the city. Both interpretations or forms express the dynamism of the Hindu tradition, and both portray examples of the way in which it can change to suit modern social and cultural circumstances. Their interpretations are different, of course. Gujarati and Punjabi Hindus in their new location continue to employ many of the aspects of the popular Indian Hinduism to which they were accustomed, while giving greater consideration to the nature and purpose of their religious beliefs and practices. This combination of customary behaviour and self-conscious analysis is related to reformist trends in Hinduism. Links can be seen, for example, between the interest expressed by local Gujarati Hindus in the reformulated doctrine of *varnashramadharma*, and in *sanatana dharma* or eternal tradition, and Mahatma Gandhi's
thought. Many local Punjabis have shown a particular interest in the ritual of Havan which stems directly from the idealistic repopularisation of early texts and rituals by Dayananda Saraswati of the Arya Samaj. Not only do these links demonstrate the continuation of elements derived from modern reformers, but they express the relationship which Gujarati and Punjabi Hinduism in Britain has with the regional styles of religion in the homeland.

The two ethnic groups to some extent maintain their regional religious styles in the temple, although small interest groups and domestic practice provide the main outlets for this form of expression. Irrespective of their ethnic differences, however, they have developed a common form of temple religion. Between them they have reinterpreted aspects of tradition, particularly those repopularised in the last century. The transplantation of their religion to Britain has encouraged them to become aware of both their religion and their ethnicity. Unlike the Punjabi Sikhs who have the comparative good fortune of being a pure religio-ethnic group with a consequent ability to retraditionalise their religion using overt aspects of their ethnicity such as the turban and the Punjabi language, the Hindus have had to make choices and decisions concerning their presentation and participation in British society. They have not abandoned their ethnic identity, which continues to have an important place in the home and in patterns of informal association, but have chosen to express themselves as a group through religion rather than other aspects of ethnicity. The temple is the particular focus for this expression, and its leaders and spokesmen have attempted to select elements from tradition which they feel all Hindus share. Temple religion in Leeds, or Sanatana dharma as it is often called, is a form of retraditionalisation in which common religious beliefs and practices rather than ethnic elements are employed in the process of group presentation. Sanatana dharma in this context represents a new form of religion, one in which Hinduism, while retaining its links with contemporary Indian ways of being, becomes an institution comparable to, and in competition with, other forms of British religious identity such as Christianity, Judaism and Sikhism.

The religions of the Hindu-related groups have a very different relationship with the Indian religious tradition. Through their interest in paths to liberation they owe a debt, not to the reformist tendencies of Dayananda Saraswati and Mahatma Gandhi, but to the contribution of Swami Vivekananda, who pronounced that the world's future depended on an exchange between the East and West of spirituality and technology. In his opinion
both material and spiritual poverty were intolerable, and should be fought. The traditional forms of Hinduism were suited to Indian society, and in the West, therefore, it was necessary to reinterpret the Hindu message to allow it to harmonise with existing institutions and processes. The Hindu-related groups have adopted this approach in their relationship with Indian religion, selecting elements from its traditions, and incorporating these into their own cultural - or counter-cultural - frameworks rather than appropriating Hinduism in all its many facets.

An attempt has been made throughout this study to avoid evaluation and speculation. However, it does not seem inappropriate, in conclusion, to speculate on the likely future developments of the two forms of Hinduism already discussed. The factors involved are not purely internal. For example, the general climate of race relations and related legislation will obviously have their effect on British Hinduism. The inner dynamics of Indian Hindu religiousness, however, tends to suggest that the particular forms in which ethnicity is now expressed will diminish and a more general form of Hindu consciousness will take its place. A similar development has been discerned in the recent history of Anglo-Jewry (Krausz, 1964).

Turning to a consideration of the new religious groups it seems unlikely that, in the near future, there will be a social context comparable to that which prevailed in the late 1960s and the 1970s. Without this general social and cultural base it is likely that these groups will become increasingly sectarian. The characteristics of this may well be that a full religious ideology will be expressed, and that greater membership commitment will be demanded. This may result in a greater division between the religious groups or 'sects' and the wider society.

The aim of this study has been to provide a phenomenological account of the forms of Hinduism in Leeds. At the outset, and indeed at the present time, no other general account of Hinduism existed for any town or city in Britain. Sikhism and Islam have been given some attention; Hinduism has remained largely unresearched in its new location. The description of the religious life of any group of people is a task of considerable enormity. A decision, therefore, was made to concentrate on the dimension of religious practice over and above the beliefs of Hindus in the city. In addition, as a portrait of the composition and organisation of the Indian Hindu population was unavoidable, the social dimension was also considered. This was not entirely inappropriate, as Hinduism, or dharma,
is held to be a system of social and religious duty rather than a religion of belief. The ethnically-related Hindus, however, were not the only group in the city who were seen to be utilising aspects of Hindu tradition. There were also a number of 'new' religious groups with an interest in their meaning and use. A consequent survey of these groups, and an in-depth study of two in particular, provided a very different account of religious reinterpretation. Aspects of their performance of religious practice were compared and contrasted with their Indian Hindu equivalents, and the two forms were seen to have different needs, different orientations, and different social locations. Their employment of the traditions of Hinduism had little in common.

This study is intended to satisfy two needs. It provides an account of contemporary Indian Hinduism in a British city, and, in addition, the first phenomenological discussion of 'new' Hindu-related groups in Britain. There are, of course, many areas which have not been considered here because of the practical limitations of time and space. Punjabi Hinduism, for example, is greatly under-researched. In Leeds, because of the small size of this population, there is no real scope for such an interest. In other British cities, such as Coventry or Bradford, the opportunities for this research are far greater. Another interesting area open to enquiry which relates to Indian Hinduism is the issue of sectarianism, both in the religion of the Punjabis, which supports many 'sant' movements at the interface of Sikhism and Hinduism, and the Gujaratis, for whom the Swaminarayan Mission is of great importance. The other major area, which unfortunately was not fully researched in this study, was the subject of domestic religion. Family life is a difficult area to examine. It is also an area which strictly speaking, can only provide meaningful results to those with a considerable understanding of Hindu religious and cultural traditions. As a consequence of establishing and maintaining contacts with local Hindus for a period of five years, research into this area is now beginning to yield fruitful results. This work might perhaps best be carried out by an academically trained Hindu rather than an interested non-Indian academic.

There is also tremendous scope for both general and specific studies of 'new' religious groups. In this account a choice was made to study the relationship of the groups to the tradition to which they were overtly related. Other areas of consideration by phenomenologists might include religious experience in Hindu-related groups, their use of traditional textual material and Hindu concepts, and their relationship
with the Indian subcontinent and Indian Hindus in Britain.

Future research into areas such as those described above is important in as far as it represents the bringing together of a largely objective and value-free approach to the subject of religion, and material from the contemporary popular scene. In this way the study of religion will be seen to address itself to the beliefs, values and practices of ordinary people, an area which, in the past, has been greatly neglected and undervalued.
INTRODUCTION

1. These four dimensions have been outlined and discussed in two accounts by Pye. In the first (1972), these were entitled 'concepts', 'activities', 'states of mind' and 'groups', although in an article in 1979 they became 'the conceptual', 'the behavioural', 'the psychological' and 'the social' dimensions of religion, to which Pye added the fifth dimension of religious dynamism. Mangalvadi (1977) has also used a four-fold system of division in his discussion of guruism in India. Other systems of classification have been used in the analysis of religious dimensions by Smart (1973) and Stark and Glock (1968).

2. The 'eternal' tradition was the subject of a vigorous debate in the Punjab in the late nineteenth century. The Arya Samaj called their form of reform Hinduism 'sanatana', and the Sanatanists of the Sanatana Dharma Mandals, who upheld the popular practices of worship and caste, also described their religion in this way (Jones, 1976).

3. This leaflet, produced by the Leeds Hindu temple, is entitled Hinduism - Sanatana Dharma. It is reproduced in full in Appendix D.

4. Sopher (1967) designates Hinduism a complex ethnic religion in his book on the geography of religion. While Christianity, Buddhism and Islam are considered to be 'universalising' systems, Hinduism is seen as 'ethnic' because 'its religious content cannot be separated effectively from the caste society of India, the social order to which Hinduism is bound and which gives it its ethnic character' (1967, p.6).

5 Saran (1969) draws a distinction between what he refers to as the 'Hindu religion' and 'Hindu spirituality'. Whereas the first is able to answer autological questions for ordinary people and to provide a social and religious context for normal life, the latter has meaning only for the renunciate, the sannyasi 'outside' Hindu society. This view of the divisions within Indian religion is not shared by Chaudhuri (1980) who understands all Hindus, whether they are house-holders or ascetics, as motivated by the same desire for 'indestructibility', and as employing related supernatural forces and powers. Chaudhuri, unlike Saran, is concerned to reflect the understanding of the Hindus themselves in his

6. This dimension was discussed by Pye (1979). It was also briefly referred to by Stark and Glock (1968) as the 'con-sequential' area of religion.

7. The vitality of caste overseas has been discussed in some detail by Schwartz (1967). Although in many of the places in which Hindus have lived since the nineteenth century the majority of caste practices have lessened in importance, in most countries in which they have continued to settle until comparatively recently the system has remained effective (Morris, 1968; Bharati, 1972; Michaelson, 1979).

8. The quest to universalise the Hindu message has been attributed to Swami Vivekananda. In the 1890s, in a lecture to a Western audience, he expressed his vision in terms of an exchange:

   ...when the Oriental wants to learn about machine-making, he should sit at the feet of the Occidental and learn from him. When the Occidental wants to learn about the spirit, about God, about the soul, about the meaning and the mystery of this universe, he must sit at the feet of the Orient to learn.
   (Vivekananda, 1960, p.156)

   This missionary interest has more recently been expressed in the speeches and activities of religious leaders like Bhaktivedanta Prabhupada, Maharishi Mahesh Yogi and Shri Chinmoy.


10. This figure was compiled from the Asian Directory and Who's Who 1977-8 Edition (1978), and the lists provided by the National Council of Hindu Temples. Even in 1979 this figure was known to be outdated.

11. Very little has been written about Hindu practices in Britain. In addition to the articles of socio-religious topics in
New Community (Kanitkar, 1972; Barot, 1972, 1974; Tambs-Lyche, 1975; Jackson, 1976; Michaelson, 1979) there is a published article by Pocock (1976) and two unpublished pamphlets (Hawkins, 1975; Harrison, 1978). The two books of relevance to this area of interest are London Patidars (Tambs-Lyche, 1980) and Hinduism in England (Bowen, 1981). (The bibliography provided in this volume has been updated to include works written between 1981 and 1984. See Foreword for references.)

12. This figure was quoted in the Leeds Association for the Age of Enlightenment newsletter for February to April 1979.

13. Devanagari script does not distinguish small or lower-case, and capital letters. However, for the sake of appearance, initial capitals have been used here for several types of words: all religious rituals and events; the names of organisations and individuals (but not for the techniques they employ); words that refer specifically to the status of an individual or individual members of groups, such as 'Pandit' and 'Brahmacharis' (but not to words that describe status in general, such as 'gurus' and 'sannyasis'); caste names; and words that refer to texts or schools of Hinduism.

1. THE INDIAN HINDU POPULATION IN LEEDS: COMPOSITION AND STRUCTURE

1. In the 1971 Census the only relevant question asked of the population which helped to elucidate the issues of race and ethnicity involved 'country of birth'. After discussions on this subject the Office of Population Censuses and Surveys decided to follow the same course in 1981.

2. The Electoral Registration Officer stated that if, after six visits, there was still no reply, the canvasser would make a decision either that the house was not occupied or that, as a family had been living there for some years previously they were probably still in residence. Finally, if no response was forthcoming and no information available, the house would be missed off the register altogether.

The Chapeltown area of Leeds has only an initial postal response rate of 18% to 20% but the remaining household information is collected before the qualifying date by a number of the office's three hundred canvassers. Leeds 6, Leeds 7 and Leeds 8 are held to be difficult areas to
survey but this fact does not seem to be related to the ethnic composition of the area. The problems are connected with population mobility, in this case with the rate of movement from one house or flat to another, and the presence of a large student body, and not with ethnic composition.

3. The remaining consideration of relevance in this issue is the question of 'aliens'. 'Aliens' are not entitled to register on the Electoral Register. As a group, however, they may include some people who are of interest to this study.

4. The ward boundaries were changed between the publication of the draft copy and the permanent edition (February 1980) of the 1979 register.

5. These families may, in fact, include a small number of Jains and Christians.

6. The 'Other Indian' category may include several small ethnic groups or may not present an ethnic picture at all. 'Other Indians' seem to be spread throughout the city, particularly in the student and medical residential areas (wards 5 and 12), and some of the northern wards (6, 16 and 20). Although it has been assumed for this analysis that all families are 'Hindu' a small number could well be Buddhist, Christian or Muslim, but due to the minority of such groups amongst Indians in this country (they only constitute 5% to 6%) this has not been taken into account (Smith, 1976).

7. There are two ways of estimating total population size from the figures already available. One is by establishing the average household size for Indians and using the total number of recorded households to calculate the size of the population. The other is to work out the percentage of the Indian population under seventeen, and to add this to the figure for registered electors. Both methods, in this case give similar figures. The average household size for the Indian population was estimated by Lomas (1977) as 4.77 persons. If this figure is multiplied by the number of recorded households (1,382), we have a total of 6,592 persons. By the second method a slightly lower number is calculated of 6,432: King (1977, pp.416-7) tabulated the age range of the projected Indian population for a number of future years. Using his figures, the average percentage of the population under seventeen for 1979 would seem to be approximately 35%.
For the purposes of this study the second method is preferred. If the first is employed the total number of individuals that is calculated is too high because of the inclusion of 'Other Indian' families that, in general, are composed of a smaller number of members than the more typical Gujarati and Punjabi families on whom Lomas would have based the average household size. Therefore, estimates based on 'number of individuals' rather than 'number of households' are felt to be more accurate for this mixed group.

8. Leeds 7 and Leeds 8 (Chapeltown and Harehills) have a large West Indian population as well. The Chapeltown Residents Opinion Survey for 1974 records that 46% of its residents were New Commonwealth born (this does not include people born in U.K. to New Commonwealth parents). Chapeltown, although forming a part of Chapel Allerton and Scott Hall ward and Harehills and Roundhay ward only includes the area between Roundhay Road and Scott Hall Road, south of Harehills Lane.

9. The small Satya Sai Baba Mandal moved from Burley to Armley towards the end of the fieldwork period in 1980.

10. The mosque in Woodhouse Lane, Leeds 2 was burnt down in 1981.

11. Kuhn and McPartland (1954, p.72) wrote, 'the question 'Who am I?' is one which might logically be expected to elicit statements about one's identity; that is his social statuses and the attributes which are in his view relevant to these'. They designed a self-attitudes test in which a person asked himself or herself the question 'Who am I?', and gave twenty responses. Herberg (1960) also acknowledged this type of question as a useful tool for eliciting responses about religious identity.

12. To do a complete study of 'identity' for any particular group a questionnaire is generally compiled. The possibility of pursuing this course was considered for the purpose of this research. There were several reasons for abandoning the scheme despite the useful information that could have been gathered from a detailed, response scale questionnaire. As with all questionnaires there would have been problems of time, expense and non-response, up to 70% with some postal surveys, but with an Indian group there would be the additional difficulty of language. The conducting of a questionnaire of useful and necessary proportions has always been resisted by leaders of the Hindu group who
suggest it would be offensive to some and of no interest to others within the group, and would thus yield a low response. Ethnically-related groups have shown their displeasure at being singled out as a group for questioning in their attitude to the proposed 1981 Census question about ethnicity and religion. Running a large scale questionnaire could very well be harmful rather than helpful in maintaining the relationship between researcher and respondents, a relationship vitally important for in-depth interviews and observations. There would also be the practical problems concerning access to addresses, sampling and the computation of results. In all, the sheer size and the likely problems encountered in running such a project were seen to be inappropriate to the nature of the research. The central interest in this study is religious practice, and informal interviews and observation have proved themselves to be of major importance as methods of investigation. A questionnaire, if successful in terms of response, could have given a great deal of background information but would, by its very nature, have demanded an inappropriate amount of time, effort and expense for information that, though interesting, was not central to the research.

The alternative to this method of collecting background information on identity was to gather data through interviews, observation and through a search of local literature, letters, minutes, newsletters, members lists and so on. This alternative, although hardly 'scientific' as a method, serves to generate a considerable amount of initial information on which some tentative generalisations about the nature of the group can be based.


14. 'Varna' is still a meaningful category both here and in India. The Indian Census provides us with evidence for this in showing the disagreements about varna and jati which ensue every ten years. In recent years, for instance, the Patidar have changed their varna status from Kshatriya to Vaishya as they now feel it is more prestigious to identify with the merchant class.

15. Caste is obviously more complex than this. It is not necessarily the Brahman who is the most powerful man in the village despite his ritual status. It is the 'dominant caste' which owns the land which commands the economic and political scene (Srinivas, 1952).
16. The Arya Samaj, a reform movement which was against the caste system, gave all their members equal status and called them all Brahmans.

17. A few of the temple member families come from outside Leeds. It is not necessary for any member to attend the temple regularly, however, as worship can be done in the home.

18. Cohen (1969) describes ethnicity as the degree of conformity by members of a collectivity to their shared norms in the course of their social interactions. In Africa he was concerned to examine the use by ethnic groups of their ethnicity (customs, culture, kinship and language) as an informal political institution. He described 'detribalisation', the process by which these ethnic traditions were abandoned, and 'retribalisation', the process by which they were developed and explored by members of the collectivity. Nancy Foner describes a similar process with relation to the Jamaicans. She refers to it as 'creolisation' (1977).

2. THE ROLE OF THE HINDU TEMPLE

1. 'Victorian' refers to the type of house rather than the age, although most of the 'Victorian' type can be said to have been built before the 1930s. In Leeds 6, however, an increasing number of old terraces are being demolished, and new estates are replacing them.

2. Roger and Catherine Ballard (1977) have also referred to these stages in their work on the Sikhs in Leeds.

3. The Yorkshire Post and the Evening Post recorded these complaints in various issues in 1970. The references are listed in a note (18) below.

4. The full-time Gujarati Pandit had been a railway employee in Baroda, and it was only on coming to this country that he took up his caste profession.

5. The term 'the focus of worship' has been chosen for use here as it has no particular cultural or religious reference. The alternatives, terms like 'shrine', 'sanctum' and 'altar' all bear a relation to the Christian religious tradition.

6. The worship of nineteenth and twentieth century saints such as Guru Jagjit Singh Ji and Shri Jalaram is discussed in Chapter 5.

7. The mandala of Vastapurusha, the god of building, provides the basis for the square shape of Indian Hindu temples.
In addition to this, there are a number of rules which dictate their proportion, shape and direction (Kramrisch, 1946).

8. The description of temple worship in India is based on recordings made in a study visit to Gujarat in 1979.

9. In an M.A. thesis (Knott, 1977) the structural model of the passage of ritual time provided by Leach (1961) was applied to the discussion of time and space in Hindu temple worship in Leeds. The model, which bore a relation to van Gennep's categories of separation, limen and re-aggregation, was employed to incorporate the relationship of deity, priest and people.

1. Acts of offering and purification by the Brahman
2. Services rendered by lower and non-caste groups
   A. Profane world
   B. 'Sacralisation' or 'separation'
   C. 'Margin' or 'limen'
   D. 'Desacralisation' or 'reaggregation'

The diagram was used to express how these relationships worked in the Arti service. People come into the temple from the outside world of work and leisure (A). They prepare for worship by removing their shoes and by covering their heads (this applies only to the women). They receive a tilaka from the priest (B). They participate in the Arti prayers while the priest, standing between them and the focus of worship, purifies the images with light, offers food to the deities and shares the prasada amongst those present (C). They finally don their shoes and leave the mandir (D).
In theory, only the Brahman is sufficiently pure to communicate with the deity, and only those born into the four varnas can enter a temple (legally the untouchables are now allowed to participate in temple practice). Ultimately, however, it is the lower castes and out-castes who make practice acceptable for the others by keeping them, and their environments ritually pure and clean. The situation in Leeds today differs in as far as caste restrictions have been lifted in relation to temple worship. In addition to this, there are occasions when the priest is absent, and a non-Brahman will be allowed by others to perform the sacred duties.

Bearing these changes in mind it is easy to see that the diagram exaggerates the current situation in the Leeds temple. Here, the four stages or periods overlap. Purification, for example, takes place in the context of the ritual itself as well as before it. They would more appropriately be represented by a curve than by straight lines. In addition to this, the diagram is designed to show the 'reversal' of the sacred and profane (note the shading in A and C). However, the relation between these differs according to different Hindu religious practices. Holi, for example, has always been understood to be more a ritual of reversal than the other Hindu festivals. The diagram does, however, give a rough idea of the structural significance of Hindu ritual, the space it occupies and the relationship it has with ritual hierarchy and the complex of purity and pollution. The main differences between Indian and British Hindu practice relate to the caste issues outlined above, and the effect of the format of the temple on the transitional periods, B and D. In India, for instance, there is often no entrance hall between the outside world and the mandir itself, and shoes are removed and mental preparation made at the door or porch. In the schools, halls and churches used as temples in Britain there are generally a number of different rooms in which preparation can be made for entry to the mandir.

10. The Pandit originally worked as a railway official but as a result of a kind favour he did for a visiting American, he was rewarded with assistance in emigrating to Britain. The necessary papers were provided for him, and he was given addresses of sponsors.

11. In Indian cities, sectarianism and religious coexistence are becoming more usual. Gujarat is still 89% Hindu according to the population Census, although this is
person felt to be endowed with supernatural powers or
spiritual gifts. Bharati (1972) described several such
people in his study of Asians in East Africa. In Leeds
there is a female healer who might be thought to fall
into this category. For further discussion of this see
Chapter 5.

7. In theory, both the priest and his wife should have been
initiated before they took up their respective roles in
the temple. Neither of them had a religious role in India,
although the Pandit's wife came from a family of temple
Brahmans, and neither have been ritually prepared for
their responsibilities. The local Hindu community are
nevertheless grateful for the tasks they undertake.

8. It is assumed here that ritual is 'meaningful'. The ques-
tion of meaning, however, is one that is felt by one writer
to be open to debate. Staal (1979) suggested that because
ritual had intrinsic worth it was meaningless. In this
study the intrinsic worth of ritual practice is not quest-
ioned but it is nevertheless assumed that rituals have
meanings which can be articulated by participants and
observed by students of ritual. These possibly bear a
relation to what Staal called 'side effects'.

9. There have been several stages in the discussion of myth
and ritual. In the late nineteenth century scholars like
Frazer and Tylor proposed general relationships between
magic and religion, myth and ritual without conducting
empirical studies. Malinowski in the 1920s brought about
significant changes by undertaking fieldwork, and keeping
detailed recordings. He has been called a 'functionalist',
although Radcliffe-Brown, when he was also described in
this way, pointed to the over-riding difference between
himself, a 'structural-functionalist' in the tradition
of Durkheim, and Malinowski whose primary concern, he
said, was the individual's biological needs rather than
the general requirements of society (Radcliffe-Brown,
1949). Despite Radcliffe-Brown's criticisms Malinowski
has been the foremost influence on modern British functional
anthropology. Functionalism, in relation to the study
of religions, has, since Radcliffe-Brown, drawn on the
theoretical material of Durkheim and the methods of Malinowski.
More recently, however, British anthropologists in this
tradition have also been exposed to French structuralism.
Levi-Strauss was a major exponent of this, taking linguistic
theories of binary opposition as the basis for an under-
standing of non-verbal communication in myth and ritual
(Leach, 1970). Leach and Turner are two contemporary
figures who have considered the feasibility of the structur
approach, and have incorporated some aspects of it into their own functionalist understanding of ritual. Leach developed a diagrammatic account of ritual time (1961), and Turner (1969, 1974) discussed the concepts of liminality, structure and communitas with reference to ritual activity. Both acknowledge their debt to a Dutch scholar, Arnold van Gennep, whose monograph on 'rites de passage', published in 1909, was not available in English until 1960. In recent years, several scholars have produced possible classifications or categories of ritual practice (Eliade, 1965; Honko, 1979), and models of the ritual process (Leach, 1961; Turner, 1969). Recent theoretical work has often been discussed with reference to particular cultural contexts (for example, Turner's work on the Ndembu), and, as such, it is of limited use in a study of contemporary Hindu ritual.

10. Honko (1979) described a classification of rites divided into rites of passage, calendrical rites and crisis rites. For the purposes of a discussion about Hindu ritual, the more general division of calendrical and non-calendrical (regular and irregular) is of more use because of the importance of both the luni-solar and Gregorian calendars in the calculation of religious events.

11. A healthy detachment from the fruits of one's actions rather than a craving for success is most desirable. This is generally known as 'tyaga', and is discussed in relation to Havan in Chapter 4.

12. Although the term 'prarthana' has been used here for the element in the ritual process where participants petition the deity, prarthana is also a term meaning 'a prayer'. The distinction between the terms is one of spelling, and is communicated by way of a difference in pronunciation. See Glossary for details.

13. In Shiva worship, mantras repeating the thousand names of the god are more popular than devotional bhajans.

14. As in the case of 'prarthana', 'bhajana', strictly speaking, can be used to describe the element of praise or worship, and to mean 'a religious song'. The final '-a', however, is silent in the second use and it has been transliterated in this study as 'bhajan'.

4. HAVAN AND ARTI: TWO TEMPLE RITUALS

1. Unlike the many Hindu festivals, it has been possible to observe both Arti and Havan repeatedly, and thus to
check actions and words for consistency. The major festivals, such as Holi, Mahashivaratri and Ramnavmi, which occur once annually are clearly less available for observation, and, furthermore, because of the length of time between each ritual performance, are more open to change. There are elements which can be seen to recur each year, and which can easily be recorded, but there are also those aspects which are variable, more difficult to check, and thus more open to observer interpretation. For example, attendance figures and patterns can vary, styles of individual worship can change, different bhajans can be sung, and different images and instruments can be used. Each of these variations can come about as a result of a deliberate change of plan or an accident. They may have an important meaning or no special significance, and it is all too easy to make inappropriate assumptions about such issues. This is particularly likely during a festival when a number of things happen in a short space of time that all warrant recording. On the occasion of Holi in 1978, for example, several features were observed that have not recurred in any other year since that time: a special children's programme was staged, and abilgulal (red and white powders) was thrown (Appendix C). More people were present during the evening than in other years but it was not possible to know whether such high attendance was the result of the novel features, better community communications, the good weather conditions or some other cause. Changes have also occurred in relation to Divali celebrations in Leeds. In 1977 and 1978 no temple celebrations, other than an evening Lakshmi Puja and a post-Divali Annakut, were held during the five days of Divali, and it remained almost entirely a family practice until, in 1979, the newly-formed Punjabi Sabha took the initiative in organising a Divali Puja and dinner for the entire Hindu community. This practice was repeated in 1980, and on this occasion was accompanied by a special Puja performed by Punjabi children. Each year the Divali programme at the temple has changed. The core-ritual, the Lakshmi Puja, continues in the same fashion, but the cultural context alters according to changing interest patterns, climatic conditions and communications within the group. Arti and Havan, although their context differs and their patterns of attendance change, in terms of their content remain stable and slow to change.

2. They are also largely undocumented. Arti (also known as Arati, Aratrika and Aarti) is briefly outlined in some early accounts of Hindu life in India (Stevenson (1920),
1971, p.225; Forbes, 1878, p.596), and in the modern handbooks on Hinduism designed for educational use in British schools and colleges (Harrison, 1978, p.22; Killingley, 1980, p.23). None of these, unfortunately, attempts to do any more than describe the central act of rotating the *Arti* lamp. (An article by Jackson (1981, pp.72-3) is more useful in this respect, and will be referred to later in the chapter.) Still less is written about Havan (also known as *Homa, Yajna, Devayajna, Agnihotra* and *Hotra*), the older, and now less popular ritual of the two. It is mentioned in Dubois ((1906) 1947, p.175) and Stevenson (1971, p.386) and more recently in Babb (1975, p.35 and p.45); and is discussed in more detail in some accounts of the *Arya Samaj* such as Webster (1974, pp.55-57) and Rai (1967, p.64). None of these works, however, goes further than to provide a brief record of what takes place.

The festivals and life cycle rites (*samskaras*) of Hinduism do not suffer to quite the same extent from such sparse documentation. In some decades they have been outlined in the Indian Census region by region, and also, albeit briefly, in tourist guides and travel accounts. Stevenson (1971), Forbes (1898), Dubois (1947), Underhill (1921) and Crooke (1926) all provide an account of the Hindu year in which they recall the mythology and describe the practices associated with the major festivities. Life cycle rites are also discussed by these writers but are more comprehensively described by an Indian scholar, Pandey (1976). More recently anthropologists such as Freed and Freed (1964), Babb (1975), Marriot (1966), Miller (1973) (both Marriot and Miller wrote solely on the Holi festival), and the contributors to Eschmann et al (1978) have considered various aspects of the topic with reference to different geographical areas of the Indian subcontinent. A number of Indian scholars of religion have also begun to provide more general accounts of the festive year. These include Chakravarti (1957), B. Bhattacharya (1956), S. Bhattacharyya (1953), and Sivananda (1947). Jackson (1981), Harrison (1978), the Religious Education Centre (1978), and Holroyde (1973) have attempted this task for the Hindu community in Britain (or, in the case of Jackson and Harrison, for the city in which their work was carried out). The Hindu year for the Leeds population is outlined in Appendix C. All domestic and temple practices for the Hindu year 2035 (1978-9) are included, and those festivals of communal importance celebrated at the temple are described in detail.
3. Each of the names attributed to the fire sacrifice has a specific traditional meaning. The Agnihotra (and thus the Hotra) was the original Srauta fire service performed by the priests to the god, Agni. The Devayagna was a later Griha ritual performed by each householder as a part of his religious duties. It was one of the five sacrifices (yalna) or panchayajnas. Homa is a general word for offering of sacrifice, and Haven refers to one of the three Srauta fires, the Ahavaniya or fire of offering in which grain and ghee are offered to the deities.

4. Until 1955, when untouchability was outlawed, the Hindu population included only those within the four traditional varnas of Hindu society. Now in theory at least, those outside this system are also free to worship in temples, and to make use of the services of priests. This law, however, is neglected in many parts of India.

5. These prayers are recorded on pp. 120-3.

6. This translation was prepared by C. P. Singh and amended by the author.

7. Translated by the author, with amendments by C. P. Singh.

8. The movement of the thali is said to represent the syllable 'om', that is, 'ॐ'. In fact, the rotation appears to be like this:

9. As they bow their heads they quietly pay homage with the phrase 'Krishna kanhiyalal ki jay'. This offering of kind words accompanied by the namaste greeting is called vandana, further discussion of which appeared on p.110 in Chapter 3. It is repeated at the end of the service, see p.122.

10. Unless otherwise stated, the translations of the following Arti verses are compiled by C.P. Singh with amendments by the author.

11. Translated by C. P. Singh, amended by the author. This short prayer is from the Brhadaranyaka Upanishad (I iii 28, Zaehner, 1966, p.34).

12. Because of the size and composition of the Hindu population in Coventry, Punjabis and Gujaratis have been able to finance more than one place of worship. Most of the higher-caste Punjabis attend a Rama temple in the city.

13. One of the verses, for example ('the universal peace prayer',
'Sarvepi sukhinan santu...'), is used by the *Arya Samaj*. It has probably found its way into the Arti service through this route, via the influence of Punjabi members in Leeds. Webster (1974, p.57) refers to this *mantra* in a discussion of the *Arya Samaj*.

14. Several supplementary points of explanation have a bearing on this question. Gender differences in religious practice might be relevant in this issue. It might also be important to consider modernisation, Westernisation, period of settlement, migration history, economic and social position in relation to these religious distinctions. It is hoped that these variables will be discussed in further work on Hinduism in Britain.

15. These three fires are discussed in brief by Hopkins (1971, p.18).

16. Bodewitz (1976, pp.3-4) provides a full account of the textual sources of this mythological explanation.

17. Vidyarnava (1979, p.154) acknowledges the interchangeable use of terms for this practice: '...Devayajna or the offering to fire, called also Homa or Visva offering'.

18. Staal (1979, p.1) records that fire practices have occurred throughout history in South India.

19. *Havan* is felt by many participants to be the only service performed at the temple which does not focus on a human representation of God. Although it is directed to the deities, particularly Agni, Prajapati and Surya, it does so through the medium of the fire not the murti or image. It therefore provides an opportunity for people to practice Hinduism without performing what they understand to be 'idol-worship'. 'Non-idolatrous' practices are felt to be superior to 'idolatrous' Pujas, Artis and festivals by a large number of males, particularly those who have been members of the *Arya Samaj*.

20. This description relates specifically to the *Havan* observed on 23 November 1980.

21. On this occasion nine people were present for the full programme although more came in later. These included the Pandit and his two assistants, a Gujarati couple, two Punjabi men, a Hindi speaking man from Uttar Pradesh and myself.

22. In one of the non-Vedic introductory mantras the *Havan* is ritually situated in time and space. Krishna, as the temple deity, is honoured in this verse. No further
reference is made to him in the prarthanas and mantras. and no offerings are directed to him until the Arti service following Havan.

23. Translated by C. P. Singh, amended by the author.

24. Translated by C. P. Singh, amended by the author.

25. The mantras that follow are not collected in this particular form in any official publication. The Arya Samaj have composed an English version of the core verses – those surrounding the lighting of the fire and the process of offering – and the translators have provided the sources for these where they are known (Prakash, 1974, pp. 18-23). The Leeds Havan also includes a number of other introductory mantras some of which were originally suggested for fire services by Dayananda Saraswati in his Hindi writings. C. P. Singh, a local Hindu, who has a particular interest in the Sanskrit texts and the Havan ceremony, has made this material available to the author. It has been more difficult, however, to trace the remaining mantras, in some cases impossible at this time. With the help of the translation and index provided by Griffith (1899), and the compilation of other Vedic mantras (Radhakrishnan and Moore, 1957, Panikkar, 1977) a number of previously unidentified verses have been found.

26. Griffith’s term ‘alleviation’ has been substituted by the word ‘peace’ in this account.

27. The Satapatha Brahama records the importance of the Gayatri for the Agnihotra: ‘...the Gayatri is Agni’s metre: he thus establishes that fire by means of his own metre’ (SB II; 1, 4, 14, Eggeling, 1885, p.297).

28. Translated by C. P. Singh, amended by the author.

29. Translated by C. P. Singh, amended by the author.

30. As yet, this mantra is unidentified, although it is probable that it comes from the Taittiriya Aranyakas.

31. Translated by C. P. Singh, amended by the author.

32. Ghee or clarified butter is often referred to as ‘grhita’ when used in connexion with traditional ritual practice. Bodewitz (1976) quoted from the Maitrayaniya Samhita concerning this bija mantra, ‘bhur bhuvra svah’: ‘Earth, Air, Heaven’ he should say before offering. That utterance represents Brahman. It is truth, it is order. For without this no sacrifice is possible’ (1976, p.81).

33. Translated by C. P. Singh, amended by the author.
34. Translated by C. P. Singh, amended by the author.

35. This is a later prarthana, which is unidentified at the present time. The translation is by C. P. Singh and is amended by the author.

36. Translated by C. P. Singh, amended by the author. Source unknown.

37. Translated by C. P. Singh, amended by the author. Source unknown.

38. No 'strainer' is used in Havan, and the ghee flows into the kund in a single stream. However, the desire for this ghee to be purified continues to be important. The Vasu mantra is translated by Griffith (1899), but an alternative translation is preferred here in order to convey the sense of the yajus.

39. Samuha Bhojan is rarely performed now due to an illness suffered by the Pandit.

40. Each Brahman family has historical ties with one of the four Vedas.

41. See. P.135. For other references to this see pp.131-2, 133, p.137.

42. Temple News, April 1978.

43. Pranama is often performed by participants to the temple deities on entry to the mandir.

44. These descriptive verses are found occasionally in Vedic practices but are rare in services such as Puja and Arti. For this reason they have not been given distinct status in the discussion of ritual process.

45. This act of pranama, traditionally speaking, is one of the upacharas, known as vandana. However, in order to distinguish between the various types of ritual practice, acts of salutation and homage have been placed in a category of their own, distinct from spoken worship and praise (bhajana) and other offerings (upachanras).
5. RELIGIOUS PRACTICE IN SMALL HINDU GROUPS AND IN INDIAN FAMILIES

1. These informal policies were discussed in Chapter 2.

2. The two areas of domestic Hinduism and the Hinduism of the small interest groups in the British context are in need of further research and attention. The discussion which follows is a preliminary survey rather than an in-depth study of non-temple religion.

3. The feelings of Punjabi Hindu leaders may well be changing now that Punjabis have control of temple management (as from the 1981 committee election).

4. These objectives were stated in the 1977 leaflet produced by the committee of the Leeds University Union Hindu Society.

5. On one occasion the good relations between the temple and the L.U.U. Hindu Society were disrupted because of a disagreement over a speech given by a Muslim student at a cultural evening to which local Hindus were invited.


7. I do not know at the present time if the 'Patel' membership is Kanbi, Patidar or a mixture of the two.

8. Although worship takes place on a Saturday at the Leeds Mandal, the official day for meeting of the followers of Satya Sai Baba is a Thursday, Guruvar, the day of the guru.

9. Vaishnava temples are mentioned specifically here as they perform, on a regular basis, a Puja in which the central murti (a human image) becomes filled with divine power. As a manifestation of the god, it is served with food and clothes, and is treated with respect and honoured like a guest. In Shaiva temples in the state of Gujarat, worship is directed to a lingam, a non-human representation of the god. In this case the god is not served as we might expect a person to be, although his power is nevertheless present. For an account of the differences between these two forms of temple practice, see Stevenson (1971, p.368).
10. It is rare, however, for local Hindu residents to attend Hindu Society functions although a few of the younger ones have been known to do so.

11. 'Folk religion' was used by Mensching (1964) to refer to the religious traditions which preceded Christianity, and which were, in some places, incorporated into it. 'Common religion', first used by Towler (1973, 1974), was utilised to signify a religion of the common man. Its use has now been clarified by the members of a Leeds project, 'Conventional religion and common religion in Leeds', to refer to that area which 'includes beliefs and practices of a predominantly unorganised nature associated with such things as fortune telling techniques and supernatural occurrences, for example, premonitions, astrology, fate, luck, ghosts and so on' (Toon, 1981,p.6). (This project is funded by the Social Science Research Council, and directed by Robert Towler in the Department of Sociology at the University of Leeds.) This area, which includes both the old 'folk religion' category and new forms linked with the recent interest in the 'unexplained', differs from 'conventional religion' in that it is rarely characterised by institutional organisation.

12. This assessment of the Hindus' lack of discrimination between great and little traditions is endorsed by Bharati (1972, p.265).

13. The Nirankaris, those who believe in 'the formless One', are a Sikh sect represented in Leeds by a small number of Sikh families. They accept the authority of Guru Nanak but reject the nine gurus who followed Nanak, and support instead their own satguru lineage. They are liberal in their attitudes and ethics compared, for example, with the Namdhari who support strict vegetarianism and teetotalism. This second group is closer than the former to Hinduism, and performs the rite of Havan in addition to recognising the authority of both the Granth and the living satguru, Jagjit Singh Ji. The last of the three, the Radhaswamis, are also close to Sikh traditions in their acceptance of the five 'K's' of the Khalsa. They also follow living gurus, and their centre is at Beas in the Punjab.

15. Pockock (1973) suggested that the Swaminarayan Mission might constitute a form of Hindu sectarianism because, although it supports many central Hindu doctrines, its puritanical attitude is quite opposed to the tolerance and inclusivism of traditional Hinduism. Its stance is one of reform rather than acceptance.

16. The twelve 'Ekadashi' days and the month of Sravana are discussed in more depth in Appendix C.

17. This explanation has only been hinted at by the family, and they may not consider it to be the full reason for their misfortune.

18. Sai Baba of Shirdi was a nineteenth century Muslim saint revered by both Muslims and Hindus near his home in Maharashtra. Jalaram Bapa, whose name means 'disciple of Lord Rama' was a Gujarati holy man. The main temple for his worship is in Virpur in Saurashtra, and it is said that those who make a vow to him will have their wishes granted. Shirdi Sai Baba and Jalaram Bapa are frequently seen in prints, calendars and statues in the homes of Gujarati Hindus.

19. Family roles were changed in this ritual as a result of a family row brought about by the decision of the couple in question to marry without the woman's parents' consent. The woman was a Suthar who married beneath her, in caste terms, in marrying a Mochi man. As a result of this her parents and relatives are estranged from her, and their roles are performed by members of her husband's family.

20. Ursula Sharma (1968, p.72) suggests that the opposition of the pure and impure acts as a factor of integration in many of the beliefs and practices of Hinduism.

21. One of the main exponents of the 'secularisation thesis' in Britain is Bryan Wilson (1966), although there is a voluminous literature on the subject. It would not be an exaggeration to say that the thesis has been the central problem in contemporary Sociology of Religion. Other significant works include Martin (1978), Luckmann (1967), Berger (1973) and Bell (1977).

6. HINDU-RELATED GROUPS IN LEEDS

1. The Community Religions Project in the Department of Theology and Religious Studies has compiled a list of these 'new' religious groups, and has sought to collect
1. the ephemera produced by them. (Since this thesis was contd submitted this task has been fulfilled most able by The Centre for new Religious Movement at Kings College, London).

2. The British 'counter-cultural' movement has been discussed by Campbell (1980) and Martin (1981).

3. This 'consciousness reformation' has been discussed in particular by Glock and Bellah (1976), Wuthnow (1976) and Bainbridge and Stark (1981). Perhaps the earliest contributor to the discussion on American cultural change in the 1960s was Roszak (1970).

4. There are a number of books which chart the early American interest in Indian philosophy (French, 1974; Isherwood, 1948; Rayapati, 1973; Thomas, 1930).

5. Alan Ginsberg, Jack Kerouac and Alan Watts bridged the divide between these two periods of interest in the East.

6. Full lists of groups with an interest in Indian philosophy and practice are provided by Annett (1976) and Saunders (1975).

7. Although this study has utilised the divisions of monistic-technical, monistic-charismatic and dualistic outlined by Robbins et al (1978), it has not taken up the third stage of division offered by these authors. The 'one-' and 'two-level' stages refer to the speed of the path to enlightenment. In Leeds, however, there appear to be no monistic-charismatic one-level groups, that is, those in which veneration of a spiritual master brings immediate enlightenment. In addition, TM, which was described by them as a monistic-technical one-level group, has adopted new plans for future progress such as the sidhi programme and the world government of the Age of Enlightenment plan. As these groups become better established, and more sect-like in appearance, the 'one-level' stage becomes less appropriate to their continuing world-views.

8. This information is provided in newsletters produced by the Leeds Association for the Age of Enlightenment between August 1978 and September 1979.

9. In a court of law in America in 1977 TM school programmes were outlawed after the courses and initiation of TM had been found to be of a religious character (Bainbridge and Jackson, 1981).

10. For further discussion of this see Chapter 7.

11. The consistency of religious positions is not something that the phenomenological study of religion need concern itself with.
12. Ouspensky's work is wide-ranging, and examines such things as esotericism, Christianity, the Tarot, Yoga, dreams, the Laws of Manu, evolution and Gurdjieff's 'fourth way', in which Gurdjieff, having criticised the fakir, the monk, and the yogi, stressed the importance of defeating laziness and conditioning through 'work' and 'self-remembering'. Popenoe (1979, pp.346-53) provides a list of books on the teachings of Gurdjieff and Ouspensky.

13. The concept of 'work' was central to the teachings of Gurdjieff: 'the goal of Gurdjieff's work was to wake man up so that he does not sleepwalk through life' (Popenoe, 1979, p.350) after the productive years of his physical and mental growth have come to an end.

14. After the mid-seventies the movement in Leeds and elsewhere in Britain lost impetus, and the number of initiations decreased. The interest and devotion of initiated premis, to some extent, is still maintained by regular attendance at festivals in Britain and abroad.

15. The Indian members of Divine Light in the subcontinent and, to a lesser extent, in Leicester and Leeds may be evidence for this hypothesis.

16. The London Rajneesh group have been featured in CREDO (London Weekend Television) and EVERYMAN (BBC 1) in 1981.

17. The membership of Sangeet Rajneesh is comprised largely of people in their twenties and thirties, and seems to attract a number of people interested in psychology and psychotherapy.


19. There are now centres in many countries of the world, including Australia, Guyana, France, Belgium, Germany, Canada, Ireland, Hong Kong and Trinidad.

20. According to Mangalvadi (1977) Raja Yogis in India are frequently critical of aspects of popular Hinduism. The International Society for Krishna Consciousness considers itself as non-sectarian but individual members have proclaimed their religious allegiance to be 'Hindu'.

21. The movement has only fairly recently begun to cater for these two groups of people. Initially, devotees were expected to renounce the lives they had grown accustomed to for the path of the Brahmachari in a temple atmosphere. The leaders of the movement have now widened the scope of their mission by appealing to those unwilling
21. to give up family life (householders in the stage of grhastha) (Krishna Consciousness (b) Folk 1:3, 1981, p.9). The path of Krishna Consciousness has now been made available to them through mail-order services and a quarterly journal. The Indian followers, who are not expected to take up the practices, as many of them already perform Arti and Japa, are encouraged to take part in festivals, to donate images and items of furniture, and to advertise their businesses in the Mahabharat Times, all of which they are accustomed to performing in their own communities. The movement has shown great skill in interpreting the needs of these two sections of the population, and in attracting them to the Krishna Consciousness movement.

22. Chaudhuri (1980) comments on the relationship of Krishna Consciousness to traditional Hinduism. He is particularly keen to stress their polemic against the more erotic but nonetheless traditional aspects of bhakti practice.

23. Many writers have assumed that because the postures are mentioned in texts which predate Patanjali that they may equally be perceived in a Vedantic doctrinal framework (Prabhavananda, 1953, p.viii; Wood, 1959, pp.21-36; Ananda Marga (b), n.d.).

7. SOME ASPECTS OF RELIGIOUS PRACTICE IN TWO HINDU-RELATED GROUPS IN LEEDS

1. Maharishi Mahesh Yogi explains this variation: 'It has been the misfortune of every teacher that, while he speaks from his level of consciousness, his followers can only receive his message on their level' (1969, p.11).

2. Local teachers of TM only describe five states to initial meditators. The last two, 'God consciousness' and 'Unity consciousness' are the two for which a more advanced understanding of the Maharishi's monistic philosophy is required.

3. Similar accounts of the TM initiation ceremony are provided by Mangalvadi (1977) and Hemingway (1976).


5. According to Bainbridge and Jackson (1981, p.140) the mantra is chosen to suit the age of the recipient from a list of sixteen Sanskrit words. These words or bija mantras are non-Vedic (Vedic mantras or formulas are generally passages of text rather than single words. Words used in the Vedas, like svaha and svardha, which can be found in Srauta and Griha ritual, perhaps come
5. closest to tantric mantras because they were used instrumentally in order to bring about action. They are important not for their meaning but for their effect, and need not be taught by a Brahman. Bharati, in The Tantric Tradition (1965), discusses their use and origin.

6. Damrell (1977) describes the lengthy preparation he had to undergo before his initiation into the Ramakrishna Order. The School of Economic Science, mentioned in the last chapter, can also be seen to demand a certain level of attainment before offering meditation to its members.

7. Damrell (1977), in describing his initiation into this Vedanta Society, mentions most of the features observed in the TM process with the exception of the final receipt of prasada.

8. This is not an exact transcript of the narrative of raja yoga. Each teacher's version is personal to him or her, differing slightly according to their choice of words, their creativity, and their interpretation of the meditation process. The movement also produces a leaflet describing this meditation, entitled 'The Method of Raja Yoga' (Raja Yoga, n.d.).

9. The Raja Yoga centres in Britain are able to provide a series of informative leaflets that describe their doctrines in brief (The Soul, Who is God?, What is Meditation?, The Method of Raja Yoga, The Three Worlds, The Eternal World Tree, Brahma-Adam, The World Drama Cycle) (Raja Yoga, n.d.).

10. In its understanding of the practice and operation of meditation, Raja Yoga has been influenced by Patanjali. In his aphorisms, Patanjali referred to the destruction of samskars (Prabhavananda, 1953, p.235), to the practice of concentrating on the 'inner light' (Prabhavananda, 1953, pp.254-7), to the goal of jivanmukti (Hiriyanna, 1978, p.124), and to the grace of God (Hiriyanna, 1978,p.126).

11. In Raja Yoga doctrine Shankar is a deity of the subtle region, like Vishnu and Brahma. He is responsible for the destruction of the world at the end of the Iron Age. Shiv Baba, however, is the Supreme Controller, and has no body either corporeal or subtle.

The 1971 Census tables and the projections calculated by King (1977) are also of some interest to the statistical analysis of South Asians in Leeds, although they are of limited relevance for the religious question because of their emphasis on nationality.

The Leeds County Borough figures for 1971 are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total Leeds County Borough</th>
<th>496,010</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>New Commonwealth Born</td>
<td>13,815</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India Born</td>
<td>3,820</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan Born</td>
<td>2,520</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Africa Born</td>
<td>1,240</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE A.1 1971 Census figures for Leeds County Borough (Based on County Tables, Census, 1976)

From the 'birthplace' tables we can learn how many people in Leeds have come from India but we cannot establish (a) what proportion of these are not ethnically Indian, and (b) how many of those born here, or elsewhere, are ethnically Indian. Also, because they relate only to 1971, these figures do not register 'Bangladeshis' or 'Ugandan Asians' in Britain.

These figures were also used to calculate population projections for the city of Leeds (King, 1977). Using birthplace tables as his base, King accounted for birth, death and in- and out-migration in order to calculate an accurate 1971 figure. Then, having estimated rates for fertility, death and migration, he was able to apply these to the accurate 1971 figures to estimate future projections. He recorded these projections according to a possible low or high rate of fertility.

At first sight his projections for the Indian population seem to be fairly close to the 1979 Electoral Register figure of 6,432. However, despite his attention to migration, birth and death figures, (a) he failed to take account of the necessary inclusions and exclusions to be considered for the initial 1971 Census figures and (b) he neglected to account for East African Asian families in the Leeds area. Unfortunately, it is not possible to judge the possible consequences these omissions might have produced.
LFR - Low fertility rate  HFR - High fertility rate

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commonwealth</td>
<td>LFR</td>
<td>HFR</td>
<td>LFR</td>
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<td></td>
<td>17,236</td>
<td>22,582</td>
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<td><strong>Indian</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td>LFR</td>
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**TABLE A.2** Projections by King (1977) for Leeds New Commonwealth population (Tables 8.9 to 8.12, pp.414-421)
### APPENDIX E WARD FIGURES FOR THE INDIAN POPULATION FROM THE 1979 ELECTORAL REGISTER

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ward No.</th>
<th>Gujarati</th>
<th>Punjabi 'Hindu'</th>
<th>Punjabi Sikh</th>
<th>Other Indian</th>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>918</td>
<td>499</td>
<td>2,563</td>
<td>201</td>
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</table>

Total Hindu 1,618  Total Sikh 2,563  Total Punjabis 3,062

**TABLE B.1 Number of Indiana listed by ward**
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ward No.</th>
<th>Gujarati</th>
<th>Punjabi Hindu</th>
<th>Punjabi Sikh</th>
<th>Other Indian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<td></td>
<td>289</td>
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<td>818</td>
<td>107</td>
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</table>
This calendar is based on the luni-solar religious year, 2035. Those celebrations which are moveable or irregular in terms of the luni-solar year (i.e. civil birthdays) are given in terms of their luni-solar date according to its interaction with the civil calendar in 1978-9. For a further understanding of the luni-solar calendar, see Chapter 3.

Each event is described, where possible, in terms of its religious history, its mythology, and its practice here in Leeds. All these events are known to the group in Leeds as they are taken from Temple News issues for the year 1978-9 (and supplemented by issues for the years following this). Not all Leeds Hindus, however, will practice and follow all the events mentioned. Some events are celebrated in the temple or in another public hall of greater size, and where this occurs the event is described and an indication (T) is made. Many of the other dates are celebrated in Leeds homes, particularly the Ekadashi fasts, the Vrats in the month of Sravana, Raksha Bandhan, and the special auspicious Pujas for various lesser deities such as Shitala and Nag Shesha. The other dates mentioned may have particular significance for individuals in Leeds, and may thus be kept annually. Most families, however, would not perform worship on all the occasions mentioned.

Certain works have been helpful in the compilation of this calendar (Stevenson, 1971; Freed and Freed, 1964; Forbes, 1878; Underhill, 1921; Babb, 1975; Gopalan, 1968; Bhattacharya, 1956; Wadley, 1973).

Karttika sudi
November 1

NUTAN VARSHABHINANDAN (New Year)
CHANDRA DARSHAN
The day following the new moon, and the first day of the lunar month. Sudi means light phase. The new year is generally celebrated with an Annakut or 'mountain' of cooked foods in the shape of Krishna's Mount Govardhan. Krishna is worshipped at this time. Hindus in Leeds are invited to the temple to 'offer a prayer to the Lord of the Universe', and to share food. An Annakut is prepared on a convenient day as soon after new year's day as possible. Bhajans are sung, and food is passed out at noon, after it has been offered to Krishna.
VINAYAK CHOTH
Choth means 'fourth day'. In general
the first, fourth, ninth and fourteenth
days of the lunar phase are thought to
be unlucky. However, this fourth is
the more auspicious of the two, the dark
or vadi fourth being 'sankasht' or 'diffi-
cult'. Ganesh, who is 'the remover of
all obstacles' is worshipped on all fourths
in an attempt to withstand misfortune.

LABH PANCHAM
Pancham means fifth, and in this month
it is set aside for the remembrance of
departed loved ones.

DURGASHTAMI
Eighths (astami) are set aside for the
worship of the goddesses. The bright
eighth is for Durga (Ambamata), the mother.

DEVUTHI AGIYARAS (EKADASHI)
TULSI VIVAH DEV DIVALI
All twenty four of the elevenths or
Ekadashi days are fast days for the worship
of Vishnu (Hari). Indians everywhere
like to keep these fasts, and no grain
is prepared or eaten on this day. It
is not a total fast but one in which
people are limited to certain foods.
On this particular eleventh Vishnu wakes
from a four month sleep (representing
the end of the monsoon). Ekadashis are
auspicious, and a good time to get engaged,
go on a journey, give birth to a child
and so on. Tulsi Vivah is the marriage
of Vishnu, in the form of the saligram,
to the tulsi plant, celebrated by the
gods in Dev Divali, their own Divali
festival which marks the end of chomasum,
the rainy period.

The twelfth is the day on which people
eat well after fasting on the eleventh.

NEHRU JAYANTI (irregular)
The birthday of Jaharwal Nehru.
Karttika sudi 15 POONAM NANAK JAYANTI
November 15 Poonam or Purnima is the full moon night which ends the moon's first phase. Women often perform partial fasts on this day. The anniversary of the first Sikh guru also falls on this day.

Karttika vadi 1 Vadi or Krishna mean the 'dark' lunar phase of the Hindu month.
November 16

Karttika vadi 4 SANKASHT CHOTH
November 19 The dark and difficult fourth when Ganesh is worshipped. Because the fourth is generally thought to be inauspicious, Ganesh is often worshipped on the third.

Karttika vadi 8 ASHTAMI
November 23 All eighths are set aside for the worship of the goddesses. The dark eighth is for Kali.

Karttika vadi 11 UTPATTA EKADASHI
November 26 'Creation-celebration eleventh'. This fast celebrates the creation of a female manifestation of Vishnu designed to slay Mura. Whoever worships the manifestation will gain merit.

Karttika vade 14 SHIVARATRI
November 29 Shiva is worshipped on dark fourteenths.

Karttika vade 15 AMAS
November 30 New moon night. Amas is the last day of the lunar month. It is inauspicious (as it is a dark and moonless night), and no new tasks should be started at this time. Many people perform a partial fast.

Margasirsa sudi 1 CHANDRA DARSHAN
December 1

Margasirsa sudi 4 VINAYAK CHOTH
December 4

Margasirsa sudi 5 RAMACHARITMANAS JAYANTI
December 5 The day on which the Ramcharitmanas (a collection of hymns) is remembered.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Margasirsa Sudi 8</th>
<th>December 8</th>
<th>Durgashtami</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Margasirsa Sudi 10</td>
<td>December 10</td>
<td>Gita Jayanti</td>
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<tr>
<td>Margasirsa Sudi 11</td>
<td>December 11</td>
<td>Mokshda Ekadashi</td>
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<td>Margasirsa Sudi 14</td>
<td>December 14</td>
<td>Datta Jayanti</td>
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<td>Margasirsa Sudi 15</td>
<td>December 15</td>
<td>Maharshi Ramana Jayanti Poonam</td>
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<tr>
<td>Margasirsa Vadi 4</td>
<td>December 19</td>
<td>Sankasht Choth</td>
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<tr>
<td>Margasirsa Vadi 8</td>
<td>December 23</td>
<td>Ashtami</td>
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<td>Margasirsa Vadi 9</td>
<td>December 24</td>
<td>Christmas Eve</td>
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<tr>
<td>Margasirsa Vadi 10</td>
<td>December 25</td>
<td>Christmas Day Pashvanath Jayanti</td>
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<tr>
<td>Margasirsa Vadi 11</td>
<td>December 26</td>
<td>Boxing Day Saphala Ekadashi</td>
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<tr>
<td>Margasirsa Vadi 14</td>
<td>December 29</td>
<td>Amas Shivaratri</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pausa Sudi 1</td>
<td>December 30</td>
<td>Chandra Darshan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pausa Sudi 4</td>
<td>January 2</td>
<td>Vinayak Choth</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Pausa sudi 6  
January 4  
GURU GOBIND SINGH JAYANTI  
Celebration for the tenth Sikh guru.

Pausa sudi 8  
January 6  
DURGAASHTAMI

Pausa sudi 11  
January 9  
PUTRADA EKADASHI  
Those who worship and fast devoutly on this day get those things that they most desire. Women often fast in order to be favoured with sons.

Pausa sudi 14  
January 12  
VIVEKANANDA JAYANTI  
Remembrance day for Vivekananda, the disciple of Ramakrishna, the late nineteenth century saint.

Pausa sudi 15  
January 13  
POONAM AMBAJI YATRA  
The sacrifice for and worship of Durga. Pilgrimages are often made at this time to Ambaji in North Gujarat.

Pausa vadi 1  
January 14  
MAKAR SANKRANTI  
On this day the sun enters Capricorn on its northward path (Uttarayana), bringing the promise of finer weather in the northern hemisphere. There is a story told, from the Mahabharata, about the war coming to an end as the sun enters this northward path. As this happens Bhishma, a victim of the war, lies injured on the battlefield.

Pausa vadi 4  
January 17  
SANKASHT CHOTH

Pausa vadi 8  
January 21  
ASHTAMI

Pausa vadi 9  
January 22  
LAL BAHADUR SHASTRI NIRVAN DIN  
Celebration of the death of the ex-prime minister who died in 1966.

Pausa vadi 11  
January 24  
SHATTILA EKADASHI  
'Six-sesamum eleventh', when sesame should be used in six different ways.

Pausa vadi 14  
January 27  
AMAS
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>January 28</td>
<td>CHANDRA DARSHAN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 31</td>
<td>VINAYAK CHOTH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 1</td>
<td>VASANT PANCHMI, Literally 'spring fifth', a celebration for spring in India, in which the god of love is worshipped.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 3</td>
<td>RATHA SAPTAMI, 'Chariot seventh'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 4</td>
<td>DURGASHTAMI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 7</td>
<td>JAYA EKADASHI, 'Triumphant eleventh', when Indra banished a singer and his wife to roam as demons, but Vishnu accepted their fast and set them free.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 8</td>
<td>BHISHMASHTAMI, Bhishma allowed his father to be happy by promising not to fight for the throne in order that his father could marry the wife of his choice, and her sons could inherit the right to the throne. In exchange for this, Bhishma was allowed to choose the time of his death. After the great battle (Pausa vadi 1), when the sun had moved to its northern path, and when Bhishma had passed on his knowledge concerning leadership and kingship, he asked to die.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 9</td>
<td>VISHWAKARMA JAYANTI, Birthday of the creator of the world. He is particularly remembe'red by other craftsmen, especially carpenters.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 11</td>
<td>POONAM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Event</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magha vadi 1</td>
<td>ROHITDAS JAYANTI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 12</td>
<td>SANKASHT CHOTH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magha vadi 8</td>
<td>ASHTAMI SHRI NATH PATHOTSAVA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 19</td>
<td>VIJAYA EKADASHI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magha vadi 11</td>
<td>MAHASHIVARATRI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 22</td>
<td>AMAS SOMAVATI AMAS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magha vadi 14</td>
<td>CHANDRA DARSHAN RAMAKRISHNA PARAMHANSA JAYANTI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 25</td>
<td>VINAYAK CHOTH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phalguna sudi 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
AMALKI EKADASHI
March 9
This day is set aside for women to remember Parasuram, the fifth avatara of Vishnu, by worshipping the amla plant. Originally King Chaitraratha worshipped Parasuram under an amalki tree, and received merit.

MALINATH MOKSHA
March 10
Anniversary of the nineteenth Jain tirthankara.

POONAM HOLI (Hutashani)
March 13
At the mandir this is celebrated with a bonfire, and the occasional but restrained throwing of abilgulal. Large numbers of people attend for some part of the evening, often as many as five hundred. Holi is a good opportunity for friends and relatives to meet, especially as Leeds is the only temple in the West Yorkshire area to have the land necessary for such a large fire. Foods (rice, dates, coconut, grain) are offered to the fire, and participants circumambulate it in a clockwise direction. All the women, in their circumambulations, carry water vessels with coconuts placed in the neck, from which they pour the milk of the coconut as they proceed. Some carry young children or babies around the fire in the hope of attaining health and good fortune for them for the future (Jackson, 1976). Coconuts, which are roasted in the fire, are retrieved and shared out as prasada amongst those present.

Several stories relate to Holi, the most popular being the story of Prahlada: a King, Hiranyakashipu, plotted with his sister, Holika, to do away with his young son, Prahlada, because of his devotion to God and his perpetual meditations. Holika arranged to take
Prahlada into the fire with her in supposed sport, hoping that he would be burnt while she would be saved through her immunity to the dangers of fire. However, in the event, Holika was burnt and Prahlada survived, victorious, by meditating in the flames. The message of this is understood to be 'the victory of goodness over evil'.

Holi is often felt to have special associations with Lord Krishna, and another popular story relates to his victory, as a baby, over the wicked Putana, who attempted to poison him with her milk.

In general, Holi is a more restricted festival in this country than in India and East Africa because of the weather, the size of the group, the size of their temples, and the British working week. On a rare occasion when abilgulal was thrown (1979), the festival rose to its traditional heights as a rite of social rebellion.

Phalguna vadi 1
March 14
DHULETI
In India and East Africa the period of the Holi holiday is between three and five days. The day after Holi is said to be for 'calming down'. In Britain the working week does not allow Hindus to celebrate the other days of the Holi-Dhuleti period.

Phalguna vadi 4
March 17
SANKASHT CHOTH

Phalguna vadi 8
March 21
ASHTAMI

Phalguna vadi 11
March 24
PAP MOCHINI EKADASHI
A girl attracted King Medhari from his meditations, and he put a curse on her. She is freed by keeping a fast.

Phalguna vadi 13
March 26
SHIVARATRI
Phalguna vadi 14  
March 27  
AMAS

Phalguna vadi 15  
March 28  
GOODI PADAVO  
'The pleasant first', which some people see as the first day of the year.

Chaitra sudi 1  
March 29  
CHANDRA DARSHAN NAVARATRI  
The first of two periods of nine nights for the worship of the goddess Durga (Ambamata, Mataji). This is the least important of the two, and no communal dancing is done at this time by the Gujarati community in this country.

Chaitra sudi 4 March 31  
VINAYAK CHOTH  
(Chaitra sudi 3 was deleted because of the relationship of the sun and moon at noon.)

Chaitra sudi 8 April 4  
DURGASHTAMI AKHAND RAMAYANA PATH  
As a part of Navaratri in Chaitra the Ramayana is read over a period of twenty four hours at the Leeds temple. In other cities in the U.K. the work is read each day for the full nine days. This celebration is not as popular amongst Leeds Hindus as some of the other annual festivals, although the more dedicated ones come to the temple at this time, and take their turn to recite from the text. Rama is a popular deity amongst Punjabis, and many take this occasion as an opportunity to come to the temple to meet relatives and friends.

Chaitra sudi 9 April 5  
RAMNAVMI  
The ninth in Chaitra sudi marks the birthday of Rama. In Leeds the twenty four hour recitation of the story of the life of this deity, his kingship, his family and wife, his banishment and his victories, ends at midday when an Arti is performed at a specially prepared deri for Rama and his wife, Sita.
Chaitra sudi 10
April 6
SAHAJANANDA JAYANTI
The anniversary of Swami Narayan, a nineteenth century Hindu saint, popular amongst Gujaratis.

Chaitra sudi 11
April 7
(An added tithi or day is introduced into the calendar because of the progress of the sun at this time.)

Chaitra sudi 11
April 8
KAMADA EKADASHI
'Wish-granting eleventh', celebrating the time when Lalita Gandharva changed into a demon for failing to sing properly. He was saved from this fate when his wife fasted for him.

Chaitra sudi 13
April 10
MAHAVIR JAYANTI
The birthday of Prince Vardhmana, the twenty fourth tirthankara and founder of the Jain religion, who, on his enlightenment, became known as Mahavir or 'great hero'.

Chaitra sudi 15
April 12
POONAM HANUMAN JAYANTI
Day of celebration for the god Hanuman, the monkey king of the Ramayana, who was renowned for his strength, devotion and wisdom. Hanuman is popular with both Gujaratis and Punjabis, and a small deri is thus built in the mandir in his honour, and a Hanuman chalisa is sung.

Chaitra vadi 1
April 13
GOOD FRIDAY

Chaitra vadi 3
April 15
EASTER DAY SANKASHT CHOTH

Chaitra vadi 8
April 20
ASHTAMI

Chaitra vadi 10
April 22
VALLBHACHARYA JAYANTI
Anniversary of Vallbhacharya, a medieval saint, founder of a Vaishnavite sect popular in the West of India.
Chaitra vadi 11
April 23

VARUTHINI EKADASHI

'Equipped-with-merit eleventh'.
Whoever fasts on this day will gain merit equal to that gained by one thousand cows.

Chaitra vadi 13
April 24

SHIVARATRI
(The twelfth was deleted due to the sun's position.)

Chaitra vadi 15
April 26

AMAS

Vaisakha sudi 1
April 27

CHANDRA DARSHAN SIKH NEW YEAR

Vaisakha sudi 3
April 29

AKSHAYA TRUTIYA (AKHA TRIJ)
On this day, Parasuram (Rama with the axe) is remembered.

Vaisakha sudi 4
April 30

GANESH CHOTH
Ganesh is remembered on this day for losing his head at the hand of his father, Shiva, and for having it replaced with the head of an elephant. This is a popular domestic ritual with North Indians as Ganesh, or Ganupati as he is better known, is said to bring good luck. He is worshipped in the homes of many Leeds Hindus at this time.

Vaisakha sudi 5
May 1

SANKARACHARYA JAYANTI
The anniversary of the ninth century teacher-philosopher, Sankara, who began four 'maths' or missions in India, and who contributed to the Vedanta school of Indian philosophy.

Vaisakha sudi 6
May 2

RAMANUJACHARYA JAYANTI
The anniversary of the eleventh century philosopher, Ramanuja, who is known for his commentaries on Vedanta texts, and for helping to make respectable bhakti marga and Vaishnavism.

Vaisakha sudi B
May 4

DURGASHTAMI
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vaisakha sudi 9 May 5</td>
<td>SITA DIN (SITA NAVAMI)</td>
<td>Anniversary for the wife of Rama.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaisakha sudi 11 May 7</td>
<td>MOHINI EKADASHI</td>
<td>'Temptation eleventh'. Dhrishtabuddhi squandered his money, and was turned out of court. Fasting stopped him from falling into temptation, and, as a result of this, he was reinstated.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaisakha sudi 14 May 10</td>
<td>NARSINHA CHOVDAS</td>
<td>On this special fourteenth Narsinha, the man-lion avatara, is worshipped. He is well-known for saving Prahiada from his father.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaisakha sudi 15 May 11</td>
<td>POONAM</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaisakha vadi 1 May 12</td>
<td>BUDDHA JAYANTI</td>
<td>Day of remembrance for the Buddha, the founder of the Buddhist religion in the north of India in the sixth century B.C..</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaisakha vadi 4 May 15</td>
<td>SANKASHT CHOTH</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaisakha vadi 8 May 19</td>
<td>ASHTAMI</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaisakha vadi 11 May 22</td>
<td>APARA EKADASHI</td>
<td>'Unequalled eleventh'. The merit gained by fasting on this day is equal to that gained from purificatory bathing and giving alms.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaisakha vadi 13 May 24</td>
<td>SHIVARATRI</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaisakha vadi 14 May 25</td>
<td>AMAS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jyaistha sudi 2 May 27</td>
<td>KUMARIKA RAVIVAR</td>
<td>On this and the following Sundays (Ravivar), unmarried girls refrain from eating salt, and worship Ambamata in the hope of having a good future and getting a good husband. In India, if there is thunder on this</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
day it is said there will be a scarcity of rain in the monsoon.

Jyaistha sudi 4
May 29
VINAYAK CHOTH

Jyaistha sudi 8
June 2
DURGASHTAMI

Jyaistha sudi 8
June 3
KUMARIKA RAVIVAR
(Added day)

Jyaistha sudi 10
June 5
GANGA DASHERA
On this tenth day, Ganga, the goddess of the Ganges, of which Shiva took the force when it fell from the heavens, is worshipped. Ideally, people should go to bathe in the river Ganges at this time.

Jyaistha sudi 11
June 6
NIRJALA EKADASHI
'Waterless eleventh'. Bhimasena was a great eater who could not keep Ekadashi fasts. Vyasa told him if he could go without everything, even water, on this one day, it was equal to fasting for all the twenty four Ekadashis together.

Jyaistha sudi 15
June 10
POONAM KUMARIKA RAVIVAR
SAVITRI VRAT
Savitri Vrat is a lesson and fast normally done by married women for three days to celebrate the dedication of Savitri in following the soul of her deceased husband to the netherworld. Through her dedication, she was able to trick Yamadeva into bringing her husband, Satyavan, back to life.

Jyaistha vadi 4
June 13
SANKASHT CHOTH
(the third day was deleted)

Jyaistha vadi 8
June 17
ASHTAMI KUMARIKA RAVIVAR

Jyaistha vadi 11
June 20
YOGININ EKADASHI
'Austere eleventh'. Kubera, Lord of Wealth, cursed his gardener when he
neglected to bring him flowers, and turned him into a leper. Eventually the gardener learnt a fast from a sage to free himself from the curse.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jyaistha vadi 13, June 22</td>
<td>SHIVARATRI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jyaistha vadi 15, June 24</td>
<td>AMAS KUMARIKA RAVIVAR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asadha sudi 1, June 26</td>
<td>CHANDRA DARSHAN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asadha sudi 4, June 28</td>
<td>(An added day)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asadha sudi 8, July 3</td>
<td>DURGASHTAMI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asadha sudi 9, July 4</td>
<td>UJALI NOM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asadha sudi 10, July 5</td>
<td>MOLAKAT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asadha sudi 11, July 6</td>
<td>DEVASHAYANI EKADASHI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asadha sudi 12, July 7</td>
<td>JAYA PARVATI VRAT</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This is the last day on which weddings can take place as Vishnu, the protector of newly-weds, goes to sleep in two days time for a period of four months.

Young girls make resolutions and fasts for a good husband. They sow seeds, sing songs, pray and worship Gauri. Molakat lasts for seven days.

'Sleeping eleventh'. Vishnu goes beneath the ocean to sleep for four months. No weddings must take place at this time. People must fast, meditate and give presents to Brahmans. Originally, Maghata fasted in order to bring about rain in the monsoon, and thus avoid famine.

Young wives and unmarried girls fast and meditate on Parvati's dedication to Shiva.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Festival</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Asadha sudi 14, July 9</td>
<td>POONAM GURU POONAM</td>
<td>People fast for the health and success of their own gurus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asadha vadi 2, July 11</td>
<td>JAYA PARVATI VRAT</td>
<td>Last day of Molakat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asadha vadi 3, July 12</td>
<td>SANKASHT CHOTH</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asadha vadi 5, July 14</td>
<td>LOHANA NAG PANCHAM</td>
<td>Hindus fast to placate snakes at this time. In India wall paintings are done to ward off danger from the snake god.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asadha vadi 7, July 16</td>
<td>NEMINATH JAYANTI</td>
<td>Anniversary of the twenty second Jain tirthankara.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asadha vadi 8, July 17</td>
<td>ASHTAMI</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asadha vadi 11, July 20</td>
<td>KAMIKA EKADASHI</td>
<td>'Wish-granting eleventh'. People fast at this time in order that their wishes be granted.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asadha vadi 13, July 22</td>
<td>SHIVARATRI</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asadha vadi 14, July 23</td>
<td>SOMAVATI AMAS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asadha vadi 15, July 24</td>
<td>AMAS DIVASO</td>
<td>Married women make vows to gain children, and to get long lives for their husbands.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sravana sudi 1, July 25</td>
<td>CHANDRA DARSHAN SHIVA PUJA</td>
<td>Sravana is the month in the year set aside for vrats or vows. Some people fast for the entire month.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sravana sudi 4, July 28</td>
<td>VINAYAK CHOTH</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Sravana sudi 5, July 29 | NAG PANCHAM      | In order to propitiate snakes, a snake
is drawn on a pot or on a wall. No cooked food is eaten (as it is thought to attract snakes).

Sravana sudi 6
July 30
VIR PASLI
Brothers invite their sisters to dine. Sisters send their brothers an areca nut tied in a piece of string which symbolises the destruction of their worries.

RANDHAN CHATH
Food is cooked on this day as cooking is avoided on Sravana sudi 5 and 7. The cooking area is cleaned thoroughly to keep away germs.

Sravana sudi 7
July 31
SHITALA SATAN
The goddess of smallpox and measles, Shitala, protects children if she is kept well pleased. It is said that if the goddess comes and rolls in the cool ashes of the fire, these can then be used to treat sores. Very little cooking is done in Sravana to avoid breeding the germ that causes measles.

Sravana sudi 8
August 1
ASHTAMI TILAK JAVANTI
The birthday of G. K. Tilak, nationalist leader from the early twentieth century.

Sravana sudi 9
August 2
NOLI NOM
A fast undertaken by childless wives.

Sravana sudi 11
August 4
PUTRADA EKADASHI
A fast undertaken by people wanting sons.

Sravana sudi 12
August 5
VIR PASLI

Sravana sudi 15
August 8
SRAVANI RAKSHA BANDHAN
On this day honour was paid to Bali, the Hindu King, when Lakshmi tied a thread to his wrist to protect him. Sisters, therefore, tie cords around their brothers' wrists on this day. This is still performed in Leeds. Brahmans also tie threads around the wrists
of their patrons.

Sravana vadi 2
August 10
GUNGI GOUR SANKASHT CHOTH
Gauri is prayed to for a good husband.

Sravana vadi 3
August 11
SOR CHOTH
A vrat is performed on this day for the protection of cows.

Sravana vadi 4
(A deleted day)

Sravana vadi 7
August 14
SHITALA SATAM KRISHNA JAYANTI
The Lord Krishna was born at midnight between the seventh and the eighth.

Sravana vadi 8
August 15
JANAMASHTAMI
This eighth is the day on which Krishna is worshipped with offerings of ginger, coconut and butter. A special Annakut of cooked foods is prepared at this time. In Leeds Hindus attend the temple in large numbers having fasted throughout the day. A deri is set up composed of a swinging cot in which the baby Krishna (Balaji) lies. Participants in turn approach the deri, swing it back and forth, and offer flowers and petals. Before they leave they are given a prasada of ginger, a special favorite with young babies.

Sravana vadi 9
August 16
GOUGA NAVAMI
The day on which Googa Pir, a tenth century warrior, is remembered. He was a Hindu who, after his death, became a popular Hindu and Muslim saint.

Sravana vadi 11
August 18
AJA EKADASHI
'Illusion eleventh'. King Harish chandra, who turned to evil, was advised by Gautama to fast to overcome his ill-fate. Following the fast the Kind regained his wife, son and status.

Sravana vadi 13
August 20
SHIVARATRI
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Festival</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sravana vadi 15</td>
<td>SARVAPITRI AMAS</td>
<td>A day when special prayers are said for dead ancestors.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 22</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhadrapada sudi 1</td>
<td>CHANDRA DARSHAN</td>
<td>This is considered to be a dangerous month when there are no marriages, engagements, periods of new work and so on.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 23</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhadrapada sudi 2</td>
<td>SAMVADI SRAVANI</td>
<td>A day when Brahmans are allowed to change their sacred threads. Women pray to Shiva for their husbands at this time.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 24</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhadrapada sudi 4</td>
<td>GANESH CHOTH</td>
<td>Ganesh is worshipped for several days at this time, and a special cake is prepared in his honour. It is said bad luck follows if you look at the moon on this day.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 26</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhadrapada sudi 5</td>
<td>RSHI PANCHAM</td>
<td>'Seer's fifth'. Those who are strictly religious eat no grain or vegetables on this day.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 27</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhadrapada sudi 8</td>
<td>(An added day)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 30</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhadrapada sudi 8</td>
<td>DHRO ATHAM (ASHTAMI)</td>
<td>A vrat performed by married women for the long life of their sons.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 31</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhadrapada sudi 10</td>
<td>RAMDA PIR JAYANTI</td>
<td>Anniversary of the popular Muslim saint.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhadrapada sudi 11</td>
<td>PARIVARTINI EKADASHI</td>
<td>'Turning eleventh'. Vishnu turns over in his sleep.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 3</td>
<td></td>
<td>VAMAN JAYANTI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Anniversary of the dwarf avatara.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhadrapada sudi 14</td>
<td>ANANT CHOU DASH</td>
<td>'Bliss fourteenth'. Fasts are done to obtain sons. Hanuman is worshipped in the daily Puja.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Ancestor worship begins and goes on for one lunar phase until Asvina Chandra Darshan. Everyday people take care to keep themselves and their houses pure and clean. Rice balls are offered, and after the rites each day a feast is held.

**SHRADDHA**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bhadrapada vadi 1 September 6</td>
<td>SANKASHT CHOTH</td>
<td>A special day for the worship of Kali.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhadrapada vadi 8 September 13</td>
<td>KALI ASHTAMI</td>
<td>The Sage Narada told King Indrasena that it was his dead father's wish to proceed from Vamaloka to Svarga, Indra's heaven. Indrasena helped his father achieve this by fasting and bathing on this day.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhadrapada vadi 11 September 16</td>
<td>(An added day)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhadrapada vadi 12 September 17</td>
<td>RETIYA BARAS</td>
<td>Memorial Shraddha for dead ancestors who were family members.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhadrapada vadi 13 September 19</td>
<td>SHIVARATRI</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhadrapada vadi 14 September 20</td>
<td>SHURPURA SHRADDHA</td>
<td>Shraddha for all those who died violent deaths.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhadrapada vadi 15 September 21</td>
<td>SARVAPITRI AMAS</td>
<td>Ancestor worship ends on this day.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asvine sudi 1 September 22</td>
<td>(T)</td>
<td>NAVARATRI This is the first day of the second of two nine-day periods for goddess worship, the first occurring in Chaitra. Mahalakshmi, Mahakali, and Mahasaraswati are worshipped with a partial fast and folk dancing. Navaratri is particularly popular amongst Gujarati Hindus in Leeds,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bhadrapada vadi 1 Bhadrapada vadi 4 September 6 September 9</td>
<td>September 6 Bhadrapada vadi 4 September 9</td>
<td>SANKASHT CHOTH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhadrapada vadi 8 Bhadrapada vadi 8 September 13 September 13</td>
<td>KALI ASHTAMI</td>
<td>The Sage Narada told King Indrasena that it was his dead father's wish to proceed from Vamaloka to Svarga, Indra's heaven. Indrasena helped his father achieve this by fasting and bathing on this day.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhadrapada vadi 11 Bhadrapada vadi 11 September 16 September 16</td>
<td>(An added day)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhadrapada vadi 12 Bhadrapada vadi 12 September 17 September 17</td>
<td>RETIYA BARAS</td>
<td>Memorial Shraddha for dead ancestors who were family members.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhadrapada vadi 13 Bhadrapada vadi 13 September 19 September 19</td>
<td>SHIVARATRI</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhadrapada vadi 14 Bhadrapada vadi 14 September 20 September 20</td>
<td>SHURPURA SHRADDHA</td>
<td>Shraddha for all those who died violent deaths.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhadrapada vadi 15 Bhadrapada vadi 15 September 21 September 21</td>
<td>SARVAPITRI AMAS</td>
<td>Ancestor worship ends on this day.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asvine sudi 1 Asvine sudi 1 September 22 September 22</td>
<td>(T)</td>
<td>NAVARATRI This is the first day of the second of two nine-day periods for goddess worship, the first occurring in Chaitra. Mahalakshmi, Mahakali, and Mahasaraswati are worshipped with a partial fast and folk dancing. Navaratri is particularly popular amongst Gujarati Hindus in Leeds,</td>
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and celebrations for the nine nights are held in Leeds 6 and Leeds 7 (each venue attracting members of different caste groups). A portable deri is set up showing pictures of the goddesses, and the participants dance around this to songs sung by the older women. Women alone dance the garaba, and the men join in for the ras in which dhandiya or sticks are used. Young women, in particular, make a point of attending every night, and all choose a different sari for each occasion. Each evening is concluded with an Arti service. Each night the total attendance of both venues together is in excess of five to six hundred people.

Asvina sudi 2
September 23

CHANDRA DARSHAN

Asvina sudi 4
September 25

VINAYAK CHOTH

Asvina sudi 8
September 29

DURGASHTAMI

Asvina sudi 9
September 30

NAIVED NAVAMI

A homa fire is lit in temples on this day, and naivedya is offered (rice, milk, sugar and vegetables) and then shared as prasada.

Asvina sudi 10
October 1

VIJAYA DASHERA

On the tenth day, the victory of Rama and his armies over Ravana is celebrated, and, in India, the popular Ramlila is performed when young boys dress up as characters from the Ramayana, and act out the story from beginning to end. In Leeds, the tenth day, like the previous nine, is an occasion for dancing, although on some Dasheras young people from the Gujarati community dress up as Rama, Sita, Laksham and the other characters from the story of the Ramayana, and dance with the crowd. The Leeds 7 group joins the other group in Leeds 6 on this night as a Pandit must be present to perform the Puja to Rama.
Asvina sudi 11
October 2
PASHANKUSHAN EKADASHI

'Noose and goad eleventh'. Yama collects the dead with a noose and goad, but those who fast on this day will go straight to Indra's heaven and avoid this fate.

GANDHI JAYANTI (irregular)
The birthday of Gandhiji is celebrated by all Hindus.

Asvina sudi 14
October 5
SHARAD POONAM

This is considered to be the beginning of winter. Lakshmi comes to the homes of worshippers on this occasion.

Asvina vadi 4
October 9
KADAVA CHOTH

'Pitcher fourth', a fast kept by Punjabi women. A pitcher is filled with food, and given by wives to husbands after they have fasted and worshipped.

Asvina vadi 8
October 13
ASHTAMI

Asvina vadi 11
October 16
RAMA EKADASHI

'Joyful eleventh' when Sobhana fasted at his wife's request.

Asvina vadi 13
October 18
DHANTERAS (LAKSHMI PUJA)

'Day of wealth-worship' when people wash coins and anoint them with kankum in honour of Lakshmi. They whitewash their homes, and consider the day auspicious. In Leeds, Lakshmi Puja is performed at the temple but few people attend. Many others perform the rite at the domestic mandir, and make personal vows and requests of the goddess.

Asvina vadi 14
October 19
SHIVARATRI KALI CHOUVDAS

'Black fourteenth', the day of beauty. The day is auspicious, followed by a dark night when ghosts walk the streets, and people draw magic circles and pray to Hanuman to ward off danger.

Asvina vadi 15
October 20
MAHAVIR NIRVANA DIN DIVALI

Remembrance day for the enlightenment
Asvina vadi 15 of Mahavir, founder of the Jain religion.

All the lights are lit on this night, and candles are placed everywhere so that Lakshmi will visit the house. It is generally thought to be the time when Rama returned after his banishment, and all the city was lit up in his honour. In India, fireworks are set off, people dress up and visit relatives. Money is given to children, and families eat together. In Leeds, Divali is celebrated at the temple by the Punjabi Hindu community who invite all Hindus to join them for a meal and a Puja. 1979 saw the first of these communal celebrations in Leeds. Bazaars and raffles are also held at this time in the true spirit of the Indian Divali, which is a five day occasion. In Leeds, Divali is still very much a family celebration, although its value as a temple practice is increasing.
Hinduism according to its own tradition and belief, is not a religion belonging to any particular people or country but is what remains of an ancient system of knowledge – SANATANA DHARMA – which in a previous age was the inheritance of all mankind. It therefore sees itself as the holder of a tradition common to all men, encompassing all that revelation and man's effort have produced in terms of knowledge.

Hinduism is the religion of the Hindus who originate from India and also of those who believe in its doctrines. The Hindus call their religion SANATANA DHARMA. Sanatana means Eternal. The word Dharma is difficult to interpret as it has no equivalent in English. Dharma means that which prevents one from going down, ruining oneself in any manner whatsoever and which makes for one's welfare, progress and uplift all round. The word 'Religion' does not mean 'Dharma', Dharma is the sum total of all the means necessary for permanently keeping all the people happy and healthy in all respects i.e. physically, mentally, intellectually, socially, politically, economically, spiritually etc. Dharma means the ethical and religious ideals, social and religious duty. Sanatana Dharma pervades and permeates every activity in every branch and department of life not merely from birth to death but commencing to rule long before birth and for long after death.

According to the rules of Sanskrit grammar, the word Sanatana Dharma has the following four meanings:-

1. The religion founded by the Eternal One, namely God.
2. Sanatana Dharma is not merely the religion established by the Eternal One but is itself eternal.
3. Sanatana Dharma has not only been established by the Eternal One and is not only eternal, but it also makes eternal all who believe in it and act according to it.
4. Whosoever follows the path laid down by Sanatana Dharma becomes Sanatana, that is, one with God.

Hinduism is a way of life and a highly organised social and religious system. It is founded on the universal truths which lie behind the mysteries of the Universe.

Hinduism believes in Incarnations of God and that whenever virtue declines and vice prevails, God incarnates Himself,
epoch after epoch, to save the virtuous and to destroy the wicked, and to establish the kingdom of righteousness. Hinduism believes in the doctrine of the reincarnation of the soul. Souls are emanations of the Divine Spirit, sparks from the Central Fire, drops from the ocean of Divinity and that each soul is incarnated in a body a number of times without number: that the same soul may be in one life a god, in another a man, in a third an animal or even a plant and that the series of births goes on in a never ending cycle till the soul evolves to the highest stage when it merges into the Divine Source - God. The word 'God' used by the Hindus does not mean the same as the word in English. As in other religions, God is regarded as an Omniscient, Omni-present, Omnipotent Spirit in Hinduism. God is called Para-Brahma who is formless, and attributeless. Manifestations of God are many as gods and goddesses as the conception of God in Hinduism is based on differences of function; not that there are many gods and goddesses but in the performance of different acts, in the fulfilment of different functions. All functions ultimately come under three heads - Creation, Protection and Dissolution. This is represented by the Hindu Trinity of Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva, each having His inextricable half in Saraswati, Lakshmi and Parvati.

Hinduism believes in the doctrine of Karma (the inevitable law of action and reaction). The idea is that a man's body, character, capacities and temperament, his birth, wealth and station in life and the whole of his experience in life, whether of happiness or sorrow in life together form just recompense for his deeds, good and bad, done in earlier existences. Every act necessarily works itself out in retribution in another birth. The expiation works itself out not only in man's passive experience but in his action also. Then these new actions form new karmas, which must necessarily be expiated in another existence so that as fast as the clock of retribution runs down, it winds up again. The soul is also affected by its own acts. Every good action ennables it in some degree and helps to loosen the grip of the sense world, while every bad action degrades it and gives the world a greater hold; so that the man who persists in right action makes a steady progress towards perfection, while continued vice plunders the soul in corruption forever deeper. No man reaches complete soul-health until he has spent many lives in strenuous well-doing. Hinduism thus believes that men are not born equal, but that they are born into that station of life for which their past actions have fitted them. The conditions under which an individual soul is reborn is itself the result of good or bad actions performed in former lives. What one sows, one reaps.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>GLOSSARY</strong></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>ACCHARYA</strong></td>
<td>acarya आचार्य</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ADHVARYU</strong></td>
<td>adhvaryu अध्वर्यु</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>AGAMA</strong></td>
<td>agama आगम</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>AGNIHOTRA</strong></td>
<td>agnihotra अग्नि-होत्र</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>AHAVANIYA</strong></td>
<td>āhavaniya आहावनि‌य</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>AMANTA</strong></td>
<td>amanta अमान्त</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>AMAS</strong></td>
<td>amas अमास</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ANNAKUT</strong></td>
<td>annakut अनन्कुट</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ARGHYA</strong></td>
<td>arghya अर्घ्य</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ARTI</strong></td>
<td>ārati आरति</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arya Samaj</td>
<td>Arya samaj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Indian Hindu reform movement founded in the late nineteenth century by Dayananda Saraswati.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Asadha</th>
<th>आषाढ़काळ</th>
<th>Asadha</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The ninth month of the Hindu year.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Asana</th>
<th>आसन</th>
<th>Asana</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The postures of hatha yoga.</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ashram</th>
<th>आश्रम</th>
<th>Ashram</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A religious community in the Divine Light Mission movement.</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ashrama</th>
<th>आश्रम</th>
<th>Ashrama</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The four stages of life.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Asvina</th>
<th>अस्विन</th>
<th>Asvina</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The last month of the Hindu year.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Atman</th>
<th>आत्मन</th>
<th>Atman</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'The essence or principle of life'. 'The individuated notion of reality' (Stutley and Stutley, 1977).</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Avasana</th>
<th>आवसन</th>
<th>Avasana</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Invitation or invokation of deities.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Avatara</th>
<th>अवतार</th>
<th>Avatara</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Incarnation of Vishnu.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bhadrapada</th>
<th>भाद्रपद</th>
<th>Bhadrapada</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The eleventh month of the Hindu year.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bhajan</th>
<th>भजन</th>
<th>Bhajan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Religious song.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bhajana</th>
<th>भजन</th>
<th>Bhajana</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Verbal adoration or worship of the deity. One of the six elements observed in Hindu temple ritual.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bhakti</th>
<th>भक्ति</th>
<th>Bhakti</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Religious devotion or worship.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BHUVI/BHUVO</td>
<td>bhuvी/bhuvo</td>
<td>मुखो मुखो मुखो मुखो</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Devotee priest’ (Pocock, 1973). One who falls into a trance and becomes a medium for a mata.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BIJA</th>
<th>bija</th>
<th>बीज</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘Seed mantra’, one-word mantras which are tantric rather than Vedic in origin.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BRAHMACHARI</th>
<th>brahmacāri</th>
<th>ब्रह्मचारी</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The first ashrama: the stage of life of the celibate student.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>BRAHMAN</th>
<th>brāhmaṇ</th>
<th>ब्राह्मण</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The highest varna, the priestly class.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAITRA</th>
<th>caitra</th>
<th>चैत्र</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The sixth month of the Hindu year.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHANDRA DARSHAN</th>
<th>candra darśana</th>
<th>चन्द्रदर्शन</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First day of the month. The day after Amas when the first sight of the new moon is glimpsed.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHELA</th>
<th>cela</th>
<th>चेला</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Disciple of a guru.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHUDAKARANA</th>
<th>cudakarana</th>
<th>चुदकरण</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rite of tonsure, when a baby’s head is shaved.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DAKSINA</th>
<th>dakṣiṇā</th>
<th>दक्षिणा</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘The southern fire’ of Srauta ritual in which oblations were made to the ancestors.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>DARSHANA</th>
<th>darśana</th>
<th>दर्शन</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>View or glimpse of the murti.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>DASHERA</th>
<th>daśera</th>
<th>दशरा</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘Tenth night’, following Navaratri in Asvina month. The day on which the victory of Rama over the demon Ravana is celebrated. The Ramlila, the drama of the life of Lord Rama, is often performed at this time.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DERI</th>
<th>derī</th>
<th>देरी</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Small shrine.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
DEVA/DEVI 

deva/devī देव देवी 
God or goddess.

DHARMA 

dhārma धर्म 
Social and religious duty. The Hindus name for their 'religion'.

DHUPA 

dhūpa धुप 
Stick of incense used in Hindu ritual practice.

DHYANA 

dhyāna ध्यान 
Contemplation: seventh limb prescribed in Patanjali's Yoga Sutras.

DIKSHA 

dīkṣā दीक्षा 
Rite of initiation in which the guru confers special status and knowledge on a disciple. Anavi diksha is one of three forms of initiation. In this rite the student is given a secret mantra by the teacher and told to meditate upon it.

DIVALI 

divali दिवाली दिवाली 
Festival 'of lights' in which Hindus see out one year and see in the next. Characterised, in particular, by family gatherings, fireworks and a Puja to the goddess Lakshmi.

DIVI 

dīvi दीवी 
A small candle or lamp.

DVIZA 

dvija द्विज 
'Twice born'. Those people born into the first three of the four varnas. Male members pass through a ceremony of initiation or upanayana.

EKADASHI 

ekādasi आकादशि अगियारस (Guj.) 
The eleventh day of each lunar phase on which a fast is performed to Hari.

GADI 

gādi गादि गादि 
A dais, throne or divine vehicle.

GARABA 

garaba गरबा गरबा 
A Gujarati folk dance.
**GARBHAGRAHA**

garbhagṛha गर्भगृह
The inner sanctum in a Hindu temple.

**GARHAPATYA**

garhapatya गर्हपत्य
The domestic fire of Srauta ritual. This fire had to be constantly tended, and was the source of the other fires. Offerings for the Ahavaniya and Daksina fires were cooked on it.

**GAYATRI**

gayatri गायत्री
Name of a type of metre in which many verses were composed, the most famous being the 'Gayatri mantra' itself to Savitar, the sun.

**GHANTA**

ghanta घटा
A bell.

**GHEE**

ghi घी
Clarified butter.

**GRHASTHA**

grhastha गृहस्थ
The second ashrama or stage of life: the householder stage.

**GRIHA**

grha गृह
'Domestic' rites performed by the householder.

**GUJARATI**

gujarati गुजराती गुजराती
The language spoken by those from Gujarat state in the west of India. The name given to people from that state.

**GURU**

guru गुरु
Religious teacher or guide.

**HAVAN**

havan हवन हवन
Fire worship: a traditional Vedic rite, repopularised by Dayananda Saraswati and performed nowadays in a number of places of worship by Punjabi Hindus and Arya Samajis.

**HOLI**

holi होली होली
Festival in Chaitra month in which Prahlad's triumph over the demoness Holika is celebrated with a large bonfire.
| **HOMA** | homa होम | The act of offering to the gods by throwing ghee into a sacrificial fire. |
| **ISHVARA** | isvara इश्वर | 'Lord'. |
| **ISTA DEVA** | ista deva इष्टदेव | Chosen deity, family deity. |
| **JANMASHTAMI** | janamāštami जन्माष्टमी | Festival in Sravana which celebrates the birthday of Krishna. |
| **JAPA** | japa जप | Repetition of mantra, prayer or names of God. |
| **JATI** | jāti जाति | A caste group. |
| **JAYANTI** | jayanti जयंति | A 'flag', a day of remembrance, a sign of victory. |
| **JIVA** | jīva जीव | An individual soul. |
| **JIVANMUKTI** | jīvanmukti जीवनमुक्ति | Liberation or deliverance in this life. |
| **JNANA** | jñāna ज्ञान | 'Knowing', knowledge. |
| **JYAI$THA$** | jyai$ṣṭha ज्यै$ष्ठ | The eighth month of the Hindu year. |
| **JYOTISHI** | jyotiṣi ज्योतिषी | Astrologer. |
| **KANBI** | kanbi कनबी | Gujarati husbandman from Kaira. Part of the leva kanbi group. |
| **KANKUM** | ka$kum काकुम | Red powder used in ritual practice. |
### Karma

Karma कर्म 'Work', 'the practice of religious duties'. Actions and their results in this and the next life.

### Kartika

Kartika कार्तिक The first month of the Hindu year. Kartak (Guj.)

### Katha

Katha कथा A religious lesson in which a moral story is told and offerings are made.

### Kathiavadi

Kathiavadi काठियावाड़ी A term referring to a person who derives from Kathiavard or Saurashtra in the west of Gujarat.

### Khatri

Khatri खात्री Punjabi merchant caste, from the warrior varna.

### Kirtan

Kirtan कीर्तन A religious song.

### Kshatriya

Kshatriya क्षत्रिय The second varna: the warrior class.

### Kund

Kund कुंद Grate or altar.

### Kutumb

Kutumb कुटुङ्ग The family unit.

### Lila

Lila लीला Play or drama.

### Lingam

Lingam लिङ्ग Representation of Shiva: stone or marble phallus used for his worship.

### Lohana

Lohana लोहाना Gujarati trading caste from Saurashtra.

### Magha

Magha माघ The fourth month of the Hindu year.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| MAHASHIVARATRI | mahāśiva-rātri  माहाशिवरात्री  
The night in the dark phase of Magha on which Shiva is worshipped. |
<p>| MANDAL     | mandal, मण्डल,  Association or society.                                |
| MANDAP     | mandap, मण्डप,  Marriage canopy.                                       |
| MANDIR     | mandir, मण्डिर,  Hindu temple.                                         |
| MANTRA     | mantra, मन्त्र,  A formula which possesses magical or divine power.     |
| MARGASIRSA | margasirsa, मार्गशिर्स, magshar (Guj.)  मार्गशीर्ष  The second month of the Hindu year. |
| MATA       | mātā, माता,  'Mother goddess', female deity.                           |
| MAYA       | māyā, माया,  'Illusion', 'supernatural show of skill'.                 |
| MOCHI      | moci, मोची,  Gujarati shoemakers caste.                               |
| MOKSHA     | moksha, मोक्ष,  Release, deliverance, attainment of complete freedom. |
| MUKTI      | mukti, मुक्ति,  Salvation, deliverance.                                |
| MURLI      | murlī, मुर्ली  'Drama': a concept used in the Raja Yoga movement.      |
| MURTI      | mūrti, मूर्ति,  Image, representation, incarnation, focus of divine power. |
| NAIVEDYA   | naivedya, नैवेद्य,  Food which is offered to the deity in Puja.        |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maha Shivaratri</td>
<td>The night in the dark phase of Magha on which Shiva is worshipped.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandal</td>
<td>Association or society.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandap</td>
<td>Marriage canopy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandir</td>
<td>Hindu temple.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mantra</td>
<td>A formula which possesses magical or divine power.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Margasirsa</td>
<td>The second month of the Hindu year.</td>
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<td>Mata</td>
<td>'Mother goddess', female deity.</td>
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<td>Maya</td>
<td>'Illusion', 'supernatural show of skill'.</td>
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<td>Mochi</td>
<td>Gujarati shoemakers caste.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Moksha</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mukti</td>
<td>Salvation, deliverance.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Murli</td>
<td>'Drama': a concept used in the Raja Yoga movement.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Murti</td>
<td>Image, representation, incarnation, focus of divine power.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naivedya</td>
<td>Food which is offered to the deity in Puja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pandit</td>
<td>Gujarati landowner: name given to local government officials by the British,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patidar</td>
<td>Large number of whom had patidari status.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patha</td>
<td>Brahman temple specialist.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panchayajna</td>
<td>The five sacrifices or oblations of griha ritual.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panchang</td>
<td>Almanac or calendar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nirguna</td>
<td>Beyond or without qualities or attributes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niyama</td>
<td>'observances': the second limb prescribed in Patanjali's Yoga Sutras.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panchayatra</td>
<td>'Nine nights' festival in honour of the various manifestations of Shakti, particularly Durga (Ambamata), Saraswati and Lakshmi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patidar</td>
<td>Gujarati landowning caste from Charotar.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
MAHASHIVARATRI  

The night in the dark phase of Magha on which Shiva is worshipped.

MANDAL  

Association or society.

MANDAP  

Marriage canopy.

MANDIR  

Hindu temple.

MANTRA  

A formula which possesses magical or divine power.

MARGASIRSHA  

The second month of the Hindu year.

MATA  

'Mother goddess', female deity.

MAYA  

'Illusion', 'supernatural show of skill'.

MOCHI  

Gujarati shoemakers caste.

MOKSHA  

Release, deliverance, attainment of complete freedom.

MUKTI  

Salvation, deliverance.

MURLI  

'Drama'; a concept used in the Raja Yoga movement.

MURTI  

Image, representation, incarnation, focus of divine power.

NAIVEDYA  

Food which is offered to the deity in Puja.
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PUJA</td>
<td>Worship, homage.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PUNJABI</td>
<td>The language spoken in the state of the Punjab, and the name given to those who come from that state.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PUNYA</td>
<td>Merit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PUROHIT</td>
<td>Domestic priest.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PURNIMA</td>
<td>Full moon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PURNIMANTA</td>
<td>System for devising months: 'full moon-to-full moon' system.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RAJA YOGA</td>
<td>The highest connection, the 'royal' union.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RAKSHA BANDHAN</td>
<td>Festival day on which sisters tie cords around the wrists of their male relatives in order to ward off danger and to bring good luck.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RAMNAVMI</td>
<td>The ninth day of Chaitra when Lord Rama is remembered.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RAS</td>
<td>Gujarati folk dance with sticks.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RTA</td>
<td>Order, law, rule.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SABHA</td>
<td>Society.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SADHU</td>
<td>A holy man, one who is good.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samadhi</td>
<td>Meditative trance: eighth limb prescribed by Patanjali in his Yoga Sutras.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samidh</td>
<td>Kindling sticks.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samkhya</td>
<td>One of the six orthodox schools of philosophy attributed to Kapila.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sampradaya</td>
<td>School, tradition.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samsara</td>
<td>The cycle of life, death and rebirth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samskar</td>
<td>'Impressions': a term used by Raja Yoga.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samskara</td>
<td>Life cycle rites.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samuha Bhojan</td>
<td>Communal meal which follows Havan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanatana</td>
<td>'Eternal'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sankranti</td>
<td>The moment when the sun moves from one sign of the zodiac to the next.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sannyas</td>
<td>State of holiness, abandonment of worldly desires and attachments.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sannyasi</td>
<td>One who has renounced worldly attachments, an ascetic.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satsang</td>
<td>Social intercourse, meeting to discuss experience, religious texts and so on.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seva</td>
<td>'Service': in service to God or the guru.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
SHAKTI

śakti  
Divine power or energy, personified as female.

SHUDDHI

śuddhi  
Purification. One of the six elements observed in Hindu ritual practice.

SMRTI

smṛti  
Sacred lore, 'remembered' and handed down orally.

SRAUTA

śrāuta  
The Srauta Sutras were a collection of instructions on sacrifice. Srauta ritual refers to early Hindu rituals laid down in the Brahmanas and Srauta Sutras.

SRAVANA

śrāvana  
The tenth month of the Hindu year.

SRUTI

śruti  
'Revealed knowledge'. Sacred knowledge of the Vedas 'heard' by rishis.

SUDI

sudi  
The bright half of the month.

SUDRA

śūdra  
The fourth varna: the labouring class.

SURTI

surti  
A term referring to those persons from the region around Surat in the south of Gujarat State.

SUTHAR

suthār, सुधार, सुधा́रे  
Gujarati carpenter's caste.

SVANA

svāhā  
Ritualistic exclamation to accompany offerings which was also thought to have magical power.

SWAMI

svāmī  
Spiritual master.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TANTRA</td>
<td>Texts of the tantric cults which were about gaining power through the worship of Shakti.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TARPANA</td>
<td>'Gratification', worshipping the deity with offerings.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THALI</td>
<td>Stainless steel or copper plate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TILAKA</td>
<td>Mark on the forehead to signify purity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRIMURTI</td>
<td>A representation of the three major deities of Hinduism: Brahma the creator, Vishnu the preserver and Shiva the destroyer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TYAGA</td>
<td>'Ignoring' or 'renouncing': a phrase in which the participants renounce the fruits of their actions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UPACHARA</td>
<td>Offering, attendance, service. One of the six elements of ritual observed in temple worship.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UPANAYANA</td>
<td>The 'sacred thread' ceremony in which a boy is initiated and becomes 'twice born'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UPVAS</td>
<td>Fasting, or abstaining from food.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VADI</td>
<td>The dark half of the month.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VAISAKHA</td>
<td>The seventh month of the Hindu year.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VAISHNAVA</td>
<td>The cult of Vishnu, or a follower of Vishnu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VAISHYA</td>
<td>The third varna: the merchant class.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VAISVADeva</td>
<td>Household ceremony in which food was offered to the gods.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VANAPRASTha</td>
<td>The third ashrama: the forest dweller.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VANDANA</td>
<td>Obeisance and pleasing words combined in a single act. One of the traditional upacharas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Varna</td>
<td>Social group: the four broad 'classes' of Indian society.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Varnashrama</td>
<td>The system of duty which applies to each Hindu according to their social position and stage of life.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VEDA</td>
<td>'Knowledge'. The earliest Hindu texts. The four Vedas or samhitas were revealed to Rishis.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VEDANTA</td>
<td>'The end of the Veda'. Reinterpretation of the Veda in the light of Upanishadic revelation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VEDI</td>
<td>Altar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIVAHA</td>
<td>Marriage ceremony.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VRAT</td>
<td>A vow or promise.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VYAHRTI</td>
<td>'Utterance'. Names of the seven worlds.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YAJNA</td>
<td>Sacrifice, oblation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YAGUS</td>
<td>Formula from the Yajur Veda.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
YAMA

yama  धम
dharm

'Abstention': first limb prescribed in Patanjali’s Yoga Sutras.

YATRA

yātra  यात्रा
yātṛ
circuit, journey or pilgrimage.

YOGA

yoga  योग
yog

Union, to yoke the mind and body in order to achieve perfect unity.

YUGA

yuga  युग
yug

Era: four yugas were mentioned in Puranic literature.
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