CHAPTER XI

RITUALISM AND SPIRITUALISM

Introduction:

In the Brahmaṇa-texts, we find that every minor detail is considered to be important. In the ritual everything or every action has got its own magic significance and therefore it is essential that one has to take care for the correct performance of every detail. As we have seen while studying the Pravyāscitti, a mistake in the performance not only hinders the expected good result but itself creates some positively bad effect. So upon the correct performance of every detail does the woe or weal of the sacrificer depend. It will appear, at the first sight that the Brahmaṇa-texts are too rigid in their ritualism and they want every detail to be fulfilled in the prescribed manner alone and this rigidity of the ritualism is inevitable for the obtaining of the desired result. Now, we shall see how far this first impression is correct and whether the Brahmaṇa-texts give importance to the "letter" or to the "spirit" of the rules they have prescribed.

In the cases of difficulties -

The Brahmaṇa-texts are not unaware of the fact that even though the sacrificer takes care as far as possible

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1 Winternitz, Gil, I, p. 171 f.
there is likelihood of some cases of difficulties. The Brahmaṇa-texts show some way to overcome these difficulties. Thus, if the soma is carried off by somebody, efforts are to be made for searching and reobtainment of it. But if it is not found, then an expiation is to be made by means of substituting the soma. Of the two kinds of phālguna-plants viz. the red flowering (lohitapuspāṇi) and the brown-flowering (arunapuspāṇi), the brown-flowering Phālguna plants are to be used; for they, the brown-flowering Phālgunas are akin to the soma-plants. If that plant is not available, the Śyenahṛtā plant may be used. When Gayatri was bringing soma, a spring of soma fell from her and it became the Śyenahṛta plant. Therefore, it can be a substitute of the soma. If the Śyenahṛtā is not obtained, Adāra-plant is to be used; for when the head of the sacrifice was cut off, then the Adāra plants sprung from the sap which spirited from it. Therefore, Adāra-plant can be used. If the Adāra-plant is not available the Dūrvas can be used for pressing. If they are also absent yellow kusa (grass) can be used (SB IV. 5.10.1 ff; cp. with some differences TB I 4.7.5 f; JB I. 354; TMB IX 5.2. ff)² If anybody among those who are consecrated for the sacrificial session dies, then the dead body is to

² For, if soma is carried away see Caland, Henry, L'Agnistoma, section 23.
be kept on the southern side of the fire-altar and the sarparājñī-verse are to be recited. The others fan upon that dead body and cover it. They take three rounds around the Marjāliya. In the Bahispavamāna-stotra, they recite the verse "Agna ayumṣi pavase" (TS I.4.29), recite the Rathantara-Saman and thus they place "life" in themselves and remove the evil from themselves (TB I.4.6.5 ff). It is a rule that the priests who officiate at the time of Prāyaniya should also officiate at the time of Udayaniya (KB VII.5). But, if anyone of them dies in the meanwhile, others may officiate in stead (ŚB III.2.3.22). If the fire, when being kindled is not born, then another is to be brought. If, it is not obtained, then in a she-goat (i.e. in her ear) offerings are to be made. For the she-goat belongs to Agni and offerings are thus made into Agni itself. In the absence of a she-goat offering is to be made on the right hand of a Brähmana. For a Brähmana is Agnivaisvānara. In the absence of a Brähmana, offering is to be made on the Darbhagrass. In the absence of darbhas, in the water (TB III.7.3.2; cp. SadB IV 1.12 where a he-goat, instead of a she-goat is mentioned). In the Āsvamedha sacrifice when horse is let loose, then, for the sake of protection of the horse, four hundred persons are provided; but still, if the horse is carried away by the enemies, another horse is to be sprinkled upon and used for the sacrifice (TB III 8.9.4). Thus, the apparently
rigid ritual shows elasticity in the cases of difficulties\(^3\) and prescribes substitutes. The substitute is identical with the thing\(^4\) for which it stands and it helps to get the desired result. Thus, the provision of substitute shows how the ritualism gives importance to the "spirit" and not to the "letter" of the rules in the ritual.

Possibility, availableness etc. considered:

The Brāhmaṇa-texts take into consideration possibility of availableness. The ritual demands the particular thing which is appropriate for the particular performance. The Brāhmaṇa-texts emphasize upon the appropriateness (ṣaṃṛddhi) of the things used and the ritual in general. But still they never forget that it is not always possible to possess exactly the same thing which is required and then they suggest some substitutes etc.

The rule that one who has been consecrated for the sacrifice should speak truth only must have appeared rather very difficult to follow. Thus some ask, "what man can speak all truth? The Gods are of truth-compact, the men of untruth-compact." Then, taking into consideration this human weakness

\(^3\) cf. v. Negelein, JAOS, 34, p. 261
\(^4\) Gonda, Religionen Indiens, I. p. 177
to speak truth alone, following concession is given. The consecrated sacrificer should speak every word accompanied by the word "vicaksṇa". Then his speech becomes essentially true (AS I.6). The offering of omentum in the animal-sacrifice connected with the soma-sacrifice is to be offered in five layers. First a basis of ghee is made, then a piece of gold is put, then the omentum, then again piece of gold and then a layer of ghee - in this manner is the omentum to be offered. But if gold is not available then first two layers of ghee are to be made. For ghee is ambrosia and gold is also ambrosia and thus the desires in the ghee and the desires in the gold are obtained (AS II.14). Thus here ghee becomes the substitute of gold and the Brahmana-texts have taken into consideration the availableness of gold. Elsewhere also ghee can represent gold. Thus, for example, in the fire-building ceremony with the caturhotṛ formulas, bricks of gold are to be used. But if gold is not obtained, sands anointed with ghee are to be used (TB III.12.5.12).

A barren cow (vasā) also may sometimes be needed but may not be available. At the end of the Agnistoma a barren cow is to be offered to Mitra and Varuṇa. But if such a cow is not available, then a bullock can be used (SB IV 5.1.9) Elsewhere, it is said that a spotted barren cow is very difficult to be obtained and if such a one is not available any barren cow can be offered (SB V 1.3.3).
A white horse is to be given as dakṣiṇā for the oblation to Sūrya in the Šunāsirīya offering. The white horse represents the sun. But if such a horse is not available, then a white bull is to be given (SB II.6.3.9). In the fire building ceremony a white horse is to be led in the front while the Šāhavanīya is being laid. But in the absence of a white horse, a horse which is not white may be used and in the absence of any horse whatever even an ox may be used (SB VII.3.2.16).

Appropriate (samarśdha) victims are said to be difficult to obtain in connection with the seventeen victims for Prājāpati in the Vājapeya. They should be, as a rule, hornless white-and-black-coloured (śyāma) and uncastrated males. As all the victims with all these perfections are difficult to obtain, even some with these perfections will do (SB V.1, 3.7-10.10- durveda evāṁ samarddhāḥ nasavaḥ). Similarly the difficulty of obtaining the appropriate (samarśdha) victims is recognised in the Sautrāmaṇi victims. Thus, there is a reddish-white he-goat for Aśvins, an ewe with teats in the dewlap for Sarasvatī and a bull for Indra Sutrāman. In the absence of such appropriate victims only goats can be used; but in that case the goat for Aśvins should be red one (SB V.5.4.1).
The appropriate mantras to be used, also can be substituted in their absence. Thus, for example for the offering of a barren cow for the Victorious (ujjēsa) Maruts in the Vājaṛēya, the invitatory and offering verses should be containing the word "victorious (ujjēsa)". But if such verses are not available, then any verses to Maruts may be used (SB V.1.3.3).

Thus, we see how the Brāhmaṇa-texts suggest the substitutes and thus show how they give importance to the "spirit" and not the "letter" of the rules.

**Spirit, not letter -**

Let us see some examples where we find the emphasis on the spirit and not on the letter. After telling the various timings suitable for the establishment of fires in accordance with the castes and the desires of the sacrificer, it is told that one may establish fires at any time when one feels called upon to the sacrifice. Then, it is added that one should not put it off from one day to the morrow, For who knows the morrow of man? (SB II, 1.3.9; TB I 1.2.8).

Yājñavalkya says that the priests constitute the place of the sacrifice and when there are wise and learned priests, no failure can take place there (SB III. 1.1.15). Elsewhere in connection with the same problem, it is said
that one may sacrifice at any place and if one possesses faith and sacrifices at any place, one prospers (SaB II 10.25- yasminneva kasmimśca śradadhāno yajata rddhnotyeva).

The words "spirit" and "letter" would at the first sight appear rather foreign to the Brähmaṇa-texts. But the Brähmaṇa-texts have their own expressions signifying the "spirit" and the "letter". Thus, the sacrifice is said to have two wheels viz. speech (vāc) and mind (manas) (AB V.33; JUB III.4.2.1; SaB I. 5.4.; GB I.3.2) and these two words would correspond to "letter" and "spirit" respectively.

Sometimes, it is said, "By means of vāc (speech) the sacrifice is spread "(vācā yajñās tāyate" KB VII.9; X.5; XVI.1) or "They verily spread all the sacrifice by means of Vāc (speech) (vācā vai sarvam yajñām tāyate" TMB XIII.13.3) Thus here importance is given to vāc that is the "letter" part of ritual. But elsewhere importance is given to manas (mind) i.e. the "spirit" part of it. Thus AS III.11 says "By means of manas (mind) the sacrifice is spread, by means of mind, performed (manasā vai yajñās tāyate manasā kriyate). Thus in the Brähmaṇa-texts themselves both the ritualism and spiritualism find their places and slowly and slowly the "spiritualism" is being recognised even in the "ritualism".
Efforts for making the performance easy -

The Brāhmaṇa-texts reflect how efforts are made to make performance easy. After the performance of Viśvajit, the sacrificer has to behave in a restricted manner. For a year, he should wander laying on the ground accepting the uncultivated fruits only; not asking for food, clothed with what is given. Here Kauśitaki gave his opinion "Having done this for twelve nights he may devote himself to another desire. For the year has twelve months and this period (of twelve nights) is an image of a year" (KB XXV.15; cf. JB II.181 and TMB XVI.6.1 ff; both these texts prescribe the restricted life of the sacrificer only for twelve days and are thus in agreement with Kauśitaki). Thus in order to make the performance easy the long period of the restricted life has been shortened here. The dakṣinā for the Viśvajit sacrifice is "all (viśva)" that one possesses; but there is also an opinion mentioned according to which one may give thousand (cows) as dakṣiṇās; for a thousand means "all" (JB I. 191). Here also the tendency to make performance easy is seen.

Rigidity with concessions -

The cow by means of which soma is to be purchased, must be with some special characteristics. It should be a brown one with red-brown eyes. In the absence of a brown cow with red brown eyes, a dark-red cow can be used; in the
absence of a dark-red cow a ruddy cow may be used. But in any case the cow being ruddy and having reddish white eyes should not be used (SB III 3.1.15). Thus, though some concession is given, a definite rule is also mentioned. Similar is the case of the spade (abhri) to be used at the time of fire building ceremony. It should be spotted. For such a one is of Agni's nature. But if such a one cannot be obtained, then even an unspotted one can be used, but it must be hollow (susirā), nevertheless (SB VI.3.1.32). Thus, here also we find some rigidity with concessions.

One's discretion is allowed:

A kind of non-rigidity can be seen when instead of prescribing some definite rule, one is advised to use one's own discretion. The adhvaryu gives the directions to the āgnidhra priest in the following manner—"Put the sprinkling water down to the altar; put fuel and barhis beside it wipe the ladles; gird the sacrificer's wife, come hither with the clarified butter." But then it is added that the adhvaryu may or may not pronounce these directions. Thus, it is the adhvaryu who has to choose what is to be done. The reason why there is no harm if these directions are not uttered is that the āgnidhra himself knows what work is to be done at that particular time (SB I.2.5.21). Various options are given about an what distance Āhavanīya is to be laid down from
Gārhapatya. One option is of eight steps. For, of eight syllables consists the Gāyatri. Another option is of eleven steps; for there are eleven syllables in the metre Tristubh and the sacrificer ascends to the heaven by means of Tristubh. The next option is of twelve steps. Jagāti metre has twelve syllables and thereby the sacrificer goes to the heaven by means of Jagāti. But then, it is added that there is no fixed measure as regards this and therefore one may lay down the āhavaniya where one think it proper (SB I.7.3.23 ff). At the end of the establishing of the fires, the sacrificer goes round to the east side of the fire and taking hold of the top part of the burning sticks he mutters "dyauriva ɪ̂ lī̂ mɪ̂ ." (VS III.5). But then it is added that one may mutter this prayer or not according to one's own discretion (SB II 1.4.28).

The Brahmana-texts attach great importance to the discretion. Thus for example, after telling the various directions to which one may go for the expiatory bath (Avabhrtha) it is said that one may go to any direction where there is abundant water. Then a remark is added in which importance of one's discretion is glorified. "When anybody who knows this (is better) than that, "performs a rite, he becomes better by this rite" (SaDIII.1.31- yad vai vidvān karma karotyasmādīdam iti vasyāneva tena bhavati).
Symbolic performance:

In order to understand how there is elasticity in the generally rigid ritual we may also take into consideration how sometimes the actual performance is not done; but only symbolical performance is done. In the Dārsapūrṇamāsa there is no actual use of sāman-singing; but by the sacred syllable om the sacrifice symbolically becomes endowed with sāman (SB I.4.1.1). There arises a doubt as regards how clod-bricks come to be put on as baked, as heated ones (which they are not). The answer is that the clods are vital sap and the vital sap is naturally heated. Again, whatever comes into contact with Agni Vaiśvānarā, even thereby comes to be put on as baked and as heated (SB VII.3.1.26). There are the Lokāmpṛṇās in the case of other layers. But for the fifth layer there are no Lokāmpṛṇās. The question, then, is "Which is then the Lokāmpṛṇā?" The answer is that this sun is the Lokāmpṛṇā (SB VIII.5.4.8). Thus symbolically the Lokāmpṛṇā brick is present in the fifth layer also. The symbolical manner of performing the Dārsapūrṇamāsa is that ghee is offered in the mind; for the mind is the full moon. Similarly, one makes an offering to Speech. Speech is the new moon. Thus full-moon (Pūrṇamaṣa) and new moon (Dārsa) sacrifices are symbolically offered (SB XI 2.4.8). He who enters on a Brahmačārin's life, enters on a long sacrificial session. The log he puts on the fire in entering into the Brahmačārin's life is the opening (offering) and that which (he puts on the fire) when he is about to
bathe is the concluding (offering) and what logs there are between these are just his (logs) of the sacrificial session (SB XI.3.3.2). Thus the Brahmacārī symbolically performs even the sacrificial session. Symbolically even the usual breathing is also identical with the performance of the Agnihotra and therefore as one breaths one offers the Agnihotra (JB I.20). Mere recitation of various sāmans is said to be bringing the results of the performance of the various sacrifices. One should recite the three sāmans based on agnā āyahi vītaye for nine times each and then one obtains the Agnyādheya. In the same manner reciting the sāman based on Indrāya pavate madaḥ one obtains the pavamanahavīmsi. The Darśapūrṇamāsas are obtained by means of the sāmasing based on suvarmahāh suvarmayāh. The Cāturmāsya-sacrifices are obtained by means of tam indrām vājyāmasi. By means of asya prāśa one obtains the Paśuka-sacrifices. By means of trātāram indrām yajāmahe one obtains the Paśubandha. Sub-sisting on milk and using sāmans based Brhad indrāya gāvata one obtains both the Saurāmaṇīs (the Saurāmaṇī normal and the Saurāmaṇī named kokila)(SVB I.3.2.ff). Thus by means of mere recitation of the sāmans various sacrifices are symbolically performed.

Mistakes said to be fruitful -

For the obtainment of desired result, the correct
mode of performance is to be adopted. As we have seen else-
where the mistakes not only creat hindrance in the desired
result, but also creat positive harm. Now, though, the mis-
takes are therefore to be avoided, the Brāhmaṇa-texts are
aware of the general experience that to err is human. They
have, therefore, prescribed expiations (prāyaścittis) for
atoning the mistakes. But sometimes they go still further
and maintain that even the mistakes can give good result.
Thus ŚB IV.5.7.9 quotes the opinion of Āruṇi - "Why should
he sacrifice who would think himself the worse for the
inappropriatness (mistake etc.) in the sacrifice? I, for
one, am better for the inappropriatness of the sacrifice."
The mistakes in the performance are described as the doors
to the Brahman. He who offers with slightly burnt sacrifici-

cial food, enters through the fire-door of the Brahman and then
he is united with the Brahman. He who offers with the sacri-
ficial food fallen on the ground enters through the wind-door
of the Brahman and unites with it. He who offers with the
uncooked sacrificificial food enters through the water-door of the
Brahman and unites with it. He who offers with slightly
browned sacrificificial food enters through the moon-door of the
Brahman and unites with it. He who offers with browned sacri-
ficial food enters through the lightning door of the Brahman
and unites with it. He who offers with well-cooked sacrificicial
food, enters through the sun-door of the Brahman and unites
with it (ŚB X 4.4.1 ff). Except the last case, here, all the other cases are of the "mistakes" - nature. But still they are described here as giving good result. Generally, there should not be anything incomplete or too much or anything wavering in the sacrifice. But even if such things happen they are told to be giving good result. Thus, whatever part of the sacrifice is incomplete, that part is productive. Whatever is too much, that is favourable to cattle. Again whatever is uncertain or wavering (sankasuka) in it that makes for prosperity. Whatever is correct or perfect in the sacrifice that is conductive to the heaven (ŚB XI.4.4.8; see 9 ff also) KB XI.8 says somewhat differently but with the same intention that there are three desires (kāmas) in the sacrifice - that in its completion, that in its deficiency and that in its redundancy. The complete part gives heaven, the incomplete gives food, and the redundant gives generation. Thus even mistakes are said to be producing good result and this shows how the Brāhmaṇa-texts see the "spirit" and not the "letter" in the ritual.

**Principle of Śraddhā** -

The sacrifice is not a magical machine which produces result by itself if performed properly. There is the principle of Śraddhā involved. The importance of Śraddhā is stated expressly by Keśī Dālbhya in the following words, "The imperishableness of what has been offered once is Śraddhā (faith).
He who sacrifices with faith, his sacrifice perishes not (śraddhaiva sakrdistasyāksitih sa yah śraddahāno yajate tasyeyṣṭam na ksīyate)" (KB VII.4). The śraddhā is thus the faith in the efficience of the ritual acts. Thus Lévi has rightly remarked "La confiance est nécessaire à ce point que sans elle le sacrifice est sterile au moins pour le sacrifiant"6 The importance of śraddhā is told differently in the Brāhmaṇa-texts. Thus, a question is asked about the way of performance of the Agnihotra in the absence of the wife. The answer is that the wife is the faith (Śraddhā) and the sacrificer is the truth (satya). Faith and truth are the highest pair. By faith and truth as a pair the sacrificer conquers the world of heaven (AB VII.10).

Here the importance of faith and truth is told and it is implied that they are at the foundation of the sacrifice. Some questions and answers took place between Janaka and Yaññavalkya. Janaka asked, "If there is no milk how the

5 cf. Lévi La doctrine du sacrifice, p. 108 ff; Hubert, Mauss, "Sacrifice", L'Année Sociologique, Vol 2, 1897-1898, p. 61; Silburn, Instant et cause, p. 59; 90; Gonda Religionen Indiens I, p. 43.

6 Lévi, La doctrine du sacrifice, p. 113.
Agnihotra is to be performed?" Yājñavalkya told, "With rice and barley." Janaka asked about the performance even when rice and barley were not available. Then Yājñavalkya told that the other herbs were to be used in that case. The questions and answers went on further and from them we know that in the absence of other herbs, forest herbs are to be used; in their absence fruits of trees are to be used; and in their absence water is to be used. Janaka still goes further and asks the way of performance in the absence of even water. The answer of Yājñavalkya, then, is "Then there is nothing whatsoever here and yet truth is to be offered in faith" (ŚB XI 3.1.1 ff; cp. JB I.19). Similarly AB V.27 says that if all the milk for the Agnihotra be poured out then he should call another cow and milk her and offer with it, but there must be an offering, even if only in faith. ŚB XII.1.2.1 and GB I.4.7 we are told that the Gods have created the dīkṣā from the faith (Śraddhā). GB I.4.8 we are told further that one who performs the dīkṣā offering becomes associated with śraddhā. Elsewhere also the dīkṣā is connected with śraddhā. "The truth is the form of the fast observance (vrata) and faith is that of dīkṣā (ŚB XII.8.2.4) Śraddhā along with satya, śrama, tapas, yajña and āhutis can give the same result of the sacrificial session which the old performers obtained having performed it with the three great rites (on the caturvimsa-day, on viśuva-t-day and the mahāvrata-day itself)
(ŚB XII.1.3.23). Vātsapri Bhālandana is told to have practised penance for the sake of obtaining śraddhā. He, after practising penance saw the Vātsapra sāman and then obtained śraddhā. (TMB XII.11.25). JB I.41 describes how at different stages of the Agnihotra the Gandharvāpsarasas, the Grahas and Pitāras, the vital airs, the Gods, the birds, the seers and the serpents warn the sacrificer "Let not your faith depart from you (śraddhā te mā vigāt)’’ (JB I.41). In his preaching, Ahīnasa Āśvatthāi told his sons, "Do not depart from the sacrifice" (JB II 419). He further explained what he meant by these words, "Let not the faith (śraddhā) go away from you... The faith, verily, is the queen of the Gods, (śraddhā sme vo mā vyāid esa ha vai devanāṁ rājñi yac chraddhā. JB II 426). Thus one must have faith. Those who do not have śraddhā they have to lose. Thus AB IV,17 tells us a story - "The cows being desirous of obtaining hoofs and horns, held (once) a sacrificial session. In the tenth month (of their sacrifice) they obtained hoofs and horns. They said, "We have obtained fulfillment of that wish for which we underwent the consecration into the sacrificial rites. Let us rise" When they arose they had horns. Those who, however, thought to finish the year and on account of lack of śraddhā they became hornless (tūpara) (cp. TMB IV 1.1-2; JB II. 374). Thus āśraddhā leads to some loss; and therefore one should possess śraddhā.
Importance of knowledge -

The attitude of understanding, explaining or knowing the significances of the ritual details is seen everywhere in the Brāhmaṇa-texts. Kauśitaki used to say regarding the tenth day of the Dvādasāhā - "The tenth day is that which is above in the sky; therefore it is not to be explained; for no one knows it clearly. 'Let me not explain ignorantly' (he thinks). The tenth day is a limited divine rite; it is the anuṣṭubh; he who explains it makes a surplus; stumbling is liable to befall him who explains." As to this they say; Let him explain; the sacrifice rejoices at the approach of a wise man, 'what is to become successful in me that will he cause to be successful' (nandati ha vai yañno vidusāgacchatā yan me samṛddham bhavisyati ayam me tat samardhaḥ īsyati KB XXVII.1) Thus here the importance of the explanation given by a wise man is praised and said to be rejoicing to the sacrifice. So the ritual requires proper understanding, knowledge and power of explaining. Accordingly ŚB IX.4.2.27 allows any additional offering (in the course of Agnicayana, after the Santati-homa) provided that it has any explanation, reasoning etc. (Brāhmaṇa) for it. ŚB IX 2.3.27 calls the performers of the sacrifice "well-knowing" ones (suvidvāṃsāḥ) Though the Pravargya-ceremony is not to be performed by one who has not already performed a soma-sacrifice, a concession has been given to a wise and learned sacrificer. He can
perform the Pravargya even in his first soma-sacrifice also. For he is the body of the sacrifice (KB VIII.3; GB II 2.6; cp ŠB XIV 2.2.49 ff). The power of knowledge is so much that for one who knows that the fire altars are, in truth, knowledge-built, all the beings at all times build the altars for him even whilst he is asleep (ŠB X.5.3.12). Sauceya Frācīnayogya speaks to Uddālaka Āruṇī, "if thou hast offered the Agnihotra knowing this (e.g. why the spoon is shaken after the offering etc.) then it has indeed been offered by thee; but if (thou hast offered it) not knowing this, then it has not been offered by thee." (ŠB XI.5.3.4).

The importance of knowledge was recognised so much that there must have been some persons like Bhāradvāha whose interests were devoted to the study of the veda alone. Thus, Bhāradvāja was a student of the veda for the period of three lives. When he was very much old and lying down, Indra came and asked, "If I were to give you the fourth life what would you do?" Bhāradvāja said, "I shall remain student only during that life." Indra showed him the three vedas in the form of three mountains and took a handful of each mountain and said, "Those are the Vedas. The Vedas are endless; and what you have learnt is only these three handfuls and the remaining is not learnt at all by you. Come here, know this. This is the all knowledge," and then Indra taught the
Sāvitra-fire building to Bhāradvāja and Bhāradvāja by knowing that, became immortal and went to the heaven (TB III.10.11. 3-5). The enthusiasm to learn on the part of Bhāradvāja is noteworthy. But all he was learning was the "letter" and it was Indra who gave him the "spirit" in the form of the mystical knowledge of Sāvitra-fire-building. Thus the progress from ritualism to spiritualism is seen here. ŚB X.5.4.16 gives us the importance of Vidyā (knowledge) and tells us that mere ritualism will not lead us to the highest position. "By knowledge they ascend that (state) where desires have vanished; daksinās do not go thither; nor the fervid practisers of rites without knowledge". The upanisadic thoughts in later times have their germs in such thoughts in the Brāhmaṇa-texts and in the efforts "to know" which are found in the Brāhmaṇa-texts in connection of the ritual theory. Thus the ritualism itself is giving place to the spiritualism.

Philosophical thoughts -

The Brāhmaṇa-texts are mainly interested in the ritual and whatever other topics there are in the Brāhmaṇa-texts they also are originated in the circle of ritual. But the Brāhmaṇa-texts are not interested in mere description of the ritual. They are interested in explaining it, justifying it, establishing it. In their thinking of the ritual itself sometimes philosophical thoughts take place.
Thus the Brāhmaṇa-texts indulge themselves on the origin of the universe and we get some idea of their cosmology. Prajāpati desired "May I be more (than one) may I be reproduced." He toiled and practised austerity. He created the Brahman, the triple science (the three Vedas). He created the waters out of Vac (speech). He desired to be reproduced out of those waters. He entered the waters with that triple science. Thence an egg arose ... The embryo inside was created as the foremost and it was Agni. ...

Prajāpati desired to create earth from the water ... He again desired to be more and after practising penance he created clay, mud, saline soil and sand, gravel, rock, ore, gold, plants and trees ... (SB X 1.1.8 ff). Further it is told that Prajāpati again desired to multiply himself. By means of Agni he entered into the union with the earth. Thence an egg arose. The embryo which was inside was created as Vāyu. The tear which has formed itself became those birds. The juice which was adhering to the shell became those sun-motes and that which was the shell became the air. Prajāpati again desired to multiply himself. He entered into union with the air. Thence an egg arose. He touched it. From it the yonder Sun was created; and the tear which formed itself became that variegated pebble (asman); the juice which was adhering to the shell became those sunbeams; that which was the shell became the sky. Prajāpati again thought to multiply
himself. By means of the Sun he entered into union with the sky; thence an egg arose. He touched it; from it the Moon was created; and the tear which formed itself became those stars; the juice which was adhering to the shell became those intermediate; that which was the shell became those chief quarters. Having created these worlds, he desired to create the creatures. By his mind (manas) he entered into union with speech (vāc) and created Vāsus, Rudras, Ādityas and the All gods and placed them in quarters (SB VI 1.2.1 ff).

Elsewhere, it is said that in the beginning there was neither sat (being) nor asat (nonbeing). There was only that mind. Wherefore it has been said by the Rṣi (Ṛgveda X 129.1) 'There was neither the non-being nor the being.' For mind was, as it were, neither being nor non-being. This mind, when created wished to become manifest, more substantial. It sought after a self (body). It practised austerity. It then beheld thirty-six thousand Arka-fires of its own self, composed of mind, built up of mind ... That mind created speech. This speech when created wished to become manifest; it practised austerity ... That speech created the breath. This breath when created, wished to become manifest ... The breath created the eye. This eye when created wished to become manifest ... The eye created the ear. The ear when created wished to become manifest ... The ear created work
and this condensed itself into the vital airs, into this compound, this composition of food... This work when created wished to become manifest ... The work created fire... The fire when created wished to become manifest ... \( \text{SB X 5.3.1 ff.} \). Such speculations occur in connection with the Āgnicāyana.

In the Upanisads the highest principle Brahman appears to have been prominent. But the Brāhmaṇa texts have also tried to give an exposition of the Brahman principle. Thus, it is told that in the beginning there was this Brahman only. It created the Gods and having created them, it made them ascend these worlds; Agni this (terrestrial) world, Vāyu the air, and Sūrya the sky. And the deities who are above these, it made ascend the worlds which are above these... Then the Brahman itself went up to the sphere beyond. Having gone up to the sphere beyond, it considered, 'How can I descend again into these worlds?' It then descended again by means of these two; Form and Name. Whatever has a name, that is name; and that which has no name and which one knows by its form, 'This is (of a certain) form,' that is form; as far as there are Form and Name so far, indeed, extends this (universe). These indeed are the two great forces of the Brahman ... These indeed are the two great manifestations \( \text{SB XI,2.3.1 ff.} \). Thus here the Brahman is said to be at the origin of everything. The Name and Form are said to be its manifestations.
This philosophical part comes in the ŚB in connection with the explanation of the Āghāras (libations of ghee).

In the Brāhmaṇa-texts some thoughts of monism came forward slowly and slowly. Thus even though different persons may describe differently, the reality is one and the same and does not change. "That same (divine person), the adhvaryus serve under the name Agni and Yajus because he holds together (yuj) all this universe. The Chandoges under that of (śāman); because in him all this (universe) is one and the same (samāna); the Bhrāṇcas under that of 'ukthām' because he originates (utthāpayati) everything here; those skilled in sorcery (yātu) under that of 'sorcercy' (yātu) because everything here is held in check (yata) by him; the serpents under that of 'poison'; the snake-charmers under that of 'snake', the gods under that of 'ūrj', men under that of 'wealth', demons under that of 'maiyā', the deceased fathers under that of svadhā; those knowing the divine host under that of 'divine host', the Gandharvas under that of 'form' (rupa), the Apsaras under that of 'fragrance' (gandha) — thus in whatsoever form they serve him that indeed he becomes, and having become that he is helpful to them. (ŚB 1.5.2.20). This comes again, in connection with the Agnicayana. Further it is said that by means of the knowledge of this one gets immortality (ŚB 1.5.2.23). Thus the knowledge is said to be the cause of getting immortality. Thus we find that many philosophical speculations occur in connection with the ritual in the Brāhmaṇas.
Some modern scholars on the origin of Upanisadic philosophy:

Because the Brāhmaṇa-texts are full of ritual descriptions some modern scholars concluded that the Brāhmaṇa-period was the period of ritualism and the upanisadic philosophy was a kind of revolution made by the non-brahmanins – particularly by Kṣatriyas against the ritualism and the superiority of the Brāhmaṇas implied in it. Thus Deussen says "Namentlich scheint die geistige Revolution gegen den Brahmanischen Ceremionalkultus welche zu den Upanishadās führte, ursprünglich in Kṣatriyakreisen entstanden und genannt worden zu sein ...." Similarly, it has been remarked that there is a great difference between the interests and views of the Brāhmaṇa-texts and of the Upaniṣad-texts. Thus, it is said by Masson-Cursel, "La notion d'upanisad, si différente de celle de brahmaṇa, témoigne d'une gestose tout autre que la technique rituelle, patrimoine de la caste sacerdotale. Il s'agit de révélations transmises en secret touchant la vérité métaphysique, non plus la ponctualité dans le culte on l'exégèse védique."


Now, it is important to note that the Brāhmaṇa-texts do not reflect all the cultural movements of the period in which they are produced. Their main theme is ritualism, no doubt. But that does not mean that in that period there was no philosophical thinkers among the Brāhmaṇas. We have everywhere seen that the ritualism of the Brāhmaṇas is accompanied with the spiritualism. There were free thinkers in the Brāhmaṇa-class also who could say that a particular sacrifice (e.g. Ṛṣava)ya) should not be performed at all or say that one can obtain the highest bliss only through knowledge and not through ritual (cf. ŚB X 5.4.16). It is also not theoretically correct to hold that the Brāhmaṇas were imposing their supremacy and they were not co-operating with the Ksatriyas (see the chapter on Ṛtvij). Even though some non-brahmanical personalities like Janaka etc. might have taken part in the Philosophical discussions they were not too far away from the general way of thinking of the Brāhmaṇas and the Brāhmaṇas also have taken part in the philosophical discussions and contributed to the philosophical thoughts in general, the roots of which can be traced back in the period of Ṛgveda or Atharvaveda also. Not every Brāhmaṇa was a priest or an adept in the art of sacrifices and among the Brāhmaṇas also some must have been exponents of new doctrines.
The Brāhmaṇa-texts and the Upaniṣad-texts do not have their interests and views too different as it would appear at first sight (see the quotation of Masson-Quersel). Most of the thoughts in connection with the Agnicayana (tenth kāṇḍa) those in connection with some other rites and in general mentioned in the eleventh kāṇḍa of the Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa are quite of the upaniṣadic nature. The name Jaiminiya-upaniṣad-Brāhmaṇa itself includes both the words Upaniṣad and Brāhmaṇa and shows that there is no essential difference between these two. The Kenopaniṣad is included in (or extracted out of) the Jaiminiya-Upaniṣad-Brāhmaṇas (IV-10.1.ff) The Brhadāraṇyaka-upaniṣad (a name which includes both the words Āraṇyaka and Upaniṣad) is a part of the Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa. Actually the Brāhmaṇas, the Āraṇyakas and the Upaniṣads are so closely connected with each other that it is very difficult to make a differentiating line between each other.

Conclusions -

1. In the Brāhmaṇa-texts we find that the exponents of ritualism take into consideration both the "letter" as well as "spirit".

2. The Brāhmaṇa-texts show how slowly and slowly the "spirit" is becoming more important even in the ritualism.
This is the first sign of the upaniṣadic spiritualism.

3. There are philosophical thoughts which occur in the discussions of the ritual. Thus the later upaniṣadic philosophy is not a revolution against the ritualism but merely a further development of the thoughts already existing.

10 Winternitz, HIL p. 202; for the philosophy of the Upaniṣads as not revolutionary to the Brāhmaṇa-texts see also Oldenberg, Lehre der Upnishaden, p. 166 ff; Oltramare, L'histoire des Idées Théosophiques I, 96 f. etc. Renou, "Les relations du Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa avec la Brāhādāvanyaka-Upaniṣad..." IC, 14, 1947, p. 75 ff p. 89 particular.


12 cf. Keith, HPV. p. 49P. "As the distinction between Brāhmaṇas and Āranyakas is not an absolute one, though the Āranyakas contain more advanced doctrines than the Brāhmaṇas, so also the distinction between ṢUpaniṣad and Āranyakas is also not absolute..." see also p. 496-"the philosophy of the Brāhmaṇas seen in the Upaniṣads is essentially the development of the philosophy of the Brāhmaṇas."