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THE RELIGIOUS SIGNIFICANCE OF MULTIPLE BODILY PARTS TO DENOTE THE DIVINE: FINDINGS FROM THE RIG VEDA*

DORIS SRINIVASAN

"It has been suggested that Indian religious iconography was inspired by that of Ancient Greece; but the material for an iconography is already to be found in the Veda, even to the description of manyarmed divinities".

Louis Renou in Religions of Ancient India.

I. THE SCOPE OF THE STUDY

This paper aims to define and analyze the earliest textual references to a fundamental convention in both Indian scriptures and iconography, namely the use of multiple bodily parts to denote the divine. The iconographic convention of multiple bodily parts begins to appear regularly on devotional icons made during the Kushan period (circa 1st-3rd centuries A.D.). However, descriptions of deities having multiple heads, eyes, limbs precede the plastic appearance by approximately one thousand years. Such descriptions begin in the Rig Veda and continue in the Brāhmanic and Epic literature throughout the first millenium B. C. The present study which considers the Rig Vedic meaning and significance of the convention is intended as the first in a series of studies tracing the meaning of the convention in the religious texts prior to the regular appearance of the convention in Kushan art. These studies, as a unit, should contribute to the over-all understanding of the main subject of research. This deals with the religious significance of multiple bodily parts in Kushan iconography.

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Kushan iconography, especially as evidenced in the Mathura region, demonstrates convincingly that multiple bodily parts initially stem from the Hindu tradition. Moreover, the unhesitating vigor with which the convention first appears in the art of Mathura suggests that, prior to its plastic appearance, it had a lengthy and well defined development as a religious concept. The validity of this assumption can be tested by a philological analysis of the ancient Hindu textual traditions prior to the Christian era; the aim here is to determine whether the texts themselves mention the convention in contexts where the religious symbolism is discernible. The present paper considers the evidence in the Rig Veda from this point of view.

II. THE RELIGIOUS SIGNIFICANCE OF MULTIPLE BODILY PARTS AND FORMS IN THE RIG VEDA

A. Summary of the Findings

The evidence from the Rig Veda shows that 1) the convention is well recognized and is employed in a fundamentally consistent way throughout the text; 2) the use and meaning of the convention in the Rig Veda may be expected to have important implications for our larger study, since pertinent verses to Rudra and Viṣṇu appear, since numerous passages are repeated in later Brāhmaṇic texts, and since several key terms continue and develop in the later religious thought.

These indications are based on the interpretation of approximately 70 verses which associate multiple bodily parts and forms with the divine (see Table I). Though references to multiple bodily parts and forms do not seem to predominate in any one book of the Rig Veda, some conclusions may be drawn from the distribution of the references. About half are in the older Family Books (nos. 2–8); 10 references (to Soma) are

1. For example, perusal of descriptions of Hindu, Buddhist and Jain devotional icons made by Professor V.S. Agrawala (in his Catalogue of the Mathura Museum Parts I-IV in the Journal of the U.P. Historical Society (1948-1951), shows that during this formative period of Indian iconography, when many conventions crossed sectarian lines, the convention of multiple

from Book 9, and 23 are from the generally younger Books 1 and 10. The convention, therefore, stems from the oldest stratum of the Rig Veda and continues to have currency in the later portions.

Though the convention spans the entire Rig Veda, its underlying religious symbolism does not significantly alter. For it is found that a basic concept underlies the references to divine multiplicity of parts and forms. In the Rig Veda, a deity associated with the act of creation, on a cosmic scale, is denoted as having multiple bodily parts or forms. The type of deity so denoted may change, but not the basic symbolism. Whereas in the older sections the creator gods are almost entirely Asuras and are closely associated with the creative power $m\bar{a}y\bar{a}$, in the younger sections the creator gods are conceptual abstractions whose creative activity is spurred on by the power of the Vedic sacrifice, the terms asura- and $m\bar{a}y\bar{a}$ - no longer adhering to them. However, throughout, multiplicity describes the structure of a deity who creates, fashions or projects forms². This is the most general usage of the convention, whence three discrete definitions follow:

bodily parts is strictly associated with a small set of Hindu deities. Among these are Siva and Viṣṇu. The exclusiveness of the convention is perhaps best demonstrated by a Jain image in the Mathura Museum (No. 2502), dated by Professor Agrawala to the late Kushan period (see *Mathura Mus. Catalogue* Pt. III [1950], p. 16). It shows the central bust of Tīrthankara Neminātha. On either side, cast in the role of attendant godlings, are two Hindu gods: to the proper right is the 4-armed figure of Viṣṇu.

2. An exception is the use of multiple bodily parts to describe Rig Vedic demons (see Table I). Of these, Viśvarūpa is most often mentioned with the multiplicity convention. (For passages pertaining to Viśvarūpa, from the Vedic through Purāṇic literature, see W. Kirfel, Die dreiköpfige Gottheit. Bonn, 1948, pp. 30–37). He possesses three heads (triśīrṣán-10.8.8; 10.99.6; see also 10.8.9), six eyes (ṣaḍakṣá-10.99.6) and seven rays (saptáraśmi-10.8.8). Viśvarūpa's demonic nature is related to his confining 'cows' (10.8.8), not to his having multiple bodily parts; similar multiplicity expressions occur with the gods Agni (1.146.1) and Narāśaṃsa (Maitr. Sam. IV. 13.8), see A. Hillebrandt, Vedische Mythologie I (Breslau, 1891), 532. Does Viśvarūpa's multiplicity result from his probable asura-nature? He is the son of the asura Tvaṣṭṛ (see II. C.1). Demons may be both Asuras (see II. C.1 and A. A. Macdonell, Vedic Mythology [Strassburg, 1897], p. 156–158) and wielders of māyā (see B. A. Parab, The Miraculous and Mysterious in Vedic Literature [Bombay, 1952, 64–67). The Avesta also knows of a demon having multiple bodily parts. The demonic serpent Azi Dahāka has three mouths, three heads and six eyes. I am thankful to Professor Mark Dresden for this information.

- 1. Multiple bodily parts and forms are associated with a deity who creates the phenomenal world.
- 2. Multiple bodily parts and forms are associated with a deity who represents the raw material out of which the phenomenal world is created.
- 3. Multiple bodily parts and forms are associated with a deity who creates, projects, emanates forms from its numen into the phenomenal world. It is by these forms that the deity is apprehended in externality.

Why should multiple bodily parts and forms denote a deity associated with the creation process? What is the particular vision that makes this possible?

The Rig Veda seems to present several visions on the nature of the creation process itself. One theory well explored by the studies of Professor W. Norman Brown considers creation as a differentiation process. Creation of the universe in this process is due to the differentiation between unorganized and organized matter³. Another view understands cosmic creation in a seemingly different, unrelated way. Here, birth of the universe is analogous to birth through labor: the forms to fill the physical world are literally emitted out of the creator and into externality. It is this image of the creation which closely relates to divine multiplicity of bodily parts and forms in the Rig Veda.

In this process, the creator creates the universe by emitting all forms which lie dormant in his belly. These manifold forms comprise all dichotomies experienced in human existence. Infinitely various, these forms come into being at the time the fullness of the creator begins to unfold. Being thus pregnant with the forms of the phenomenal world until he initiates parturition, the creator god is with multiple bodily parts and forms much the same way as a mother is with child. A variation is, that the creator god assumes a passive role in the process of emission.

^{3.} See W. Norman Brown, "Theories of Creation in the Rig Veda", JAOS 85 (1965), 24.

Though still containing within himself the manifold raw material, others exert to bring it out of him. In both cases, multiple bodily parts and forms describe the structure of the god involved in the process of creation by emission. Moreover, these cases illustrate, respectively, definitions 1 and 2, above.

Definitions 1 and 2 provide an answer to 'how visible, mortal forms were created in the world'. The third definition answers 'how visible, immortal forms were created in the world'. Here the subject of creation is the forms which divinity projects to make itself known in the phenomenal world. In the world, all objects have the property of being apprehensible through their physical, discernible presence. But this is not the intrinsic nature of the numen. It is a 'Power', a form-less, name-less Influence felt to exist. The belief should have been that such a Power does show itself, by its own will, in the physical world. Again by the process of emission, the numinous projects from itself forms that are the visible locations of its particular divine powers.

As would be expected, the numinous and its projected forms occupy two distinctly different regions. The former resides in an invisible, the latter in a sphere visible to Vedic man. Indeed, these spheres are but two parts of a complete cosmological framework. The view of the universe is that it consists of two antithetical hemispheres (the Sat [i. e. the Existent, the Real] that is, the world, and the Asat [lit. the Nonexistent, the Unreal] that is, the underworld). They are separated by a chasm. The upper part, the Sat, consists of the earth, the atmosphere and the heavens. The heavenly region is further divided into two parts which are separated by a vault $(n\bar{a}ka)$. The heavenly region below the vault is the visible sky (div, vyoman); the vault is the divider between the visible upper world and the invisible world of heaven. This 'highest heaven' $(parama\ vyoman)$ is the dwelling place of the immortals, of the numinous.

^{4.} See W. Norman Brown, "Agni, Sun, Sacrifice, and Vac: A sacerdotal Ode by Dīrghatamas (Rig Veda 1.164)", JAOS 88 (1968), 203-206 for a recent discussion of this cosmological theory.

The numen in the highest heaven possesses a supra-normal power to construct forms. In this way, the invisible numen projects visible forms into the region below the vault. These divine modalities fill the natural and ritual world of Vedic man. Here he sees, feels and therefore knows of their presence.

Into this scheme of conceptualization fit references to Rudra and Viṣṇu. Rudra, in his capacity to create many phenomenal forms of himself (definition 3) is described as being 'multiformed' (pururūpa-). Viṣṇu, though not actually described with the convention, is said to exhibit the manifest 'locations' (dhāman) of his divine power. Since such locations correlate with a god's projected forms, the implication is that Viṣṇu has the ability to project forms into the phenomenal world; it is by these visible forms that his divine power may be known (definition 3).

B. Methodology

References in support of the above findings were collected in the following manner:

- 1. Numerical terms were checked in H. Grassmann, Wörterbuch zum Rig-Veda (Leipzig, 1873; 4th ed., Wiesbaden, 1964) for possible nominal, adjectival or compound usage with the bodily part or form of a deity or demon.
- 2. Collective terms (e.g. puru-, bhūri-, viśva-, viśvatas) were checked in the same way.
- 3. References to the plural of naturally declined dual bodily parts are included; the present study makes use of the references analyzed by S. G. Oliphant in his study of the Vedic dual⁵.
- 4. Included are references using terms which relate conceptually to the creation or existence of multiple bodily parts or forms (in particular, asura-, dhāman-, māyā-).
- 5. Samuel G. Oliphant, "The Vedic Dual: Part I. The Dual of Bodily Parts", Johns Hopkins diss. publ. in JAOS 30 (1910), 155-185.

In this manner, it has been found that the following divinities are described as having multiple bodily parts and forms: Agni, Angirases, Aśvins, Asura Bull, Indra, Indra-Vāyu, Tvaṣṭṛ, Puruṣa, Bṛhaspati, Rudra, Varuṇa, Vāc, Vāstoṣpati, Viśvakarman, Viśvarūpa and other demons, Viṣṇu, Sūrya, Soma. Of these, the references to Tvaṣṭṛ, the Asura Bull and Indra advance most clearly the argument for establishing the three definitions given in II. A.

C. The Argument

It will be shown first that Tvaṣṭṛ exemplifies definition 1, the Asura Bull definition 2, and Indra definition 3. Next, all other verses mentioning divine multiplicity of parts and forms are discussed in relation to these three definitions.

1. Tvastr

Tvaṣṭṛ is one of the older creator gods in the Rig Veda; conceptually he may well stem from the earlier Indo-Iranian period, since Avestan Θ warəҳštar 'builder, creator' is to be compared with his Rig Vedic name⁶. In the Rig Veda, he is the creator conceived also as a builder and fashioner. As such, he represents less a particular natural phenomenon than the energizing power in nature which causes apprehensible forms⁷.

Tvaṣṭṛ is the 'one born at the beginning' (agrajā-) or 'the first-going' (puroyāvan-) in 9.5.9, in the sense that he belongs to the beginning (agriyā-1.13.10)8. From him creation unfolds. Tvaṣṭṛ probably precedes Sky and Earth, parents of the gods (1.185.6), since he 'adorned with forms ... sky and earth, and all living creatures' (10.110.9), that is, he created them. Tvaṣṭṛ puts the element of life (turfpa-) in creatures (1.142.10; 3.4.9) causing them to multiply. In sum, Tvaṣṭṛ who origi-

^{6.} J. Gonda, Die Religionen Indiens I (Stuttgart, 1960), 27. M. Mayrhofer, Kurzgefaßtes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen (Heidelberg, 1953), 539 – hereafter cited as KEWA.

^{7.} Cf. Gonda, Rel. Ind. I, 26ff.

^{8.} W. Norman Brown, "The Creation Myth of the Rig Veda", JAOS 62 (1942), 86.

^{9.} On turipa- see M. Bloomfield, Indogermanische Forschungen XXV (1909), 191.

nates forms (rūpá- cf. 1.188.9) is creator of both animate and inanimate forms appearing in the phenomenal world (on the force of rūpá see L. Renou, Études sur le Vocabulaire du Rgveda [Pondichéry, 1958] p. 12 to 13).

Tvaṣṭṛ's creative ability probably stems from his belonging to a class of Rig Vedic deities called Asuras¹⁰. Who is an Asura?¹¹ The term is understood as being derived from asu- (m. 'live, vital energy' ¹²) plus the suffix -ra-¹³. The basic meaning of asura- is 'a being', in particular 'a High Being', one possessing asu-. The more specific definitions of asura-

- 10. 1.110.3: camasám ásurasya refers to the Soma cup Tvaṣṭṛ made for the gods, with ásura-designating Tvaṣṭṛ (Sāyaṇa; L. Renou, Études Védiques et Pāṇinéennes 15 (1966), 79 hereafter cited as EVP; P. V. Bradke, Dyaus Asura, Ahura Mazdâ und die Asuras (Halle, 1885), pp. 73-74. Cf. Hillebrandt, Vedische Mythologie I, 515. Note also that Tvaṣṭṛ's deeds are mentioned in a hymn (RV 3.55) whose refrain extols the ásura-power of the gods (see fn. 26).
- 11. It is noteworthy that the plural of ásura- occurs infrequently in the Rig Veda, the singular being the common form. See Bradke, Dyaus Asura, p. 21.
 - 12. Mayrhofer, KEWA, 66.
- 13. So J. Wackernagel, A. Debrunner, Altindische Grammatik II/2 (Göttingen, 1954), 856-857 citing among others, such examples from the RV as: amhurá-/amhú-; dhíra-/dhí-; a-śrīrá-/śrī-; madhulá-, Sūtras madhura-/mádhu; from the AV pāmsurá-/pāmsú-. Cf. Mayrhofer, KEWA, 65; R.N. Dandekar, "Asura Varuna", Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute 21 (1941), 179-180. [See these references, plus Burrow and Schlerath, below, for further bibliography.] This position, not free from controversy, has recently been criticized again. B. Schlerath ("Altindisch asu-, Awestisch ahu- und ähnlich klingende Wörter", in Pratidānam [Kuiper Festschrift], ed. J. C. Heesterman, (The Hague, Paris, 1968, 142-153) separates ásura- from ásu- because he can accept only three of Wackernagel's examples as relevant, and, because the terms dsura- and dsu- never occur together in the RV or AV. It is not clear why the latter observation should be crucial for the etymology of ásura-; two of the three Wackernagel examples Schlerath does accept (i.e. amhú- and pāmsú-) do not meet this condition either. Moreover, the meanings Schlerath assigns to ásu- "das unspezifizierte Leben" and "die Existenz im Jenseits" (p. 148), are meanings I find contextually suitable for ásuraas 'one possessing ásu-'. It is of additional interest that ásu- functions like a substance that can be possessed, or, that can be given more than once (e.g. 10.14.12; 10.59.7). Emphasizing neither the immaterial as ātmán- (from which ásu- is distinguished in 1.164.4) nor the temporal as áyus- 'life-span' (cf. 1.113.16; Renou, EVP 3,44; 52), ásu- appears more like a 'lifesubstance' (cf. Schlerath, 147-148). T. Burrow ("The Proto-Indoaryans", [JRAS 1973, No. 2], 123-140) separates ásura- from ásu-, pointing out that whereas ásu- means 'life', ásura- is 'lord, sovereign'. Burrow bases his definition of ásura- on Bradke's findings; but these cannot be taken as conclusive since Bradke defined ásura- only from its occurrences as an epithet of gods (see fn. 15).

(e.g. "powerful, m. lord", later on: "evil spirit, demon", "lord, overlord, sovereign", tend to obscure a fundamental feature of the term, namely that it is an ambivalent, amoral term in the Rig Veda 16.

The ambivalence of the term is noted through its contextual usage. Throughout the text there are Asuras who are deities and Asuras who are demons. (Note that in RV 8.96.9 the latter are called dsura- adevá; the implication is that this type of demon is complementary and opposite to the asura who is a deva.) The use of the term asura- as 'demon', though sparse in the Rig Veda, is not a late development. The term, plus asura-han- 'asura-slayer', appear in Books 1, 2, 6, 7, 8, 10¹⁷. Further, two gods who are Asuras are themselves characterized by an ambivalent nature. Varuṇa, the Asura par excellence in the Rig Veda, has both a wrathful, sinister side and a compassionate side 18. The same may be said for Rudra 18. It is of more than passing interest that asu- also appears to be an ambivalent term. This is best seen in the compound asu-tṛp; as Bergaigne (Rel. Ved. III, 72 ff.) already pointed out, asu-tṛp is certainly applied to demons in 10.87.14 and to non-demons (probably ṛṣis, possibly gods) in 10.82.7.

In the Rig Veda, nearly all great gods are called asura 19. Sometimes asura qualifies deva20; thus a particular kind of deva may also be called

^{14.} Mayrhofer, KEWA, 65.

^{15.} This is Bradke's definition in *Dyaus Asura*. It is obtained from analyzing ásura- only in contexts where the term is associated with a god. Bradke believes that those contexts where the term is associated with a demon are not representative of the term's usage in the Rig Veda (p. 104–105) and, that the later consistent usage of ásura- 'demon' represents an intrusive development (p. 106).

^{16.} This has been pointed out by A. Bergaigne, La Religion Védique III (Paris, 1883), 67-88.

^{17.} See Bergaigne, ibid. 68-69.

^{18.} Varuṇa's ambivalent nature is observed by Bergaigne (ibid., 115); cf. J. Gonda (The Vedic God Mitra [Leiden, 1972], pp. 15-17). For Rudra, see J. Gonda, Viṣṇuism and Śivaism (London, 1970), Chap. I. Cf. R. G. Bhandarkar, Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems (Strassburg, 1913), Part II, pp. 102-106.

^{19.} Macdonell, Vedic Mythology, p. 22. Bradke, Dyaus Asura, pp. 119–123 lists the following: Dyaus, (Divo) Asura, Yama?, Rudra, Soma-Rudra, Maruts, Parjanya?, Varuṇa, Mitra-Varuṇa, Aryaman, Ādityas, Indra, Bṛhaspati, Agni, Soma, Savitṛ, Sūrya, Tvaṣṭṛ, Pūṣan, Uṣas, Sarasvatī, Rodasī.

^{20.} C. W. J. van der Linden, Concept of deva in the Vedic Age, diss. (Utrecht, 1954), p. 31.

asura. The latter is superior since the Vedic Indian considered asura-ship as an addition or something superior to $deva^{21}$. Probably that which sets Asuras apart is their relation to 'creative power'. Asuras seem to be associated, more than other classes of gods, with the term $m\bar{a}y\bar{a}$ -, 'creative power'.

 $M\bar{a}y\bar{a}$, one of the most important concepts in Indian religion and philosophy, signifies in the Rig Veda, a cosmic power enabling those deities having special insights and knowledge to create the truly wondrous. The connotations expressed by $m\bar{a}y\bar{a}$ in the Veda are "power, wisdom, subtle device" and the term $m\bar{a}y\bar{a}$ - may be defined somewhat as follows: "incomprehensible insight, wisdom, judgement and power enabling its possessor to create something or to do something, ascribed to mighty beings." ²³

Tvaṣṭṛ is an ásura who possesses māyā. Tvaṣṭṛ, states 10.53.9, 'knows māyās, most skilful of the skilful'24. (The verse expounds on some of his skills in this connection: he brought forth the bowls of the gods and sharpened the iron axe of Brahmaṇaspati.)

Tvaṣṭṛ, in his capacity as creator god, is considered to be a stimulator of life. Accordingly, he bears the epithet savitṛ-. Savitṛ though usually the proper name of a separate Rig Vedic deity is applied to Tvaṣṭṛ in 10.10.5 and 3.55.19. The term, from $Vs\bar{u}$ ('to vivify, create, produce' etc.), ought to signify 'one who gives life; a vivifier' when applied to Tvaṣṭṛ in the above verses which emphasize his role as a creator of worldly forms.

Interestingly, the verses which describe Tvaṣṭṛ as savitṛ-, also call him viśvarūpa- 'omniform' 25. Thus in 3.55.19, as creator of mankind, Tvaṣṭṛ

^{21.} Linden, ibid., pp. 31-33.

^{22.} J. Gonda, Change and Continuity in Indian Religion (The Hague, 1965), p. 168. Linden (Concept of deva, pp. 32-33) also concludes that asuras are superior to devas because the former possess some special creative ability.

^{23.} J. Gonda, Four Studies in the Language of the Veda (The Hague, 1959), p. 126.

^{24.} tvástā māyá ved apásām apástamah.

^{25.} Cf. J. Gonda, Epithets in the Rgreda (The Hague, 1959), pp. 112-113. Though undecided as to whether viśvarūpa- applies to Tvaṣṭṛ's activity or his person, Gonda recognizes that a god's nature and his activity are practically identical for Vedic man. Therefore "a divine being which creates all forms was apt to be characterized as "omiform".

is savitá viśvárūpaḥ²6. RV 10.10 being a dialogue between the primeval twins Yama and Yamī, Yamī states in verse 5: 'Already in the womb (gárbha) the creator made us husband and wife, god Tvaṣṭṛ, the vivisier, the omniform'²7. The 'womb' which contained the couple ought to belong to Tvaṣṭṛ himself. This is supported by AV 6.78, a hymn for matrimonial happiness; verse 3 says that ''Tvaṣṭṛ generated the wife, Tvaṣṭṛ [generated] thee as husband for her; let Tvaṣṭṛ make for you two a thousand life-times (áyus-), a long life-time'²²²². The strong implication from 10.10.5 and AV 6.78.3 is that Tvaṣṭṛ can generate forms and cause a lifespan because he possesses life-forms in his womb, as it were. It is because he contains such forms within himself that Tvaṣṭṛ is called viśvarūpa-. That is why in RV 1.13.10 Tvaṣṭṛ is said to be both agriyá-and viśvárūpa-; that is, he is 'first', being prior to creation, and 'omniform' since he contains the forms to be generated when creation takes place.

2. The androgynous Asura Bull

Hymn 3.38 postulates a primordial Asura Bull. He is known, so says verse 4, by the great name Viśvarūpa, indicative that he possesses all forms of life. But in the actual process of bringing these forth, he is passive. For other gods possessing māyā (i.e. māyin-), acting as if they were constructing, bring out or, as verse 7 says, 'measure out' each form located in the Asura Bull. The Asura Bull thus symbolizes the raw material out of which the world is shaped. In the sense that the forms of the world are inside of him, the Asura Bull bears the great name 'Omniform'. This interpretation rests on 3.38.4,5,7 and a corroborating passage also in Book III, namely 3.56.3.

^{26. 3.55.19}ab: God Tvaṣṭṛ, the vivisier (being) omnisorm, has fostered creatures and has abundantly created (them). devás tváṣṭā savitá viśvárūpaḥ pupóṣa prajáḥ purudhá jajāna.

^{27. 10.10.5}ab: gárbhe nú nau janitá dámpatī kar devás tváṣṭā savitā viśvárūpaḥ. According to 5.42.13: he alters forms in the bellies (plural!) of his daughter. Allusion to incest between Tvaṣṭṛ and his daughter Saraṇyū?

^{28.} W.D. Whitney, Atharva-veda Samhitā in HOS VII (Cambridge, 1905), p. 340. tváṣṭā jāyām ajanayat tváṣṭāsyai tváṃ pátim/ tváṣṭā sahásram áyūnṣi dīrghám áyuḥ kṛṇotu vām.

Hymn 3.38 takes for its theme cosmogony. In the manner of the ancient Rig Veda, observes Renou, a primeval Being is conceived in personal, not abstract fashion29. He is visualized as a mighty asura bull (or 'male', the terms vṛṣan- in verse 4 and vṛṣabhá- in vss. 5,7 could of course mean both), who is androgynous; verse 7 calls him a Bull-Cow30. The same point is made in 3.56.3 where he is described as having both three bellies and three udders31. 'Three' in this context probably connotes 'totality' and 'delimitation' 32, the idea being that the Asura Bull's nature may be defined by 'total maleness' and 'total femaleness'. It is not surprising that such a definition also relates to his name Viśvarūpa (3.38.4; 3.56.3); in the Rig Veda a 'name' (nāman) directly defines the essential nature, not the appearance, of a being33. The connection between an androgynous and an omniform nature rests on the mythopoeic explanation of how the One, the primeval Being, can by solely responsible for the creation of manifold forms. A self-seminating first principle pregnant with the forms of life, sustains the mystery and satisfies the dilemma³⁴.

How is this capacity to create realized? 'This indeed is the [work] of him, the Bull-Cow' (3.38.7a); he is the Bull, the Begetter of endless

- 29. L. Renou, Hymnes spéculatifs du Veda (Paris, 1956), p. 231.
- 30. Note that in 10.5.7, Agni is both bull and cow. For an over-all sketch of the androgynous principle in India, discussed within the broader theme of bisexuality see Hermann Baumann, Das Doppelte Geschlecht; ethnologische Studien zur Bisexualität in Ritus und Mythos (Berlin, 1955), pp. 142-154.
- 31. 3.56.3 ab: tripājasyó vṛṣabhó viśvárūpa utá tryudhá purudhá prajávān. For pājas see Renou, EVP 4,54; S.D. Atkins, "The Meaning of Vedic pājas", JAOS 85, 21. Cf. K. Geldner, Der Rig-Veda I in HOS 33,403, fn. 3a; A. Ludwig, Der Rigveda IV (Prag, 1881), 202. Note that the Bull is also tryanīká, 'three-faced' probably in the sense of facing (i.e. seeing) everywhere.
- 32. J. Gonda, The Savayajñas in Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, afd. Letterkunde n.s. Vol. 71, no. 2 (1965), 142 and references. See also, for nos. 3, 5, 7, the discussion in W. Kirfel, Symbolik des Hinduismus und des Jinismus (Stuttgart, 1959), pp. 95-102.
 - 33. Renou, Études Voc. RV, p. 11.
- 34. The myth of the androgyne in different cultures is treated by Mircea Eliade, Mephistopheles and the Androgyne (London, New York, 1965), pp. 78-124.

forms (3.56.3d), possessing progeny in abundance (3.56.3b). Further, he is said to "be in the manifestations of immortality".

The process by which creation takes place is, as in the case of Tvaṣṭṛ, the emission process. The terminology of verse 5 makes this clear: 'The older Bull gave birth [as] the first; these, his issues are abundant (ásūta pūrvo vṛṣabhó jyáyān imá asya śurúdhaḥ santi pūrviḥ).' The process seems to be activated not by the Asura Bull but by the māyin- who, 'taking on ever new asura-power, measure out (each) form located in him' 36. Who these māyin- are is difficult to tell. However, it may be concluded that they, due to their marvellous creative power, individualize manifold phenomenal forms from out of the primeval raw material 37.

3. Indra

The case of Indra is most interesting and instructive. Though Indra is called asura (e.g. 1.174.1; 8.90.6; 10.96.11; see Bradke, Dyâus Asura, p. 121), the asura-power (asurya; asuria) may not originally have been his. It was probably given to him by the gods in order to slay the demon Vṛtra (see 6.20.2; 7.21.7)³⁸. Presumably the gods who gave him this power were Asuras themselves, namely the Ādityas³⁹.

Indra also possesses $m\bar{a}y\bar{a}$; however the verses do not specify whether he gained this power at the time he gained asurya. What is specified is how he uses $m\bar{a}y\bar{a}$, and this is of considerable interest. 3.53.8 ab says that Indra is in the habit of becoming every $r\bar{u}pa$, in effecting $m\bar{a}y\bar{a}s$ around

- 35. On 3.38.4d: J. Gonda, Notes on names and the name of God in ancient India in Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, afd. Letterkunde. n.s. Vol. 75, no. 4 (1970), p. 30.
- 36. 3.38.7 cd: anyád-anyad asuryàm vásānā ní māyíno mamire rūpám asmin. For vs.7 cf. H. Oldenberg, Rgveda. Textkritische und exegetische Noten in Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil.-Hist. Kl. n.f. 11, nr. 5 (1909), p. 248. For a different reading see M. Falk, Nāma-rūpa and Dharma-rūpa (Calcutta, 1943), p. 4. On the force of Vmā, see Gonda, Language, p. 167 ff.
 - 37. Cf. Gonda, Language, p. 142.
 - 38. See Brown, "Creation Myth", 89; Bergaigne, Rel. Véd. III, 74ff.
 - 39. Brown, ibid., 88ff.

his own body⁴⁰, and verse 6.47.18 c says that this characteristic of Indra's – to be pururūpa- 'multiform' – is due to his māyās⁴¹. Given the basic meaning of māyā, it must be inferred that māyā in these verses applies to the special ability of a divine Being to create rūpa. In that rūpa is something fashioned (Vpiś 10.184.1) or concretized (Vtakṣ 8.102.8; Vmā 5.42.13), it is understood as 'concrete, outer form', and may be used to mean 'manifestation'.

The sum of the evidence relating to Indra, and specifically to the Indra verses above, would lead to the conclusion that $m\bar{a}y\bar{a}$ refers to the incomprehensible power of a High Being (i.e. asura) to assume forms or to project forms of itself into the phenomenal world⁴².

Whereas further study may determine wherein Vedic man located the phenomenal forms of Indra, an attempt may be made at this point to define the transcendental nature of the High Being Indra, the nature out of which the forms proceed. The powers that comprise his essential nature are likely to be 'virile strength' (6.46.3: sáhasramuṣka43 túvinṛmṇa 'having a thousand testicles and powerful manly strength') and 'omniscience' (1.23.3 sahasrākṣá43 'thousand-eyed' said of Indra-Vāyu). The projection of auspicious phenomenal Indra forms (surūpa-) is perhaps related to the ritual invocation (cf. 1.4.1). The possibility that Indra may assume numerous forms is also stressed in that he possesses many names (8.93.17 púruṇāman-44) and abundant māyā (purumāyá- 3.51.4; 6.18.12; 6.21.2; 6.22.1; in 1.119.1 purumāyá- describes the Aśvins' chariot).

^{40. 8} ab: rūpám-rūpam maghávā bobhavīti māyāh kṛṇvānás tanvàm pári svām. Renou's definition of māyā (''la faculté de construire des formes'', L. Renou et J. Filliozat, L'Inde Classique [Paris, 1947], p. 317) is very suitable here.

^{41. 6.47.18:} rūpám-rūpam prátirūpo babhūva tád asya rūpám praticákṣaṇāya/ índro māyābhiḥ pururūpa īyate yuktā hy àsya hárayaḥ śatā dáśa.

^{42.} See Gonda, Language, p. 128.

^{43.} On the meaning of sahasra as 'limitless, all' in compounds having a bodily part as final member, and on the significance of such compounds, see II.D.1.a. For sahásramuṣka cf. 8.19.32 (II.D.1.c). On 'thousand-eyed' signifying 'omniscience', see II.D.1.a.

^{44.} On the relation between nāmas and rūpas, see Falk, Nāma-rūpa, p. 19.

D. Other Examples of Divine Multiplicity

Almost all other verses mentioning divine multiplicity of parts and forms illustrate one of the definitions given above. The deities discussed immediately below (Section D.1) are associated with the terms asura- and/or māyā-, ugra-, whence is derived their creative ability45. Section D.2 considers the evidence relating to Viśvakarman, Puruṣa and Vāc as illustrative of late Rig Vedic examples of definitions 1, 2 and 3 respectively.

1. Gods whose creativeness relates to asura-hood

a. Varuna

Of all Vedic gods, the title of asura belongs preeminently to Varuṇa (e.g. 1.24.14; 2.27.10; 2.28.7; 8.42.1). Possibly he possesses the greatest amount of creative power, the epithet māyin- being chiefly applied to him⁴⁶. Because of māyā, Varuṇa wields supreme sovereignty over the whole universe, which is said to have been originally created by him⁴⁷. Varuṇa established heaven and earth (8.42.1) and set upon their orderly course such natural phenomena as the sun, the moon, the waters, dawns, the seasons, the fall of rain, growth of vegetation etc⁴⁸. Moreover, he enforces and upholds a self-operating cosmic power (ṛta) which establishes, governs and directs physical and psychical norms in worldly, human and ritual activities, causing these to appear as right and true.

These creative and regulatory roles bespeak of Varuṇa's essential nature, characterized by 'all-comprehensiveness', especially as particular-

- 45. There are two exceptions. In 7.55.1 Vāstoṣpati, a tutelary god of the house, is said to 'enter all forms' (viśvā rūpáṇy āviśán; cf. 9.25.4 in II.D.1.b), and 10.78.5 describes the Aṅgirases as being viśvárūpa-. The significance of multiple forms in both cases is unclear. The terminology connotative of a god's ability to create forms, set forth in II.D.1, is not used with Vāstoṣpati or the Aṅgirases.
 - 46. Gonda, Language, p. 143.
- 47. Dandekar, "Asura Varuṇa", 159; Varuna's māyā is described in 5.85.5,6; 8.41.3. Cf. Parab, The Miraculous, p. 62-63.
- 48. Details on these standard aspects of Varuṇa's activity can be found in any of the well-known accounts of Vedic Religion and Mythology by Macdonell, Oldenberg, Bergaigne, Hillebrandt.

ized in 'omniscience'49. Multiplicity of eyes, attributed to Varuṇa in 7.34.10 symbolically represents this divine power.

'Varuṇa having vital/creative power, (the god) with a thousand eyes' (váruṇa ugráḥ50 sahásracakṣāḥ) is the literal translation for 7.34.10 b. But, the connotations for sahásracakṣās- go beyond this. It is found that bahuvrīhi compounds having sahásra- ('thousand') as the prior member, followed by a term for some bodily parts or forms, construct an expression which appears to define the structure of a creator god or an allinclusive divine power of the numinous, which may also be revealed in its phenomenal manifestations51. Sahásra- in these compounds is not to be taken numerically but as expressing the idea of 'limitless, total, all' with respect to the bodily parts or forms. Thus 7.34.10, in emphasizing Varuṇa's limitless eyes, is of course implying that Varuṇa 'sees all' (cf. 1.25.5, 16 where he is 'far-sighted'). In that 'sight' often correlates with 'wisdom', 'seeing all' is equivalent to 'knowing all'52. This divine power of Varuṇa is elsewhere expressed by the epithet viśvavedas- 'all knowing, omniscient' (8.42.1); cf. 1.25.7-953.

Varuṇa in his capacity as all-seeing/all-knowing is to be posited in the highest heaven⁵⁴, a region conceived as being 'highest' in several re-

- 49. See Dandekar, "Asura Varuna", 186; cf. Gonda, Epithets, p. 154.
- 50. On ugrá see J. Gonda, Ancient-Indian ojas, Latin oaugos and the Indo-European nouns in -es-/-os (Utrecht, 1952).
- 51. The evidence, largely cumulative, is based on 6 different compounds pertinent to this study: sahásracakṣas- (7.34.10; 9.60.1,2; 9.65.7); sahásrapad-, Opād- (8.58.16; 10.90.1); sahásramuṣka- (6.46.3; 8.19.32); sahásraśīrṣan- (10.90.1); sahásraśṛṅga- (5.1.8; 7.55.7); sahasrākṣá- (1.79.12 [cf. 10.79.5]; 10.90.1; 1.23.3). Sahásra compounds describing the structure of a creator god are restricted to 10.90.1 where collectively they apparently mean the same as viśvarūpa. "Sahasra is equivalent to sarvam (Satapatha Br., 4.6.1.15), bhūmā (Satapatha Br., 3.3.3.8) and paramam (Tāṇḍya 16.9.2), the highest entity transcending all the categories of manifestation". V.S. Agrawala, "Gaurī", in Indological Studies in honor of W. Norman Brown (ed. E. Bender, New Haven, 1962), p. 7.
 - 52. Cf. J. Gonda, The Vision of the Vedic Poets (The Hague, 1963), pp. 81-82.
- 53. See also A. Hillebrandt, Varuna und Mitra (Breslau, 1877), pp. 79-82 on Varuna, the All-knowing god.
- 54. Also the seat of Mitra-Varuna. See H. Lüders, Varuna I (Göttingen, 1951), 54-56. So also Geldner, Der Rig-Veda ad 6.67.6ab.

spects, one of which is physical. Exegetical studies on RV 1.25.10,11 would place the omniscient Varuṇa into this invisible sphere above the firmament. Verse 10 says that Varuṇa has rested in the Waters (pastyàsu55), from where, according to verse 11, he who knows perceives all transcendental things, those already done and those to be done. For Lüders (Varuṇa II, 710-714) Varuṇa's resting place here is in the heavenly Waters located in the highest heaven, and these Waters (Gonda, Rel. Ind. I, 80) are to be considered as invisible. The series of hymns addressed to Mitra-Varuṇa (RV 5.62-72) also support the belief that the powers of these divinities originate from the highest celestial regions and operate upon activities below56. Only from such a vantage point would it be possible for Varuṇa to see all that is between heaven and earth and even that which is beyond (AV 4.16.5; vss. 1-4 vividly testify that Varuṇa therefore 'knows' of secret thoughts, private talks, all manner of comportment since he and his spies 'see' all earthly activity).

b. Soma

Soma is an asura (e.g. 9.99.1); as such, he knows of all existing things (9.74.7)⁵⁷. His knowledge of things in the phenomenal world attests to his omniscience. The epithet sahásracakṣas- (9.60.1,2; 9.65.7), as in the case of Varuṇa, attributes this power to the godhead. Similarly do two epithets which also emphasize Soma's limitless vision: viśvácakṣas-(9.86.5 'All-seeing') and bhúricakṣas- (9.26.5 'Many-eyed'). Omniscience is not the only characteristic which Soma and Varuṇa share. Both have spies (e.g. 9.73.4 for Soma; for Varuṇa see Macdonell, Vedic My-

^{55.} R. Pischel, Vedische Studien II (Stuttgart, 1897), 211ff.

^{56.} The gods' powers operate when assuming the forms wherein they have transposed their powers; Heaven and Earth are the locations of the divine powers of Mitra and Varuṇa according to PB 14.2.4 (commenting on RV 5.68.1-3). See W. Caland, Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa (Calcutta, 1931), p. 352; and J. Gonda, The Meaning of the Sanskrit term Dhāman- in Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, afd. Letterkunde, n.s. Vol. 73, no. 2 (1967), p. 70.

^{57.} sómo mīḍhváṇ ásuro veda bhúmanaḥ. Geldner (Der Rig-Veda ad 9.74.7b): bhūman has two meanings – bhūmi and bhúvana. So also Renou, EVP 9, 86.

thology, p. 23) and both wield $m\bar{a}y\bar{a}$ (9.83.3 for Soma). Perhaps such resemblances and that both gods are immersed in water (see 9.90.2), account for the identification of Soma with Varuṇa in 9.73.358. In the last verse of that hymn, 9.73.9, Soma is also called by the name Varuṇa59. Verse 9 seems to say that the $m\bar{a}y\bar{a}$ of Soma/Varuṇa is involved in the process of preparing the soma juice. That is, Soma uses the power of $m\bar{a}y\bar{a}$ to create phenomenal forms recognized as soma juice. As will be shown below, the process by which such forms are created is analogous to the Indra example: the High Being Soma uses $m\bar{a}y\bar{a}$ to project forms of itself; these forms correspond to the phenomenal terrestrial soma juice.

Soma's ability to project forms into externality is specifically referred to in several verses. 'Entering all forms ($viśv\bar{a}$ $r\bar{u}p\dot{a}ny$ $\bar{a}viś\dot{a}n$), cleansing himself, he (i.e. Soma, transposed into soma juice) goes ... there where the immortals are seated' (the sacrifice; 9.25.4). "The verb \bar{a} - $vi\acute{s}$ - (cf. 7.55.1; 8.15.13) 'to enter' is repeatedly used of Soma when going into the vessels or into the stomach of a god ...;" 60 each newly made soma-juice becomes his newly projected $r\bar{u}pa$ -. Each $r\bar{u}pa$ - of Soma is further believed to be 'the location of his divine power' ($dh\bar{a}man$ -) 61. The correlation between the concepts $r\bar{u}pa$ - and $dh\bar{a}man$ - is demonstrated by 9.28.2 c ($vi\acute{s}v\bar{a}$ $dh\acute{a}m\bar{a}ny$ $\bar{a}vi\acute{s}\acute{a}n$) where $dh\bar{a}man$ - occupies the same position $r\bar{u}pa$ - does in 9.25.462.

The act of transposition from the High Being Soma to the ritual soma juice is clearly described in 9.71.2 b–d 63 : 'he [as god] unveils the asura-

- 58. On this verse, and on an analysis of Soma and the Waters, see Lüders, Varuṇa I, 268 ff. Lüders has rightly pointed out that 9.73.3 c refers to Soma in the celestial Waters located in the highest heaven.
- 59. So Lüders, Varuṇa, 52; 471; Macdonell, Vedic Myth. p. 110; possibly, according to Geldner (Der Rig-Veda ad 9.73.9b); Renou (EVP 9, 23): Varuṇa (- Soma).
 - 60. Gonda, Dhāman-, 47.
 - 61. See Gonda, ibid., 20-21.
 - 62. Gonda, ibid., 46-47.
- 63. asuryàm várṇam ní riṇīte asya tám/ jáhāti vavrím pitúr eti niṣkṛtám upaprútam kṛṇute nirṇíjam tánā. For exegetical studies of this verse see Renou, EVP 9, 80-81; for várṇa see also Renou, Études Voc. RV pp. 14-15. Renou's translation of pitú (EVP 9, 20): "Père (= ciel)" does not fit the context well. Cf. Geldner, Der Rig-Veda and Oldenberg, Noten ad 9.71.2. On nirṇíj as

trait that is his; he abandons the cover, he goes [as] juice to the fixed place [i.e. the sacrifice]; [there] he assumes the flowing [milk] [as his] robe continually'.

The picture that emerges from the foregoing is that in order to come to the sacrifice as soma juice, Soma abandons his asura state. This state ought therefore to be both noumenal and supernal. By means of $m\bar{a}y\bar{a}$, he projects forms of himself into externality, specifically, the ritual. These forms, equivalent to the drops of juice, are the locations of his divine power. The belief is that Soma is in, or better, IS each soma drop, pure or mixed, past, present and future. In the sense therefore that Soma goes into all possible soma juice forms, the god's structure is described as being $viśvár\bar{u}pa$ 'omniform' (cf. 6.41.3)⁶⁴.

The actual soma juice in the ritual undergoes several processes which come in three-s⁶⁵. In consequence, 'three' occurs as the number of bodily parts associated with Soma or with the locus of his divine power, the a milky robe of Soma, see D. Srinivasan, Concept of Cow in the Rig Veda. Thesis. (U. of Pa., 1967), 84-85.

64. Soma may also be considered 'omniform' in 4.58.2,3. These verses speak of a great god (mahá devá) who is depicted as a buffalo. The thoughts expressed in these two verses seem to be that the ṛṣis will offer ritual praise to ghṛta (the sacrificial oblation 'ghee'), which is identified with the soma juice (v. 2; Renou, Hymnes spéculatifs, p. 232). The juice, in turn, has the symbolic form of a buffalo (v. 3; Renou, ibid.), gaurá; thus Soma also should be expressed by this form. Vāc (Speech, both sacred and secular) is gaurī in 1.164.41 (cf. Agrawala, "Gaurī", 1ff.). Since sacred speech is inspired by draughts of soma juice, god Soma may be described as lord of Vāc (9.26.4; 9.101.5) and probably the great god gaurá. Note also that gaurá is the colour of soma in 10.100.2.

The buffalo Soma is said to have 4 horns (vss. 2 and 3; cf. śṛṇgāṇi 9.15.4), 3 feet, 2 heads, 7 hands (vs. 3). The numbers 7,4,3 occur in both ritual and cosmic contexts to which the Indian religious tradition ascribes the idea of 'completeness, totality' etc. (see Gonda, The Savayajñas, General Index for discussion on above nos.). '2' is also charged with the meaning of 'unity within duality' cf. S. Kramrisch, "Two: Its Significance in the Rgveda", Indological Studies in honor of W. Norman Brown, 109 ff. It is thus proposed that the multiplicity in 4.58.2,3 describes the omniform structure of the great god Soma who, as juice, is able to enter mortals (vs. 3 d). Geldner ("Zur Erklärung des Rigveda", ZDMG 71, 342) points out that the commentaries try to explain the numbers through the ritual; he offers the 4 bhúvanāni as a possible meaning for the 4 horns.

65. The juice is pressed thrice daily; it has three kinds of admixtures (5.27.5); it flows into three kinds of containers. See Macdonell, *Vedic Myth*. Par. 37.

juice. The epithet tripṛṣṭha-, usually translated 'three backs', is applied only to Soma in the Rig Veda (7.37.1; 9.71.7; 9.75.3; 9.90.2; 9.106. 11). The etymology of the term pṛṣṭha- would indicate that tripṛṣṭhacould be a symbolic expression for the three different 'projections' or 'types' of soma juice available in the ritual (cf. 8.2.7-9)66. Pṛṣṭha- ("the back ... the upper side, surface, top ...67") can be explained as derived from a verb root meaning 'to stand forth'; it is around this meaning that cognate terms in other Indo-European languages seem to unite. These terms would come from idg. *pr- 'forth' (etymologically related to prá, pári, puráh etc.) and *stā- 'to stand'68. Thus, tripṛṣṭha- could refer to 'three things standing forth' or 'three projections' and as such represent the three types or three forms of juice Soma projects to meet the exigencies of the ritual. Perhaps the three projected forms are alluded to obliquely in 9.73.1c69: 'The Asura (Soma) made himself three heads70 for the purpose of attaining [the vessels or stomach of a god? Cf. 9.73.3 d: dhírā íc chekur dharúnesv ārábham, where dharúna are the vessels; 3 cd states that whereas the great Varuṇa/Soma has concealed himself in the heavenly waters, those possessing dhī were able to grasp his identity in the vessels].

- 66. The possibility of different 'types' depends on whether the juice is left in its pure state, or, whether it is mixed with another ingredient (see 8.2.9).
 - 67. M. Monier-Williams, A Sanskrit-English Dictionary (Oxford, 1960 ed.), p. 647.
- 68. Mayrhofer, KEWA II, p. 338; another interpretation takes pṛṣṭhá- with pṛṣṭi- and párśuḥ. *pṛ- *stā derivation given by A. Walde, J. Pokorny, Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der Indogermanischen Sprachen (Berlin und Leipzig, 1927), II, 35.
- 69. 9.73.12-C: srákve drapsásya dhámataḥ sám asvarann ṛtásya yónā sám aranta nābhayaḥ/trīn sá mūrdhnó ásuraś cakra ārábhe. Lüders (Varuṇa I, 235) understands asura to refer to 'Heaven' who makes himself three heads in order to receive the ascending Soma. The imagery of the whole verse relates, according to Lüders, to the pressed Soma entering in the heavenly stream. The idea of Soma drops uniting into a Soma essence does not seem convincing. Though interpretations on this difficult verse differ, Lüders seems to be alone in his understanding of asura. Others: Geldner (Der Rig-Veda III, p. 66): 1cd may refer to Soma swimming in the water; Renou: the Asura Soma has given himself three heads so that one may seize him better (EVP 9, 22); Oldenberg (Noten): Soma (cf. 9.71.2) to whom one holds (cf. v. 3 śekur ... ārábham) to attain a goal. Or, Varuṇa?
 - 70. Cf. 1.146.1 trimūrdhanam ... agnim, see II.D.1.c.

c. Agni

Agni, an asura71, possessing māyā72, like Soma, uses his power to emit forms into externality73. However, from this point of view, Agni is a very complex god in Vedic mythology. He has several distinctly different forms wherein his powers are located74. As a result, he is called by many different names and is more often associated with the convention of multiplicity than any other god in the Rig Veda. RV 3.20.3 illustrates this point. Pādas 3 ab state75: 'O Agni, many (are) your names of immortality, O Jātavedas, O Deva, O Svadhāvat'. These different names relate to the different facets of the divinity's nature 76. For example, Jātavedas (lit. 'knowing all created beings') acknowledges Agni's power of omniscience. The name is applied exclusively to Agni, and according to 6.15.13 marks his capacity to know all births, or rather, all origins of phenomenal creations (víśvā veda jánimā jātávedāḥ). The appellative Deva, though as a term imprecise and broadly applied77, does designate a deity as "a superhuman and powerful being who was able to help mankind by his own power. This personality of deva could be a screen that receives and collects human piety and religious needs, as the strictly Divine Being is too high and too far away ...''78 Possibly Svadhāvat 'autonomous One' names that aspect of divinity excluded in the concept deva. The meaning of svadhā- would allow for this interpretation, though only further study on the relationship between deva-, svadhāvat- and asura- could tell wheth-

- 71. See Bergaigne, Rel. Védique III, 84-85. Cf. Bradke, Dyaus Asura, 121-122.
- 72. See Gonda, Language, pp. 130, 145, 148; Parab, The Miraculous, p. 64.
- 73. Agni uses his creative power to project phenomenal forms and to create the world; but he is not a prime agent in Rig Vedic creation theories.
- 74. As is well known and oft mentioned in accounts of Vedic religion and mythology, Agni's forms are: 'fire' both in its domestic and ritual use; 'lightning' in the atmosphere; 'sun' in the sky.
 - 75. ágne bhúrini táva jātavedo déva svadhāvo 'mŕtasya nāma.
- 76. On the function of a name to concretize the numinous experience see G. van der Leeuw, Religion in Essence and Manifestation I, trans. J.E. Turner (Torchbook paperback, 1963), Chap. 17.
 - 77. Linden, Deva, pp. 14-50.
 - 78. Linden, ibid., p. 49.

er it is correct. Svadhā- describes "la situation propre d'une divinité ou d'une force, la fonction naturelle ..." 79; the essence, nature, quality inherent in divinity etc. 80. Agni's ability to assume many names (concomitant with many forms) is connected in 3.20.3 cd with the many māyās of the māyin- which have been placed in Agni (called here viśvaminvá-81). It is to be surmised that Agni, like Indra, uses these conferred creative powers to construct various forms, and that he is on that account described as being, again like Indra, pururúpa- (5.8.2,5).

What is the nature out of which the various forms are constructed? The sahasra compounds elucidate the powers inherent in Agni's essential nature. They indicate that his nature is defined by a totality of 'knowledge', 'fire' and 'virile strength'.

Agni is sahasrākṣá- ('thousand-eyed') in 1.79.12 (cf. sahásramakṣábhir... ágne ... 10.79.5). Limitless sight, as in the synonym sahásracakṣas- used with Varuṇa, assigns complete wisdom to Agni much the same way as 10. 187.4 says that Agni sees all creatures and 10.11.1 says that he knows all, as Varuṇa, by his dhī ('vision', i.e. a supranormal mental faculty whose operation causes true knowledge⁸²). Agni's power of omniscience, symbolized by his limitless eyes, is of course also insisted upon by the many epithets which directly comment upon his total wisdom (viśvavid-, viśvavedas-, jātavedas- mentioned above; note also ṛṣi-83, kavi-83, kavikratu-).

The completeness of Agni's knowledge is concomitant with his ability to see with numerous eyes (akṣábhiḥ) both classes of beings (2.2.4). The reference could be to the human and divine classes (Renou, EVP 12, 42; Geldner, Der Rig-Veda), but the implication could equally well be that Agni sees the invisible powers and the visible phenomena and knows the connection between them (cf. 3.55.10c).

^{79.} Renou, EVP 1, 21, fn. 1.

^{80.} Renou, Études Voc. RV, pp. 18-21.

^{81.} viśvaminvá-: all-pervading; advancing into all; "all-enlivener" (Oldenberg, Vedic Hymns in Sacred Books of the East 46, 281).

^{82.} Gonda, Vision, Chap. II, esp. pages 84-85.

^{83.} Gonda, ibid., pp. 40-50; Gonda, Epithets, p. 86 ff.

Agni's all-knowing power is especially present in the form of the sacrificial fire (cf. 10.79.5 where Agni, manifested as ritual fire, is said to look with thousand eyes upon the sacrificer who tends the fire well). As messenger of the sacrifice and conveyer of the god's oblation from earth through all the realms of heaven, Agni as sacrificial fire officiates in all the different regions. Thus god Agni can, in the same verse (10.21.7), be described as 'beloved priest' (rtvijam cārum), 'whose face shines with ghee' (ghṛtápratīkam), 'bright' (śukraṃ), 'most knowledgeable with numerous eyes' (cétiṣṭham⁸⁴ akṣábhir). The image of 'all-seeing flames', loci of omniscient Agni, is apparent in these examples; the image may account for Sāyaṇa's rather consistent though misleading explanation for the many eyes of Agni as 'innumerable flames' (1.79.12; 2.2.4; 10. 21.7; 10.79.5). The explanation is not entirely accurate since plurality of eyes represents omniscience, a power located in the flames, but not the flames themselves. Agni's flames are symbolized by a separate metaphor, śṛṅga, which occurs in another sahasra compound.

Agni is sahásraśṛṅgo vṛṣabhás 'a bull with thousand horns' in 5.1.8. That 'horns' are the metaphorical equivalent for 'flames' is given in Yāska's Nirukta 1.17. Thus, keeping in mind the value of the sahasra compound, Agni's nature is also characterized by limitless fire; undoubtedly this 'fire' power is concretized in Agni's three forms: sun, lightning and earthly fire85. Sāyaṇa interprets several passages on this analogy (e.g. 1.140.6; 5.43.13 where he takes tridhátuśṛṅga- to refer to flames of three colours). Sahásraśṛṅga- occurs twice in the Rig Veda; each time it is part of an image which portrays Agni as a strong and powerful bull86. Keeping to the metaphorical correspondences, there appears to be a definite relationship between 'fire' and 'strength', and this will occupy us next.

^{84.} Sāyaņa: cétiṣṭham – atiśayena jñātāram.

^{85.} Cf. 7.55.7 where sahásraśṛṇga- vṛṣabhá- may refer to Agni whose 'fire' could be in the light of stars. The latter, typifying night, causes the people to sleep.

^{86. 5.1.8} sahásraśṛṅgo vṛṣabhás tádojā viśvāṇ agne sáhasā prásy anyán; in 7.55.7 (fn. 85) the 'power' term is sahasyá. Agni as a three-horned bull (5.43.13) is also marked with strength; he is vayodhāḥ ('one who has strength').

The concepts 'strength' and 'power' are central to Agni. The well-known phrase sūnuḥ sahasaḥ 'son of power' when applied to Agni associates him with a 'power-substance' composed of overwhelming strength and force to conquer, gain supremacy, to resist and sustain (sahas)⁸⁷. Agni is 'son of sahas' in the sense that he represents and manifests the content of this word; he can, therefore, be conceived as having been sired by the word⁸⁸.

The many references to the strength of Agni could be due to the belief that a phenomenon as wondrous, helpful and powerful as fire originates through the exercise of strength, in particular the friction of the kindling sticks⁸⁹. The rubbing together of these two sticks is likened in the Rig Veda to the sexual act. The analogy rests on the friction applied to the sticks which are said to be Agni's parents, the upper stick being the 'male', the lower the 'female'⁹⁰. The mythic belief that fire comes into being, or, is sired by a strength analogous to sexual strength should have some relationship to Agni's epithet sahásramuṣka-⁹¹ 'having thousand testicles' (8.19.32) which assigns limitless virile strength to the god's inherent nature.

In so far as Agni transposes himself into sun, lightning and fire, and as fire becomes apparent in each of the three Vedic sacrificial fires⁹², we may expect three bodily parts to occur in Agni's imagery. 'Three' used as such is associated with Agni's visible manifestations, which in them-

^{87.} J. Gonda, Some Observations on the Relations between "Gods" and "Powers" in the Veda a propos of the phrase sūnuḥ sahasaḥ ('s Gravenhage, 1957), pp. 15,18.

^{88.} Gonda, ibid., p. 10; 105.

^{89.} Gonda, Rel. Ind. I, 67, fn. 3.

^{90.} Macdonell, Vedic Myth. p. 91.

^{91.} The term occurs one other time, with Indra. Note that Indra, like Agni, is closely associated with 'power-substance' terms. Such associations occur in contexts which suggest that Indra, too, manifests 'strength, power' (see Gonda, "Gods" and "Powers", pages 2, 4, 14ff., 30, 46, 50, 70.

^{92.} On the extent of the Rig Vedic ritual and the three fire-stations, see A.B. Keith, The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads, HOS 31 (Cambridge, 1925), Chap. 17, esp. p. 254.

selves may carry broader implications of divine omnipresence93. The three bodies of light% in 10.107.6 refer to Agni's three visible forms: fire, lightning, sun95. 3.20.296 also mentions the 'three bodies' of Agni in addition to his 'three powers', 'three abodes', 'three tongues'. Play on the number 'three', symbolic of cosmic totality97, predominates in this verse having Agni's omnipresence as its theme. 'Three bodies' should again symbolize Agni's three manifestations, each of which is located in one of the three regions of the visible world. These regions may constitute Agni's 'three abodes', or possibly, there is an allusion here to Agni's abodes in the highest heaven, the lower heavens and the earth. Since Agni's 'tongue' is a metaphorical equivalent for his 'flame' (cf. 2.1.13), 'three tongues' should represent the fires in each of the three sacrificial altars (in the Brāhmaņas the altars are symbolic of the three worlds and the fires in the altars come to symbolize cosmic pervasiveness). The 'three powers' may refer to the threefold nature of Agni (i.e. knowledge, fire, virile strength; see above).

In 1.146.1, Agni is described as having 'three heads' and 'seven reins' (saptáraśmi- could also mean 'seven rays'). The image may apply to the three ritual fires, 'three heads' being the fires 98, 'seven reins' being the flames 98. This image suits well the rest of the hemistich which mentions the kindling sticks as the parents of Agni: 'I praise Agni, who has three

- 93. An excellent treatment of Agni's triple nature and the resultant multiplicity descriptions is in Bergaigne, Rel. Védique I, 1 Iff.
- 94. śukrá- refers to Agni, cf. 10.21.7, see above. Geldner (Der Rig-Veda III, 327) and A. Hillebrandt (Lieder des Rgveda [Göttingen, Leipzig, 1913], p. 146): śukrá- refers to 'Holy Word'; 'three bodies' are the 'three Vedas'. But Agni's association with three bodies is assured by 3.20.2. For Grassmann, 'three bodies' are Agni, Vāyu, Sūrya.
 - 95. So Sāyaṇa.
- 96. ágne trí te vájinā trí ṣadhásthā tisrás te jihvá ṛtajāta pūrvíḥ / tisrá u te tanvò devávātās tábhir naḥ pāhi gíro áprayuchan //
- 97. For 'three' in ancient Indian cosmography see W. Kirfel, Die Kosmographie der Inder (Bonn and Leipzig, 1920), pages 14, 17, 40-43; Lüders, Varuna I, 57 ff.
- 98. So Sāyaṇa who also suggests the three soma pressings; this seems doubtful. Seven tongues as flames of Agni are mentioned in 3.6.2. Lüders (Varuṇa II, 691, fn. 6) understands 'three heads' and 'seven rays' to refer to Agni in his sun form.

heads and seven reins, who is inferior to none, (who nestles) in the fold of his parents.'

'Four' is a number associated with both ritual and cosmic completeness in Indian religious thought99. The capacity of fire to fill out into all the possible spacial directions is represented by attributing four bodily parts to Agni. Thus, in 5.48.5 where Agni with four faces advances himself with his tongue, 'four-faces' (cáturanīka-) connotes 'facing in the four cardinal directions'; the description considers the god as flaming fire extending into all directions on earth100 (cf. 2.3.1) and quite possibly beyond. In the same sense, Agni is said to be facing everywhere and to pervade in all directions (tváṃ hí viśvatomukha viśvátaḥ paribhúr ási 1.97.6). In 10.92.11, the term caturanga101 'four-limbed' is used as an epithet of Agni Narāśaṃsa, naming him after his capacity to fill out, as fire, into the four directions. Agni, again in a context evoking the ritual fire, is called 'four-eyed' (caturakṣá- 1.31.13); seeing in the four directions is conceptually allied to the all-seeing/all-knowing flames102.

d. Sūrya

Sūrya, who has an asura-nature (8.101.12), is characterized by omniscience. This power is attributed to Sūrya by the usual reference to his 'all-seeing' ability (viśvácakṣas-1.50.2; 7.63.1). On the analogy of the preceding Soma example (i.e. 9.74.7), it ought to be Sūrya's asuranature which is characterized by omniscience. Sūrya is also characterized by limitless rays; this evidence comes from the compound sahásra-pād- 'thousand-footed' used in all likelihood as an epithet of Sūrya in 8.58.16103. Pád is according to 8.41.8 'the foot' of the sun, that is 'the

^{99.} Cf. Gonda, The Savayajñas, pp. 54, 60, 139, 349.

^{100.} Sāyaṇa: caturdikṣu prasṛta jvālaḥ. Note that this verse identifies Agni with Varuṇa, as also in 5.3.1. Cf. Bergaigne, Rel. Védique III, 137-138; Renou, EVP 4,77.

^{101.} cáturanga- is a RV hapax legomenon. Sayana takes it as 'four fires'. Bergaigne thinks of Agni's 4 eyes (Rel. Véd. I, 308, 31). Renou (EVP 5, 61): 4-limbed Varuna.

^{102.} Of similar significance are the hundred eyes of Agni (1.128.3).

^{103.} So also taken in the translations of Geldner, Ludwig, Griffith.

ray'; this is the origin of the classical meaning 'ray' for pada and especially pāda¹⁰⁴. In addition, AV 7.41.2 also uses sahásrapād- to describe the Sun, under the image of falcon.

e. Aśvins

The Aśvins, though not called Asuras, are designated as $m\bar{a}yin$ - who use $m\bar{a}y\bar{a}$ (6.63.5), no doubt, to accomplish their miraculous deeds. Their marvellous skills are also indicated by the terms $\dot{s}ac\bar{i}$ - and $damsan\bar{a}$ -, which would seem to have connotations similar to $m\bar{a}y\bar{a}$ -105. It is this skill and creative power which gives the Aśvins the ability to assume many forms (1.117.9 purá várpānsy)106.

f. Brhaspati

Bṛhaspati partakes of the asura-nature (2.23.2); he is great, of powerful nature, full of power (1.190.8), and, one who knows (seeing, as he does, into both [domains?] – see 1.190.7 and cf. 2.2.4 in D.1.c).

Bráhman is the divine power over which Bṛhaspati presides; this is indicated by his name and the doublet Brahmaṇaspati. Both identify the god as 'lord' $(p\acute{a}ti)$ of * $b\dot{r}h$ (= $br\acute{a}hman$) in the sense that he possesses and controls $br\acute{a}hman$, an esoteric power activated and made manifest through the sacred word (i.e. the Vedic formula). $Br\acute{a}hman$, accordingly, is set into operation in the context of the ritual presided over by seven officiating priests 107. These seven praisers recite in unison the sacred word $(v\bar{a}c - see\ 10.71.3$ where sacred speech is personified); in this way they evoke the $br\acute{a}hman$ power. These seven praisers with their seven chanting mouths (cf. 9.111.1 sapt\acute{a}syebhir \acute{r}kvabhi\dot{h}) could thus be mystically designated as the loci of Bṛhaspati's $br\acute{a}hman$ power. A correspondence between Bṛhaspati and these priests is illustrated by two passages (4.

^{104.} Renou, Études Voc. RV, p. 21, fn. 1.

^{105.} Gonda, Language, pp. 134-135.

^{106.} várpas- emphasizes "la métamorphose divine" (Renou, Études Voc. RV, p. 13).

^{107.} Cf. L. Renou, Religions of Ancient India (London, 1953), p. 32-33.

50.4; 4.51.4) which speak of 'seven-mouthed' (saptásya-) Bṛhaspati¹⁰⁸. The seven mouths are attributed to Bṛhaspati in the highest heaven (paramé vyòman 4.50.4); this indicates that the description pertains to his transcendental nature (cf. Section III).

g. Rudra

From 2.33.9 it is learned that Rudra manifests himself in multiple outer forms: 'With steadfast limbs, multiformed (pururúpa-), possessed of marvellous and impressive power (ugrá)¹⁰⁹, the tawny (god) adorned himself with brilliant gold¹¹⁰. From the master (tśāna-) of this world of many (forms)¹¹¹, from Rudra the asura-power never leaves.'

Rudra's nature is here portrayed as a typical asura nature, a feature not sufficiently stressed in connection with this god. Elsewhere in the text, he is described in the same way. Rudra is devá- ásura- in 5.42.11; he is, in 8.20.17, the asura of the sky¹¹². In 5.41.3 and 2.1.6 the asura of the sky is probably again Rudra (so Sāyaṇa; Bergaigne, Rel. Védique III, 34 and Geldner, Der Rig-Veda II, 324, fn. 17b). Further, in 6.74.1 the dual divinities Soma-Rudra are said to maintain their asura-power. Thus, the last line of 2.33.9, which assigns the asura-power to Rudra is perfectly in keeping with the other Rig Vedic evidence.

Perhaps in response to his inherent asura nature, Rudra is ugra. This adjective is etymologically related to the neuter noun ojas. Ojas- (identical with Avestan aojah; Lat. *augus) may be defined as "vital energy"; "special vital power and creative energy ..." and ugra is charged with

- 108. Renou (EVP 15,64) and Hillebrandt (Lieder, p.60) make the correspondence between the 7 hotrs and Brhaspati. Geldner (Der Rig-Veda ad 4.50.4): 7 Angirases or the 7 singers. On the number '7' in the Veda, see Bergaigne, Rel. Védique II, 143 ff., esp. p. 148. Also see fn. 32.
 - 109. Gonda, ojas, p. 15.
- 110. For 'gold' meaning 'immortality' note SB XII. 5.2,7; XIII.4.1,7 etc., see J. Eggeling, The Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa, SBE 44 (Oxford, 1900), p. 537.
 - 111. Following Renou's suggestion in EVP 15, 159.
- 112. So Bergaigne, Rel. Véd. III, 34; Bradke (Dyaus Asura, p. 46) attributes divó ... ásurasya either to Rudra, or to Dyaus but states that a connection between the two gods may exist in the RV.

this meaning¹¹³. The words ugra/ojas and $m\bar{a}y\bar{a}$, designating 'power-substances', seem to overlap in areas of meaning; all carry with them the idea of a formidable creative energy¹¹⁴.

That Rudra uses his energies to create phenomenal forms is taken up in 2.33.9 cd. Being iśāna- of the world, he stands in relation to the phenomenal as 'one who has power over it, one who is in possession of it'115. His dominion over the world, composed of manifold forms, may be because he generated these; that would explain why Rudra is elsewhere called 'Father of the World' (6.49.10). In any case, his epithet pururápaindicates that Rudra, the Asura, creates multiple material forms which may be considered as the godhead's manifestations. The significance of pururápa is based on the Indra example of 6.47.18; thus Rudra is linked to our definition 3.

This particular creator image of Rudra is in harmony with the subsequent Brāhmaṇic developments of the god. The 8 different forms of Rudra, expressed by the various names, are introduced in ŚB 6.1.3.7 and KB 6.1.9; among these names appears that of Īśāna, prefigured in 2.33.9 as an epithet of Rudra¹¹⁶. Sāyaṇa should have believed that these forms existed already in the Rig Vedic period; he offers, as one explanation for pururúpaḥ in 2.33.9 aṣṭamūrtyātmakair But this is unlikely, for a post Rig Vedic development may be discerned: 7 of the 8 names occur in the AV, though as appellations of gods seemingly distinct from Rudra (Bhandarkar, Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, p.104–105); in the VS 16,18. 28, the names Śarva and Bhava are already assigned to Rudra (Macdonell, Vedic Myth. p.75).

Of particular interest from the foregoing is the following: though Rudra does occupy a subordinate position in the Rig Veda, he functions

^{113.} See Gonda, ojas, p. 46; Gonda, "Gods" and "Powers", p. 19.

^{114.} Gonda, Language, cf. pp. 126 and 141. Note that ugrá-is also used with Varuna in 7.34.10.

^{115.} īśāna: participle from Vīś ('to possess, to be master of') designates one who has 'power' and 'might'; it can also be used with the genitive in the sense of 'being possessed' (cf. 1.73.9).

^{116.} See Bhandarkar, Vaisnavism, Saivism, p. 105.

as a special god, a High Being. It does seem to me that the deities described thus far – in the main Asuras who possess the power to create and project phenomenal forms – function in the most critical areas of Vedic religious beliefs. Though other minor deities (i. e. the Asura Bull, Sūrya, possibly the Aśvins and Viṣṇu, for which see below) are also part of this group, Rudra alone is so often interpreted as being a Vedic outsider, an amalgamation of Aryan and non-Aryan characteristics. If this were so, then it is puzzling indeed that a minor divinity exhibiting in the Rig Veda a blend of Vedic and foreign elements could become part of such an important and extraordinary group of gods.

Belief in the non-Aryan aspect of Rudra repeatedly centers around two propositions:

- 1) that his malevolent, destructive, ambivalent nature is uncharacteristic for a Vedic god, and
- 2) that features associated with Rudra-Śiva in the later Hinduistic developments are already foreshadowed on a seal coming from a pre- and non-Vedic civilization¹¹⁷.

In both cases, the evidence is inconclusive. Without going too deeply here into matters deserving separate studies¹¹⁸, it should be observed that:

- 1) an ambivalent nature also belongs to the important and thoroughly Vedic Varuṇa (see D.1.a). Therefore ambivalence need not be considered non-Vedic. Renou considered ambivalence to be characteristic of the Veda and a legacy passed on into Hinduism¹¹⁹.
- 2) the so-called proto-Śiva seal from Mohenjo-daro, usually described as showing a horned deity, having three heads, raised phallus, and seated

^{117.} For example one of the latest accounts building heavily on this line of reasoning is R. N. Dandekar, Some Aspects of the history of Hinduism. Poona, 1967; Chap. I.

^{118.} I intend to discuss the so-called proto-Siva seal from Mohenjo-daro in another publication.

^{119.} Renou, Religions, pp. 20; 62.

in yoga posture, would if the description remains uncontested lead to the unexpected conclusion that these features apply better to Rig Vedic Agni than to Śiva's Vedic forerunner, Rudra (see D.1.c for Agni's having 'three heads', a nature consisting of virile strength, and flames symbolically referred to as 'horns').

Undoubtedly the Rig Veda does not portray the complete spectrum of beliefs associated with Rudra. Much more about the popular traits and ritualistic practices are learned from the somewhat later Vedic literature. Yet, a verse as rich linguistically and conceptually in Indo-aryan features as 2.33.9 does argue for Rudra's being more Vedic or less antithetically alien than is generally granted.

h. Visnu

Viṣṇu is not called asura, nor is he associated with the term $m\bar{a}y\bar{a}$; he is however connected with the 'power-substance' terms ojas (8.12.27) and $dasma^{120}$ (3.54.14 purudasmá- 'abounding in the extraordinary').

Viṣṇu is mentioned in connection with the gods' asura-power in hymn 3.55. This hymn has as its refrain: 'great is the unique asura-nature of the gods'. In verse 10 of that hymn, Viṣṇu is honored with the following words: 'Viṣṇu protects (as) a herdsman the highest sphere, exhibiting 121 the dear immortal locations of his divine power (dhāman-). Agni knows all these creations. Great is the unique asura-nature [lit. asura-ship] of the gods'122.

It is from the term dhāman that Visnu's capability to project forms into the phenomenal world is surmised. The meaning of dhāman presumes this capability. As already stated in connection with Soma, dhāman signifies the manifest locations of the divine power of the numinous. The

^{120.} Cf. Gonda (Language, p. 135) re: the etymologically related term damsanā- and its semantic affinity to māyā-.

^{121.} Gonda, Dhāman-, p. 43.

^{122. 3.55.10:} víṣṇur gopáḥ paramám pāti páthaḥ priyá dhámāny amftā dádhānaḥ / agníṣ ṭá víśvā bhúvanāni veda mahád deváṇām asuratvám ékam //

term therefore presupposes the idea that the numinous transposes its holy power from some region of mystery to the region of name and form, that is, reality. It is the forms which the numen wills to create that become its dhāman. Thus, when in 3.55.10 b Viṣṇu is said to exhibit his immortal dhāman, it must be concluded that what Viṣṇu is exhibiting are the projected forms which are the eternal locations of his divine power¹²³. While he exhibits these locations, Viṣṇu protects the highest region (paramám...páthaḥ which is no doubt the same as the highest heaven, parama vyoman). Thus the poet is emphasizing a distinction: Viṣṇu protects the unmanifest and exhibits the manifest (cf. Section III). The entire creative process, whereby the numinous becomes concretized form and experienced reality is known to Agni. The refrain connects this process to the gods' asura-nature.

What are the various visible forms of Viṣṇu?¹²⁴ Very little can be said with certainty. Perhaps the only way to approach this is to work backwards, and ask the question in the following manner: Given Viṣṇu's divine powers, wherein might these be concretized? An energy both beneficial and supportive seems to characterize Vedic Viṣṇu; this is shown in recent studies which consider the god as representing spacial expansiveness, indicative of the idea of universal penetration and pervasiveness, especially as it relates to a central cosmic axis¹²⁵. Such power would lead to the conjecture that Viṣṇu's projected forms correlate to an axis mundi penetrating the three regions of the world and sustaining all life therein.

^{123.} So also Gonda, Dhāman-, p.43. The term dhāman- is of additional interest since its use in the Bhagavad Gītā (± 200 B.C.) indicates that its meaning continues to relate to the 'place of the God's presence' (Bh. G. 8.21; 15.6) see Gonda, ibid., p.81.

^{124.} anyárūpa- in 7.100.6 suggests that Viṣṇu has indeed more than one type of distinct form.

^{125.} Gonda, Viṣṇuism and Śivaism, p. 10. Kuiper also considers that Viṣṇu, by his position in the cosmic center, must be associated with the cosmic pillar in Vedic belief (F. B. J. Kuiper, "The Three Strides of Viṣṇu", Indological Studies in honor of W. Norman Brown, pp. 144-145). For references on the previously prevailing view, that Viṣṇu is a solar god, see Kuiper, p. 137, fn. 1.

2. Gods whose creativeness relates to the ritual

a. Viśvakarman

Viśvakarman, the All-maker, is as his name indicates creative energy thinly concretized as a personal god. He is a late development in the Rig Veda, being mentioned in Book 10 and celebrated in two hymns (10.81; 82) which attempt to explain cosmogony as resulting from the sacrifice. Seen in semi-abstract fashion as a supreme god (devá ékaḥ 10.81.3), as master-builder of all things, his personification is slight. He is not called asura; indeed 10.82.5 seems to emphasize that Viśvakarman is 'beyond asura gods' 126. Sketched in broad terms, he is father, progenitor, distributor who knows all the locations of divine power (dháman-) and all creations; he is the sole name-giver of the gods (10.82.3), that is, he created them.

In the beginning, how did Viśvakarman cause creation and what material was used? These are the questions the poet of 10.81 asks: "What indeed was the wood¹²⁷, what was the tree from which they¹²⁸ constructed¹²⁹ heaven and earth?" (verse 4) "What verily was the resting-place (the abode)? What manner of thing did he begin from¹³⁰, and how was it, that from which the All-maker, the all-seeing¹³¹, creating the earth, unfolded the heaven by his might?" (verse 2)¹³²

A good starting point for an answer to these questions is 10.81.3, a verse rich in multiplicity images and oft repeated in the later Brāhmaṇic texts¹³³: "Eyes he had on all sides, mouths on all sides, arms on all sides,

- 126. Also possible: 'beyond asuras and devas' which could mean that Viśvakarman is above both types of divinities 'demons and gods'.
 - 127. Renou, EVP 15, 168: vána distinct from vṛkṣá, and meaning 'wood' as 'material'.
- 128. Probably refers to the sákhi- in 10.81.5. Geldner (Der Rig-Veda III, p. 263) "die Weltschöpfer (Say.), die Gehilfen des Visvakarman".
- 129. niṣṭatakṣúḥ "carpentered out", F. Edgerton, The Beginnings of Indian Philosophy (Cambridge, 1965), p. 61.
 - 130. ārámbhaṇam: image of a cosmic support, see Renou, EVP 15, 168.
 - 131. viśvácaksas: omniscient; cf. Renou, ibid.
 - 132. Edgerton, Beginnings, p. 61.
 - 133. e.g. VS 17.19; Mahān U. 2.2 (with slight variations); Svet. U. 3.3.

feet on all sides, when by using his two arms like fans, he blew up heaven and earth (as a smith would) as he, sole god, created them 134".

That Viśvakarman is pictured in this verse as a smith should not be regarded as a fortuitous poetic expression; the image is of Viśvakarman the great fashioner, and at its base represents, as Brown rightly points out, a Tvaṣṭṛ idea¹³⁵. Viśvakarman has other important connections with the ancient Asura Tvaṣṭṛ. The verb Vjan 'to produce, beget' etc. is used with both (for Tvaṣṭṛ see Brown, "Creation Myth", p. 86; for Viśvakarman see 10.81.2; 10.82.1,3,7); at the same time, neither owes his creation to another source, both being there at the beginning. In this sense, Tvaṣṭṛ is agrajā-, agriyā- and Viśvakarman is ajā- 'unborn' (10.82.6). Viśvakarman can indeed be called "a kind of transcendant Tvaṣṭṛ''¹³⁶.

Out of what material does he fashion creatures? All creations, states 10.82.6 remained in the first womb¹³⁷; this one womb (ékam 6c) is implanted in the navel of Aja. That is, Viśvakarman has within himself the womb containing all creatures as well as all other forms to be created. It is the god's womb which in 10.82.5 is beyond all creation, being prior to everything¹³⁸. Because his womb contains all creations he knows all creations (10.82.3). Being thus filled with the raw material of creation, he is described, in 10.81.3, as having eyes, mouths, arms, feet on all sides.

In keeping with the late tenor of the hymn, it is in the context of the sacrifice that Viśvakarman brings forth the contents of his belly. He comes to the first sacrifice as seer (ṛṣi), as hotṛ priest (10.81.1) and there, aided his friends (the other priests?¹³⁹) by giving the first offering, his

^{134.} Brown, "Theories", p. 30.

^{135.} Brown, ibid.

^{136.} Brown, "Creation Myth", p. 86, fn. 5.

^{137.} gárbham prathamám. The idea is that Viśvakarman (like Tvaṣṭṛ) contains within himself the receptacle of life.

^{138.} Geldner, Der Rig-Veda III, p. 265, fn. 5ab.

^{139.} They should, by implication, also be prior to creation. Where they come from is however not stated.

body. This act is described in 10.81.5: 'These which are your highest dhāman, which (are your) lowest, and these which (are your) intermediate (ones), Viśvakarman, offer¹⁴⁰ (these) to (your) friends for the oblation, O Svadhāvat. Sacrifice yourself, (your own) body, increasing (yourself thereby)'¹⁴¹.

Viśvakarman is thus both cosmic agent and material. He is, as the Tvaṣṭṛ image ritualized, the arch-fashioner who wills himself to perform parturition so that the primeval sacrifice can cause creation. The example of Viśvakarman typifies our definition 1, although a basically new view is being mythologized here: creative energy needs the sacrifice to stimulate it into action.

b. Purusa

The numerous studies on the famous Puruṣasūkta (RV 10.90) are in agreement that Puruṣa, the cosmic Male, represents the raw material out of which the universe is shaped¹⁴². The opening verse of the hymn which describes Puruṣa with limitless bodily parts is, in effect, describing the structure of the cosmic Male, from whom the whole universe, category by category, is generated.

10.90.1 states that Puruṣa has a thousand heads, a thousand eyes, a thousand feet. The meaning is that Puruṣa is omniform. Like the ancient Asura Bull named Viśvarūpa, Puruṣa's omniform nature is also understood to be androgynous (cf. 10.90.5ab; Renou, Hymnes Spéculatifs, p. 247). Thus, an omniform, androgynous Male represents the raw material of the universe: 'Puruṣa alone is all this universe, what has been

^{140.} On V siks see Renou (EVP 15, 168).

^{141. 10.81.5:} yá te dhámāni paramáni yávamá yá madhyamá viśvakarmann utémá / śíkṣā sákih-bhyo havíṣi svadhāvaḥ svayáṃ yajasva tanvàṃ vṛdhānáḥ //. On the last line cf. Renou, ibid.; Edgerton, Beginnings, p. 61; Geldner, Der Rig-Veda III, p. 264, fn. 5 d.

^{142.} Edgerton, Beginnings, p. 25, 67; A. A. Macdonell, A Vedic Reader for Students (Oxford, 1917), p. 195; Brown, "Theories", p. 26; Renou, Hymnes spéculatifs, p. 247; P. Mus, "Du Nouveau sur Rgveda 10.90?" in Indological Studies in honor of W. Norman Brown, p. 165ff. For other translations consult Renou, EVP 16,148.

and what is to become' (10.90.2). These features, point for point, are clearly reminiscent of the aforementioned Asura Bull.

Significant additional similarities between Puruṣa and the Asura Bull exist. Puruṣa is the passive substance from which others generate forms. Again, owing to the late character of the hymn, the creation of forms is the product of the ritual. Puruṣa is the sacrificial victim (vss. 7, 11) whom the gods use as the oblation (see 10.90.6) when they perform the sacrifice. The process by which the forms come out of Puruṣa continues to be the emission process; the emitted forms are declined in the ablative (e.g. see vss. 5; 12–14), indicative that they originate from Puruṣa¹⁴³. In sum, the use of multiple bodily parts to describe Puruṣa is to be understood as a late Rig Vedic example of definition 2. As such, Puruṣa demonstrates conceptual connections with the earlier example of the same definition, the Asura Bull.

c. Vāc

Vāc is holy power experienced as 'the word', especially 'the sacred word'. On that account, she is in her unmanifest state in the paramá-vyòman-, sahásrākṣara- 'thousand or limitless syllables' (1.164.41). Akṣara 'syllable' represents the ultimate measure of the word; from akṣara all formulae start and to it their power can be reduced 144. Being the module from which sacred formulae and all words result, akṣara is creative in nature. Vāc sahasrākṣara therefore represents the power of total sound, especially sacred sound, which is creative.

How does Vāc exercise her creative power? She seems to be a creator of the phenomenal world in that she fashions the primeval floods (sali-lá) 145 which have life-giving potentiality. RV 1.164.41 146 mentions this

^{143.} On the force of the ablative, especially in the last pāda of 10.90.12, see Mus, "Rgveda 10.90", p. 177 ff. (On Mus' position that pādas 12a-c are atisṛṣṭi expressions, see Renou's remark in EVP 16, 150).

^{144.} J. A. B. van Buitenen, "Aksara", JAOS 79, 178.

^{145.} Cf. Brown, "Rig Veda 1.164", pp. 203, 209, 217.

^{146.} For an interesting analysis of this verse see V.S. Agrawala, "Gauri", pp. 1-7.

creative activity: 'The buffalo-cow (i.e. Vāc) lowed, fashioning the primeval waters¹⁴⁷, having become one-footed, two-footed, four-footed, eight-footed, nine-footed, she who in the highest heaven¹⁴⁸ is a thousand syllables'¹⁴⁹.

There is evidence that Vāc can produce by the emission process. In 10.125.7 Vāc states: 'I emit (Vsū)¹⁵⁰ the father ...'. In that same hymn, 10.125.3 d, she declares that she caused herself to enter many forms¹⁵¹. Thus Vāc seems also capable of assuming phenomenal forms. A place of manifestation is the rsis. 10.71.3 states that Vāc was found having entered (note: pra Vviś) into the seers. This is a mystic reference to the seers' ability to envision Vedic hymns.

But in what form does she manifest herself? Vāc assumes the forms of sacred formulae recited at the rites. Vedic formulae, as is known, occur in different metrical patterns which are measured by the number of syllables in a quarter-verse or foot (pāda). The compounds with pad in 1.164.41 are evocative of different meters of verse¹⁵². It thus seems that Vāc is described as one¹⁵³, two, four, eight¹⁵⁴, nine-footed, because she manifests herself in the form of metric formulae.

The multiplicity references to Vāc represent a late Rig Vedic example of definition 3; nowhere is she called an Asura, nor is the term $m\bar{a}y\bar{a}$ linked with her. Instead, she exemplifies, as do the other gods in Section

- 147. salilá: Lüders, Varuṇa I, 113: the Heavenly Waters. Agrawala, "Gaurī", p. 3: cosmic Waters as primeval material cause.
- 148. paramé vyòman; Agrawala states that manifest Vāc originates from the vyoman. The quest is therefore for the ultimate source in the parama vyoman ("Gaurī", p.7).
- 149. 1.164.41: gaurīr mimāya salilāni tákṣaty ékapadī dvipádī sā cátuṣpadī / aṣṭāpadī návapadī babhūvúṣī sahásrākṣarā paramé vyòman //
 - 150. See Renou, EVP 16, 167.
- 151. On bháry āveśáyantīm, Geldner, Der Rig-Veda III, p. 355, fn. 3d. For the significance of ā Vviś, see under Soma (Section II.D.1.b) and cf. 10.125.6; 10.81.1.
- 152. Renou, EVP 16,92: these compounds in opad and oaksara evoke primarily the 'measured' word, secondarily 'the cow'. For different interpretations see V.S. Agrawala, "Gauri", pp. 4-7; Brown, Rig Veda 1.164", p. 217.
 - 153. ékapadī is om in the later literature van Buitenen, "Akṣara", p. 180.
 - 154. astápadi also said of Vac in 8.76.12.

II.D.2, a type of abstract demiurge whose creative power exalts the importance of the ritual.

III. COSMOGRAPHY AND COSMOGONY

The above analysis regarding the creative activity of High Beings and the resultant significance of multiple bodily parts must be supported by a cosmography having the properties to allow this activity to take place. Descriptions pertaining to such a cosmographic schema are contained in a few monographs of the early 1900s and in more recent philological studies occupied with other Vedic problems¹⁵⁵. The ensuing discussion, too, limits itself to considering only those cosmographic components of the entire schema relevant to the emission process.

In establishing this schema, the extensive connotations of dhāman are of major importance. Dhāman may refer to "a 'location', of a numen, of a divine power, of a deity, i.e. not only or merely a 'holder' or 'receptacle' of a divine power, a place, being or phenomenon in which a divinity sets or locates itself, functions or manifests itself, or displays its power, or where its 'presence' is experienced, but also a particular way of presenting or revealing itself, of locating or 'projecting' a mode of its nature and essence, a hypostasis or refraction in which it is believed to be active 156". Dhāman thus implies a set of oppositions, namely the existence of a numen in a transcendental sphere and the existence of a manifestation, corresponding to the numinous, in a phenomenal sphere. It further implies that whereas the manifestation is apprehensible form active with divine power, the numinous corresponds to that divine power devoid of a limiting concrete form. Implicit, of course, is the assumption that the numinous is invisible, otherwise the whole process of revelation becomes meaningless. Dhāman therefore implies the existence

^{155.} Macdonell, Vedic Myth., Par. 7; W. Kirfel, Die Kosmographie, esp. pp. 1-53. Lüders, Varuna I, esp. chapters II, III, IV; J. Gonda, Loka, World and Heaven in the Veda in Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschapen, afd. Letterkunde, n. s. 73, no. 1 (1966), esp. chapters V-VII; Gonda, Dhāman-; Brown, "Rig Veda 1. 164", 203 ff.

^{156.} Gonda, Dhāman-, 19.

of two separate spheres to accommodate the numinous and its manifestation, spheres different though not antithetical since the emission process must be capable of operating between them.

These implications can be stated in another way: in the Rig Veda, dhāman implies two regions, one free from, the other charged with the implications of loka. If loka is understood as a "power position"; "a place which comes into contact with power"; a safe and stable resting place in the phenomenal, visible universe 157, then a loka would be the phenomenal sphere wherein is found the dhāman of the numinous 158. Therefore, if these lokas can be determined, the field of hypostasis and the extent of the Vedic visible, knowable world would be determined.

The Vedic phenomenal world is conceived as being tripartite. Each part is considered a loka and together phenomenal space is considered as being triloka¹⁵⁹. As such, earth (pṛthivī), the atmosphere (antarikṣa) and the sky (div; vyoman etc.) constitute the material and visible lokas of the Vedic universe. The belief in a physical heavenly sky should be emphasized here. This belief accounts for expressions which indicate that the luminous regions of the sky can be produced (... ámimīta ... ví divó rocaná ... 6.7.7¹⁶⁰) and seen (cf. AV 13.1.39 ... paśyanti rocanám diví súryam...).

There is however another heavenly region which is hierarchically superior to the foregoing one; it is often designated by expressions which insist upon this superiority (e.g. parame vyoman; paró divá 10.125.8; paramám ... páthaḥ 3.55.10; paramám pádam 1.154.6).

This upper heaven is not contiguous to the lower heaven. Wedged in between is the firmament $(n\bar{a}ka)$. This vault is arched over the lower heaven, wherefrom come descriptions placing the $n\bar{a}ka$ on the 'back of

^{157.} Gonda, Loka, 35,45,150.

^{158.} The correlation between the concepts lokāḥ and dhāmāni specified in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (6.3.1.17 explaining RV 10.13.1) should have existed in the Rig Vedic period as well. Cf. Gonda, Loka, 62.

^{159.} Cf. Gonda, ibid., 44, 61, fn. 38, 62.

^{160.} On vi Vmā, note Gonda, Language, p. 170.

the sky' $(3.2.12)^{161}$. The vault is the divider between the lower visible sky and the upper invisible heaven¹⁶². In effect, it is the $n\bar{a}ka$ which separates all that is phenomenal from that which is transcendental, the former characteristically noted as the lower, the latter the upper regions, surfaces etc. (e.g. 1.128.3; 1.164.12)¹⁶³.

This cosmographic progression is assumed to exist in Rig Veda 1.164¹⁶⁴ and it is clearly set forth in Atharva Veda 4.14.3: "From the back of the earth (pṛthivyā) I have ascended to the intermediate space (antarikṣam); from that to the sky (divam), from the back of the sky, of the vault of heaven (divo nākasya pṛṣṭhāt) I have gone to 'heaven' (svar), to (celestial) light (jyotiḥ)" 165. The region filled with celestial light is the highest heaven (cf. RV 4.50.4 ... mahó jyótiṣaḥ paramé vyòman).

The emission process originates from the region above the $n\bar{a}ka$. Above the $n\bar{a}ka$ all forms of a divinity are perceivable; that is, this is the sphere

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161. Cf. Macdonell, Vedic Myth., p. 9; Lüders, Varuna I, 73ff.
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^{162.} Macdonell, ibid., p. 8.

^{163.} Bergaigne has already pointed out that 1.164.12 describes the same deity in padas ab and cd. Padas ab describe the deity in the upper half of heaven and cd in the lower part. Thus, the unmanifested and manifested aspects of the same divinity are here being considered (Rel. Védique II, 103). The identity of the divinity is not entirely clear. Pāda a calls him 'Father'. A 'Father' is several times mentioned in this hymn, and may be identified as Agni (vss. 16, 22) or Dyaus (vss. 8, 33) according to Brown ("Rig Veda 1.164", pp. 212-215). 'Father' in verse 12 is understood by Gonda (Notes on names, p. 87) to be the name of the Universal or Primeval Father; Brown ("Rig Veda 1.164", pp. 208; 212-213): 'Time' or 'the Year'; Lüders (Varuna II 690): "der Jahressonne"; Geldner (Der Rig-Veda I, p. 229, fn. 12): The Father in the form of the year, especially the Sun. I too see padas ab as making a statement regarding the unmanifest nature and power of the Sun, and this because the complementary padas cd appear to describe the manifest Sun, seeing everywhere as he crosses the sky on his seven-wheeled, six-spoked car (so Brown, "Rig Veda 1.164", pp. 208; 212-213; Lüders, Varuna II, 690: the sun chariot is saptácakra-. Cf. Bergaigne, Rel. Védique II, 150). Accordingly, the 'Father' may be the Sun as the power which regulates the year (cf. E. Windisch, "Das Räthsel vom Jahre", ZDMG 48 [1894], 353); this seems to be what Geldner had in mind. Páñcapāda- 'five-footed', perhaps the five seasons (Brown; Geldner, Ludwig, Der Rigveda V, 451); or, the five cardinal points (Bergaigne, Rel. Védique II, 150); although I would expect páñcapāda to have connotations related to sahásrapād, said of Sūrya in 8.58.16

^{164.} Cf. Brown, "Rig Veda 1.164", 203.

^{165.} Gonda, Loka, 76.

of the manifold essence of the High Being. And it is from this sphere that the divinity projects his phenomenal forms. These notions are particularly well expressed in two Soma verses: RV 9.85.12 says that 'the Gandharva [Soma] has risen over the vault (nåke), perceiving all the forms (víśvā rūpå) [that are] his', while 9.86.15 notes that from his station (padá-166) which is in the highest heaven, he proceeds into all confluences (i.e. all phases of the soma juice preparations)167. Plotting this information onto the aforegoing discussion of Soma (II.D.1.b) the following Vedic beliefs emerge concerning the mystic connection between the High Being Soma and the ritual soma juice:

- 1. The High Being Soma, Soma in his asura state, is to be located above the nāka.
- 2. By means of māyā, he projects, below the nāka, rūpas. The rūpas of Soma are the soma juices. The god Soma may be described as viśvarūpa because he has the capacity to project infinite number of rūpas. Further, the rūpas are the locations of his divine power (dhāman).
- 3. These divine modalities enter the ritual life of Vedic man.
- 4. In this way, Soma manifests himself in the terrestrial loka as soma juice.

This process of divine manifestation should operate in the same manner for the other divinities illustrating definition 3. However, for some reason not entirely clear, the sequential details of the process can be followed best in the case of Soma.

IV. CONCLUSION

The evidence from the Rig Veda shows that the convention of multiple bodily parts and forms is associated with that divinity who is endowed with a supra-normal power to create phenomenal forms. Creation here

^{166.} Cf. Renou's study in Études Voc. RV, pp. 21-22.

^{167. 15}cd: padám yád asya paramé vyòmany áto víśvā abhí sám yāti samyátah. Taken in much the same way by Geldner (Der Rig-Veda III, p. 80, fn. 15d), Renou (EVP 9, 33; 96); Gonda, Dhāman-, 45-46; cf. Lüders, Varuṇa I, 202; II, 702.

is the act of bringing forth, particularizing, projecting substance conceived as already 'having form'. It is this potentiality to engender forms that defines the structure of the cosmic creator with the multiplicity convention.

The evidence warrants another conclusion, namely that the convention originates from within the Indo-aryan culture. It does not seem possible that a convention exhibiting enough internal consistency so as to permit of three subtle and discreet definitions could come into the Rig Veda from a non-Vedic source. Further, from the outset, the multiplicity convention is woven into a series of Rig Vedic beliefs which continue and, in instances, come to dominate phases of Vedism and Hinduism. For example, beliefs that creation is emission, that divinity is the source of all, that an androgynous nature characterizes the creator, that a creator can emanate forms which transpose his powers from one plane to another, these beliefs are present in such later religious expressions as sṛṣṭi, Brahman, Śiva Ardhanārī, vyūha, respectively.

Lastly, the religious significance of the multiplicity convention comments upon the purpose of the hymns themselves. The aim of Rig Vedic hymns, long recognized, is to establish mystic correspondences between the sacred and the profane. This purpose colours the whole esoteric character of the hymns: the cryptic language, the revelatory function of the *rṣis*, the quest for magic power through utterances which establish correct occult relationships. The search for the knowledge of correct correspondences seems to be rooted in the Vedic belief that the physical world is indeed replete with the sacred power of the numen; the power has only to be correctly located to be experienced and tapped.

√ Table I

Rig Vedic verses describing Gods and Demons with multiple bodily parts and forms.

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Agni: 1.31.13; 1.79.12; 1.97.6; 1.128.3; 1.146.1,2; 2.2.4; 2.3.1; 3.20.2,3; 5.
  1.8; 5.8.2,5; 5.43.13; 5.48.5; 7.55.7; 8.19.32; 10.21.7; 10.79.5; 10.92.11;
  10.98.10; 10.107.6
Angirases: 10.78.5
Aśvins: 1.117.9
Asura Bull: 3.38.4,7; 3.56.3
Indra: 1.23.3 (Indra-Vāyu); 3.53.8; 6.46.3; 6.47.18
Tvastr: 1.13.10; 3.55.19; 10.10.5
Purușa: 10.90.1
Bṛhaspati: 4.50.4; 4.51.4; cf. 3.5.5; 9.111.1; (7.97.7 śatápatra?)
Rudra: 2.33.9
Varuna: 7.34.10
Vāc: 1.164.41; 8.76.12
Vāstospati: 7.55.1
Viśvakarman: 10.81.3
Viśvarūpa and other demons: 2.14.4; 10.8.8,9; 10.99.6; 10.99.10
Vișnu: 3.55.10; 7.100.6
Sūrya: 1.50.2; 1.164.12; 7.63.1; 8.58.16
Soma: 4.58.2,3; 6.41.3; 7.37.1; 8.15.13; 9.25.4; 9.26.5; 9.60.1,2; 9.65.7;
  9.71.7; 9.73.1; 9.75.3; 9.85.12; 9.90.2; 9.106.11
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