

## A Note on the Birth of the Hero in ancient India

by W.B. Bollée

in memoriam Otto Rank

The present paper is based on a system of coordinates the vertical line of which features the heroes, viz. Indra, Vrātya, Prajāpati, Nārāyaṇa, the Jina, and the Buddha, while the horizontal line is divided into conception, gestation, birth, and some bodily marks. As is well-known, there are two words for the concept "hero" as early as the Ṛgveda, viz. *vīra* and *śūra* which apparently differ very little in meaning. And though we find only compounds with *-śūra*, like *dāna-śūra* when we consider the scholastic list of hero types in the *Mahābhārata* (cr. ed. 13,74,22 sqq.), yet we also meet with *dāna-vīra* (MW).

Further, since Indians do not seem to distinguish their heroes anything more by formal designation than by class of beings, neither shall we separate divine and human heroes in the following discussion. The heroic ideal of the Vedic Āryans is particularly represented by the god Indra as a fighter against human as well as demon-enemies, alone<sup>1</sup> or as a leader.<sup>2</sup> He is born for battle<sup>3</sup> and victory;<sup>4</sup> the complete conqueror,<sup>5</sup> who brings about peace<sup>6</sup> and escapes the goddesses of death.<sup>7</sup> It is this ideal which, modified in the times of the Brāhmaṇas, and in a largely sedentary society, will be transferred to the old creator deity Prajāpati, who is then put on a par with Indra<sup>8</sup> and the sacrifice.<sup>9</sup> Later, between the 7th and the 5th century B.C., the idea of religious

---

<sup>1</sup> RV 3,30,4.

<sup>2</sup> RV 8,46, 13.

<sup>3</sup> RV 7,20,5.

<sup>4</sup> RV 4,20,6.

<sup>5</sup> RV 3,51,3.

<sup>6</sup> RV 10,30,7.

<sup>7</sup> RV 8,24,24.

<sup>8</sup> TB 1,2,2,5.

<sup>9</sup> ŚB 1,7,4,4.

Prajāpati, who is then put on a par with Indra<sup>8</sup> and the sacrifice.<sup>9</sup> Later, between the 7th and the 5th century B.C., the idea of religious single-handed fighter comes up among the descendants of the non-Vedic Āryans in Magadha, possibly beside the long-haired, perhaps śivaitic *muni* who overcomes attachment to this world. For this reason, Jains and Buddhists confer on him the title *Mahāvīra* or *Vīra*. To use Hertha Krick's (1982 : 5) definition, a *vīra* originally is a traditionally educated young Āryan who is entitled to the status of a priest and a warrior, has been admitted into the society of the Āhitāgnis, is allowed to partake of the Soma drink, is married and has a son. In the following I should like to deal especially with Jaina conceptions, compare them with and supplement them by the approximately synchronous data provided by Pāli literature, and outline their possible historical development. First some remarks about the name Mahāvīra.

According to Viśvabandhu's *Vedic Word-concordance*, *vīra* and *śūra* are mainly epithets of Indra, much less frequently of Agni and Soma. Furthermore, *vīra* is used with regard to groups of deities (sons of Aditi, the Angiras and the Maruts); sometimes it also designates demons. Once Rudra is called a *vīra*. The *karmadhāraya* compound *mahāvīra* is in Vedic literature first used with regard to Indra: (*Vṛtró*) *á hí juhvé mahā-vīrám (Índram)*<sup>10</sup>, in the late *Śarabhôpaniṣat* 6<sup>11</sup> regarding Rudra and, in *YV* texts like *VS* 19,14 and *KāthS* 21,2,3, as well as in the Brāhmaṇas, in connection with the Pravargya. I shall summarize these references here after Van Buitenen's study.<sup>12</sup> According to tradition, the Pravargya arose out of the deity Rudra's crushed head in the same way as, up to the present day, in oral tradition Mahārāṣṭrian heroes must first lose their heads before they can be reborn. Günther Sontheimer referred to this phaenomenon in his introduction to the present series of lectures, and Heidrun Brückner mentioned comparable facts from Tuḷunāḍu last week.<sup>13</sup> The *pravargya* designates a Vedic ritual which can precede certain *Soma* sacrifices. At this ritual, originally in the early morning, later on also in the evening, the Aśvins were offered freshly milked warm cow's milk. In *RV* times, for this purpose the milk was heated in a pot (*gharma*) made of non-precious metal (*ayas*, *RV*

<sup>8</sup> *TB* 1,2,2,5.

<sup>9</sup> *ŚB* 1,7,4,4.

<sup>10</sup> *RV* 1,32,6 and *AVPaipp* 13,6,6.

<sup>11</sup> *Upaniṣatsaṃgraha* I 355: *krpayā Bhagavān Viṣṇuṃ vidadāra nakhaiḥ kharaiḥ carmāmbaro mahā-vīro vīra-bhadro babhūva ha*.

<sup>12</sup> Buitenen, Van 1968.

<sup>13</sup> Brückner (see earlier in the present volume); Id. 1991, chapter 10, 1b; see also Roghair 1982: 297 (I am obliged to Heidrun Brückner for this reference); Krick 1982: 499 *et passim* and Filliozat 1967: 74 sqq.

5,30,15) and smeared all around with butter.<sup>14</sup>

In the post-*saṃhitā* period this simple sacrifice underwent a substantial change by being connected with a perhaps non-vedic or non-brahmanical rite implying the manufacture, heating, worship, and removal of an earthen vessel called *Mahāvīra*. This change also implied that the secret knowledge referring to this should be passed on outside the village in the *araṇya*,<sup>15</sup> and that the execution, which is forbidden at a *yajamāna*'s first Soma sacrifice, must be screened off against Śūdras and women,<sup>16</sup> particularly, the *yajamāna*'s wife. The said vessel, which is addressed as *deva puraś-cara*<sup>17</sup> and for which a *saṃrād-āsandī* "emperor's throne"<sup>18</sup> is prepared (this reminds us of the *cakravartin*), consists of three clay balls one on top of the other. The one at the top has been hollowed out and provided with an opening; the middle one is solid, and the broader lower one, which is flat at the bottom, serves as the basis.<sup>19</sup> A thin channel, Van Buitenen supposes, runs from the top down to the base of the lower clay ball.<sup>20</sup> The *Mahāvīra* vessel, with its height of about twenty centimetres, reminds Van Buitenen of a man sitting tailor-fashion,<sup>21</sup> also, because in *ŚB* 14,1,4,16 the vessel is expressly defined as a male:<sup>22</sup> *Vṛṣā vai Pravargyo, yoṣā patnī; mithunam evāitat prajananaṃ kriyate*. This symbolism is no longer clear from the vessel's present form.<sup>23</sup> The meaning of the *parigrīvam* 'ring around the neck' or of the *rāsnā* 'belt' surrounding the figure three or four fingers from the top remains obscure.<sup>24</sup> The manufacture of the *Mahāvīra*, according to Van Buitenen takes place before the rains begin,<sup>25</sup> and is done for the invigoration of the sun, which the vessel represents.<sup>26</sup> It is made out of various kinds of earth, animal hair, and goat's milk.<sup>27</sup> Goat's milk is used instead of cold water, against which the *Pravargya* must be protected.<sup>28</sup> Then *ghī* is poured over it; it is set on fire, made red-hot, and is then worshipped.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>14</sup>Van Buitenen, *Ibid.*, 24; 26; 30.

<sup>15</sup>Van Buitenen, *Ibid.*, 38; 137 and 140.

<sup>16</sup>*Ibid.*, 40; 58. On the reason for this see Neumann 1962: 143.

<sup>17</sup>*TA* 4,3,3[10].

<sup>18</sup>*ĀpŚS* 15,5,7.

<sup>19</sup>Van Buitenen 1968: 10.

<sup>20</sup>*Id.*, 34; 59.

<sup>21</sup>*Id.*, 11, 23 sqq.; 59.

<sup>22</sup>*Id.*, 11; 22; 31.

<sup>23</sup>*Id.*, 9; plate 3:1.

<sup>24</sup>*Id.*, 11; 59.

<sup>25</sup>*Id.*, 31.

<sup>26</sup>*Id.*, 27 sq.; 31.

<sup>27</sup>*Id.*, 57 sq.

<sup>28</sup>*Id.*, 30 sq. and 58.

<sup>29</sup>*Id.*, 26.

In 1975, Van Buitenen's Mahāvīra vessel theory, particularly its anthropomorphism<sup>30</sup> and the idea of the invigoration of the sun,<sup>31</sup> were rejected by Kashikar,<sup>32</sup> who recurs to Lüders' position. The latter scholar based his interpretation on Baudhāyana as the oldest source. There, mention is made only of three clay balls from which the parts of the *mahāvīra* are shaped and then placed one on top of the other. It was also Lüders who had argued<sup>33</sup> that not the sun, but the milkstream of the sky from which the rain falls has to be invigorated before the monsoon starts, as the milk sacrifice is then discontinued. The three parts of the vessel correspond to the tripartite sky and consequently to the trebling of the skystream which in the shape of the heated milk contributes to the sun's heat. Later,<sup>34</sup> the vessel is put on a par with the life-giving sun and the year, i.e. time – the latter being, since the family books of the *RV*, intimately related to Indra<sup>35</sup> and afterwards to Prajāpati, his successor in the Brāhmaṇa period.<sup>36</sup>

Up to now, scholars have paid little attention to the relation of the name Mahāvīra to the object, the vessel. Van Buitenen rendered Mahāvīra by 'Large Man',<sup>37</sup> Oldenberg by '*der große Held*',<sup>38</sup> Renou by '*grand homme*'<sup>39</sup> and '*souverain*'<sup>40</sup>, whereas Caland<sup>41</sup> and Hillebrandt<sup>42</sup> did not translate the word.

Now there is a tradition (*TA*, etc.) that at the end of the milk sacrifice the utensils are laid together near the Mahāvīra vessel in the shape of a man. These are then sprinkled with the flour left over from the sacrificial cake by way of marrow and with a mixture of sour milk and honey representing blood.<sup>43</sup> On the one hand, all this reminds us of the common group of myths in which a primaeval giant or cosmic man like the ṛg- and atharvavedic Puruṣa is sacrificed so that the world can be created from him. On the other hand, we have Mahādeva, the Vṛātya, who emerges from a piece of gold (*suvarṇa*) that Prajāpati, the ṛgvedic

<sup>30</sup>Id., 11 sq.

<sup>31</sup>Id., 37 (the latter goes back to Oldenberg 1917: 447).

<sup>32</sup>Kashikar 1975: 137 sqq. and 141 sq.

<sup>33</sup>Lüders 1951: 359 sqq.

<sup>34</sup>E.g., in the *AitĀr* 3,2,3.

<sup>35</sup>Indra is the sun: *RV* 3,44,4; *ŚB* 1,6,4,18 etc.; – Indra regulates time: *RV* 3,30,12 sq.

<sup>36</sup>Prajāpati is identified with the sun at *TB* 1,6,4,1; *ŚB* 12,3,5,1 etc.; with the year: *AiB* 1,1; 4,25 etc.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid., 9.

<sup>38</sup>Oldenberg 1917: 86; cf. Macdonell/Keith, II 1912: 142 'great hero.'

<sup>39</sup>Renou/ Filliozat 1949: §721.

<sup>40</sup>Renou 1954 : 124. Thus also Minard 1956: §116 a.

<sup>41</sup>Caland 1924: 423, 427.

<sup>42</sup>Hillebrandt 1897 : 135.

<sup>43</sup>Hillebrandt, Ibid.

creator god, sees in himself<sup>44</sup> a golden germ (*hiranya-garbha*), as it were. Similarly, Queen Māyā beholds the Bodhisatta in her womb. Besides, the Vrātya appears as a form of manifestation of the god Rudra,<sup>45</sup> who is later euphemistically called Śiva and is given the epithet Mahādeva as well. Moreover, the Vrātya has close relations with the Pravargya in other respects.<sup>46</sup>

As is well-known, the Mahādeva worshippers belonged to an older Āryan wave of invaders who had penetrated into eastern India before the vedic brahmins. We first hear of them in AV 15, but after that only sporadically in literature up to the *Mbh.* Then they disappear from literary, i.e. brahmanical, tradition. But first they leave clear traces in two religions appearing in Magadha centuries later: Jainism and Buddhism, which borrowed from the Vrātyas, e.g. the title *arhant* for the person liberated<sup>47</sup> and the designation *gaṇa* for a group of monks.<sup>48</sup> For the fact that the vedic Āryans evidently could communicate with them shows already that the Vrātyas were Āryans – a point which was formerly often denied.<sup>49</sup> Otherwise, the latter would have called the former *mlecchas*, the special importance of the language in accepting strangers in India having been shown by Romilā Thāpar in a recent lecture in Heidelberg.<sup>50</sup>

Vagrant life as almsmen at times other than the rainy season may also belong to the above traces,<sup>51</sup> gifts of food, etc. to monks, which are rather a kind of *dakṣiṇā* (i.e., passing on or redeeming the guilt the *yajamāna* had incurred by the killing of the sacrificial victim) than alms. Besides, this notion still lives on in the minds of the Siamese, for, at the *Loi Krathong*, a festival celebrated especially in Chiang Mai in November, play-boats (*krathong*) made of banana leaves and holding a light, flowers and money are made to flow downstream. At some distance poor people are allowed to land them and take the money, yet with that also the sender's/donator's Evil (*pāpman*), represented by the money. Further, just as one is a Vrātya at a particular period of one's life and sets out on a predatory expedition, Buddhist boys, especially in Siam, go and live for some time in a monastery, following regular

<sup>44</sup> AV 15,1,2.

<sup>45</sup> See, e.g. Shrinivas 1983: 543-556.

<sup>46</sup> The Mahāvīra vessel is covered with a gold plate and stands on a silver plate, between heaven and earth, as it were. The Vrātya wears a couple of such plates as a necklace (see Hauer 1927: 129). Van Buitenen apparently was not acquainted with Hauer's remarks.

<sup>47</sup> Hauer, *Ibid.*, 202.

<sup>48</sup> See Bollée 1981: 184.

<sup>49</sup> For the Vrātyas in ancient literature see Heesterman 1962: 1-37.

<sup>50</sup> R. Thāpar 1991: forthcoming.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. Hopkins 1909: 32.

monastic practice during the rains.

Until Günther Sontheimer's recent discovery, the survival of the Vrātyas with their typically shamanistic costume in Lord Khaṇḍobā's Vāghyās in Mahārāṣṭra was unknown.<sup>52</sup> Did they emigrate from Magadha to the west and south at some time at some point, together with the Jains and the Buddhists ? Now, as we have seen, the Vrātyas on the one hand influenced the two religions mentioned. They represent, therefore, not only a reaction to the post-Vedic sacrificial speculations of the brahmin priests, which were unintelligible for the ordinary warrior, peasant, or herdsman, but also carry on pre-Vedic traditions. On the other hand, popular Buddhism took over features of Indra, the *R̥gveda's* central hero, and of Prajāpati. In what follows we shall have a closer look at some characteristics of these deities in order to show how, already in pre-Christian times, they were applied to the *Mahāpuruṣas*, as the Great Men of the Indian religions are called. To that end, we shall begin with their conception, because, as is well-known, exceptional beings do not come into existence in the normal fashion, neither in India nor elsewhere.<sup>53</sup> Among the unusual ways of conception we have that of a woman's navel being touched by a god or an ascetic.<sup>54</sup> This type of birth occurs in Buddhist legends, too, but not in Jaina hagiography. However, both Vaddhamāṇa Mahāvīra and Gotama Siddhattha drop from heaven, where, in a previous existence, they had divine status, into their mother's womb.

The Jaina canon does not yet know of a reminiscence of previous existences which, still present in the womb, disappears at birth through claustrophobia or pains, as is described, e.g. in the *Garbhōpaniṣad*.<sup>55</sup> This reminiscence does not recur before the Jina reaches transcendental knowledge (*avadhi-jñāna*).<sup>56</sup> The future Jina, however, knows that he has to descend into a new existence; he is conscious of having accomplished the descent. All that he does not know is the exact moment (*Āyār* 2,15,3 = *Kappa* §3). In post-canonical Buddhist literature we shall meet with similar phenomena.

Given the importance placed on ritual purity already by the Vrātyas, we may add here that the canonical texts of both new religions mention explicitly the purity of descent of Mahāvīra's and Gotama's princely

<sup>52</sup>Sontheimer 1987a: 8 sq.; Id. 1989b: 302.

<sup>53</sup>See, e.g. Jones 1970: 37 sqq.

<sup>54</sup>E. g. in the case of Kuntī (*Mbh* cr. ed. 3,291,23) and Dīrghatamas (*Mbh* 1,98,31), cf. also Windisch 1908: 20. – The navel is a place of origin: Brahmā on a lotus arises from Viṣṇu's navel, etc. Cf., e.g. Fodor 1949: 143 sqq.

<sup>55</sup>*Upaniṣatsaṃgraha* 1970: 150 §4 in fine: *atha jantuh stri-yoni-śatam yoni-dvāri saṃprāpto yantrenāpīḍyamāno mahatā duḥkhena jāta-mātras tu vaiṣṇavena vāyunā saṃspṛśya tadā na smarati janma-maraṇam na ca karma śubhāśubham*.

<sup>56</sup>Implicit at *Āyār* 2,15,26 corresponding to *Kappa Jinac* §121.

parents on the maternal as well as the paternal side (in this order !).<sup>57</sup> In the case of the former, both his mothers (on whom more below) see already in the *Siddhānta*<sup>58</sup> fourteen dreams with auspicious images, such as are typical of the Jaina religion, viz. static ones. Besides, the wealth of the royal family increased,<sup>59</sup> even by the discovery of money-pots that had been hidden in former days and then forgotten.<sup>60</sup> This too, I think, may be characteristic of Jains as well as Buddhists,<sup>61</sup> the laity of both mainly belonging to the third, or merchant (*vaiśya*) class. Unlike Buddhist literature, however, Jaina texts mention that Queen Tisālā had *dohadas*,<sup>62</sup> but omit the details usual in narrative texts.

We now come to the Bodhisatta's mother, whom we only know as such, i.e. as Māyā,<sup>63</sup> just as his wife is called *Rāhula-mātā*.<sup>64</sup> At the descent of her child, the Tipiṭaka tells us only that she did not think of men, not even of her husband,<sup>65</sup> yet otherwise indulged in the pleasures of the five senses.<sup>66</sup> In the likewise pre-Christian *Mahāvastu*, Brahmā prophesies to Māyā the birth of an elephant among men, and she welcomes this message since she has conceived from her husband. In the *Mahāvastu* and the *Lalitavistara*, but not in the *Nidānakathā* and in Aśvaghoṣa, this elephant comes to have six tusks<sup>67</sup> – probably an intended one-upmanship of its fellow Airāvata, *deva-rājā* Indra's mount, who possesses only four tusks. In her dream it touches her right side<sup>68</sup> and seems to enter her womb. On that occasion, Māyā's husband is not mentioned, in other words, he is excluded.<sup>69</sup> This pregnancy dream

<sup>57</sup> *Kappa* §18, cf. *Dīgha* I 115,5.

<sup>58</sup> *Kappa Jinac* §4.

<sup>59</sup> *Kappa* §91.

<sup>60</sup> *Kappa* §89.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. *Ja* I 54,7 where among the Bodhisatta's co-natals four *nidhi-kumbhas* are mentioned.

<sup>62</sup> *Kappa* §95. According to the Jains *dohadas* appear in the third month (Caillat 1974:51), yet they are not mentioned of Devānandā.

<sup>63</sup> Oldenberg 1881/1959: 105 and von Glasenapp 1936: 21 take Māyā to be a proper name meaning 'Wundermacht' and are not bothered by the oddity of such a name. With it, Senart (1881: xxvi) associated "des attaches supra-terrestres" (cf. p. 275). – In the Tipiṭaka, Māyā only occurs as a nominative: *Bhagavato Suddh'-odano rājā pitā Māyā devī mātā*, *DN* II 52,10; *Th* 534 etc.

<sup>64</sup> See Windisch, 1908: 140 and, e.g. Thomas n.d.: 81. The tendency to designate female "Respektspersonen" in a religious context as 'mother', whose devotees then are her children, is found up to the present day, e.g. regarding Śrī Aurobindo's wife, Jillellamudi Amma in Bapatla (Guntur), Yoginī Ammajī near Trichur (Kerala), Ānandamayī Mā in Bhadaini (Benares) etc.

<sup>65</sup> For this detail see Jolly 1901 §40 and, e.g. Neumann 1962: 52.

<sup>66</sup> *DN* II 12 sq.; *MN* III 122 sq.

<sup>67</sup> See Lüders 1941: 52.

<sup>68</sup> Printz 1925: 125 stresses the fact that the indication "right" only appears at *Ja* I 50,22 (Māyā's dream). See also Lüders 1941: 45 sqq.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, 95.

motif is apparently a variation of the ascetic's touching a woman's navel (see above). So much for the hero's conception. We now pass on to his gestation.

The first case of this kind is found already in the 2nd millennium B.C., viz. in the old nucleus, the 'family books', of the *RV*. Here it is Indra's mother, again not mentioned by name, who, at *RV* 4,18,4 is said to carry her son for a thousand months<sup>70</sup> and many autumns beyond full term apparently, like Agni's mother (*RV* 5,2,1 sq.), in order to protect him against his jealous father (whose name is not mentioned).<sup>71</sup> Or, does she carry Indra so long because she does not want him to be born? <sup>72</sup> She knows that he would kill her, as is said in the first stanza in which Indra refuses to go the usual way of the gods, viz. "down the drain", for they did not become heroes.<sup>73</sup> Thus the hymn commences amidst an obscure dialogue with words spoken either by the mother or by the gods: "Dies ist der erprobte alte Weg, auf dem alle Götter geboren wurden. Auf diesem soll auch er ausgereift geboren werden. Nicht soll er seine Mutter derartig zugrunde gehen lassen" (Geldner). Even as early as Oldenberg it was remarked that births in a way other than the natural way is found in the most different peoples' ideas with regard to their most powerful gods and heroes.<sup>74</sup>

The text does not tell us which side,<sup>75</sup> nor the bearing stance. Not before Gotama the Bodhisatta do we hear of these details. Yet the origin of the lateral birth idea, just as that of the lateral conception in Gotama's case, has not yet been explained, as far as I know. Perhaps the idea originated in the custom of carrying children on the hip, but Indra's lateral birth must be connected with his splitting heaven and earth,<sup>76</sup> this being a horizontal movement in the middle of the cosmic egg,<sup>77</sup> and also of his mother's waist, which is the middle of her body. Cf. also passages like *ŚB* 6,1,1,2 *sa yo 'yam madhye prāṇaḥ, eṣa evēndraḥ*

<sup>70</sup>I.e., 100 times the usual period. The full term of the gods takes millennia, e.g. twenty in Kārttikeya's case – with several foetus transfers (see Mani 1975: 747).

<sup>71</sup>See Rank 1909: 74 and Neumann 1962: 132 sq.

<sup>72</sup>In *MS* 2,1,12 Aditi as Indra's mother even binds her son in her womb with an iron fetter and in this state he was born. – Cf. Neumann 1962: 300.

<sup>73</sup>Cf. Neumann 1962: 154; 164, but already indicated by Jung, e.g. 1976, ch. VI, esp. §456 sq. and in other works.

<sup>74</sup>Oldenberg 1917: 132 note 3.

<sup>75</sup>Geldner, in his introduction to the hymn, even speaks of *Seiten*, i.e., plural.

<sup>76</sup>*RV* 7,23,3 cd: *vī bādhiṣṭa syá ródasī mahitvéndro vṛtrāṇy a-pratī jaghan vān* "Indra drängte beide Welthälften durch seine Größe auseinander, als er die Dämonen erschlagen hatte, denen keiner gewachsen war" (Geldner, Id.). – *Vṛtrāṇi*, however, should here be translated by "obstacles", I think.

<sup>77</sup>At *RV* 3,49,1 and 8,61,2 both worlds, which originally were united (*RV* 3,38,3 with Geldner's note), are said to have created Indra and at *RV* 4,17,2 heaven and earth tremble at his birth.



and perhaps MN III 231,13 where the Buddha explains his *majjhimā paṭipadā* between *kāma* (Indra) and *tapas* (Prajāpati).

Besides, it may be noticed that in the *RV* we meet with the first, though mythical, case of intra-uterine communication between mother and child. Popular belief, especially in India,<sup>78</sup> was acquainted with this long before western prenatal psychology began taking note of it in this century.<sup>79</sup>

Of Mahāvīra tradition tells us that for the first 82 days<sup>80</sup> he stayed in the womb of Devānandā, a brahmin lady, and was then transplanted by Indra,<sup>81</sup> or, at his command, by his army commander Hariṇegamesī<sup>82</sup> into the Kṣatriya Queen Tisalā's womb, for the idea had come to Indra's mind that Jinas are never reborn into lower class, poor, or Brahmin families.<sup>83</sup> Later, when Devānandā and Usabhadatta, her husband, happen to call on Mahāvīra in a temple in order to pay their respects to him, the latter designates her as his mother.<sup>84</sup> The *Āyāranga*, the oldest Jaina Āgama, complicates things in that it gives brahmin *nomina gentilitia* to Usabhadatta as well as to Siddhattha, Tisalā's consort, i.e. Koḍāla (Sa. Kautālya)<sup>85</sup> resp. to Kāsava (Sa. Kāśyapa).<sup>86</sup> Both Jainism and Buddhism, however, are Kṣatriya religions and therefore Mahāvīra could not be a Brahmin. This was a "misconception", which the later church leaders did away with by means of the miraculous foetus exchange by the goat-headed god Hariṇegamesī.

The Jains, as is well-known, adopted and adapted this vaiṣṇavite mythologeme in which Nidrā, the goddess of sleep, exchanges the foetus of Baladeva from the womb of his mother Devakī into that of her sister Rohiṇī, in order to save him from the mortal grip of his Herodes-like father Kāṃsa.<sup>87</sup> Here, the point of departure for the Jains was the name

<sup>78</sup> Also, e.g. *RV* 4,27,1 (Soma); *Mbh* cr. ed. 1,98,13 and 12,328,46 (Dīrghatamas). For modern examples see, e.g. Oman 1908: 69; Thompson and Balys 1958: T 575.1.

<sup>79</sup> See, e.g. Janus 1990: esp. 76 sqq.

<sup>80</sup> I cannot offer an explanation of nor parallels for this number.

<sup>81</sup> *Āyār* 2,15,4.

<sup>82</sup> *Kappa Jinac* §30.

<sup>83</sup> *Kappa Jinac* §17.

<sup>84</sup> See Glasenapp, von 1925 : 297; Schubring 1935 : 26 (§17), and Jaini 1980: 232.

<sup>85</sup> For this see Bollée "Notes on Middle Indo-Āryan Vocabulary III" (forthcoming). – Perhaps the Jain interest in Cāṇakya (for whom see Chandra and Mehta 1970 s.v. Cāṇakka) is connected to Koḍāla, Mahāvīra's brahmin father.

<sup>86</sup> *Āyār* 2,15,4.

<sup>87</sup> *Harivaṃśa* cr. ed. 47 – 48; *BhāgPur* 10,2,8. See also, e.g. O'Flaherty 1975: 206 – 213 and Spratt 1966: 302 (according to whom "the psychoanalytic view [of the embryo transfer] is that it is intended to diminish the hostility between father and son"). Further, Printz 1925: 124 expresses doubt as to a direct borrowing from the Kṛṣṇa legend.

Devakī, for, in the *Antagaḍadasāo* 3,8 §41 sqq. Devaī, consort of Vasu-deva, the king of Bāravaī (Dvāravatī), bore him six sons. Hariṇegameśī, however, seized them in order to transfer them to the rich lady Sulasā's womb. Because she gave birth only to still-born babies, she had had an image of the deity made and she worshipped it daily, intending to induce him to perform the said operation – everything conditioned by *karman*, of course.

With the inclusivism typical of the Indian way of thinking, Hariṇegameśī here unites the positive qualities of a bringer of children, as was expressed as early as the *RV Khilāni* ad 10,84<sup>88</sup> with negative ones of a demon who seizes children, as he is known to Suśruta.<sup>89</sup> In Vedic texts the deity is called Nejameṣa, but in the *Mbh* Naigameya and Naigameṣa, whereas Suśruta only knows of the latter form. Finally, a Mathurā inscription has Nemesa; this means that the form ending in *-eya* may be due to a scribal error.

The name itself is nowhere explained, nor is the he-goat's (*chāga-vaktra*; Suśruta, *Uttarasthāna* 36,2 *ajānana*) or ram's face (Id. 37,2 *meṣānana* [cty. *eḍaka-mukha*]) the latter, adopted by *PWB*, probably being a later contamination, as the ram belongs to Varuṇa.<sup>90</sup> The he-goat, however, especially belongs to Agni<sup>91</sup> whose son is called Skanda or (Sanat)kumāra and his grandson Naigameṣa.<sup>92</sup> Skanda, said to be Śiva's son,<sup>93</sup> is appointed general of the gods by Indra.<sup>94</sup> Perhaps in

<sup>88</sup> See Scheftelowitz 1906: 130. Here a woman says: *Nējameṣa, pārā pata sū-putraḥ pūnar ā pata / asyai me putrā-kāmāyai gārbham ā dhehi yāḥ pūmān //* "Nejameṣa, fly away and quickly return with an excellent son. Get me with child (...)!". – As the exposure motif as a symbol of the procedure of birth is known also to Indian stories (see, e.g. Bollée 1967: 138; 140), one can ask if Nejameṣa is considered here a bird, like the stork with us. See e.g. Rank 1909: 88 sq., Fodor 1949: 144, and Neumann 1962: 22.

<sup>89</sup> *Śarīrasthāna* 10,52. At *Uttarasthāna* 37,2 Suśruta mentions scholars who assume two Naigameṣas since a divine being generated by Agni and Rudra would not cause a dangerous disease. He himself, however, thinks that Naigameṣa only shows his ugly side if the child's family is derelict in its religious duties (loc. cit.). – See also Winternitz 1895: 149 sqq.

<sup>90</sup> *Mbh* cr. ed. 12,79,6 *aḥ gnir, Varuṇo meṣaḥ*.

<sup>91</sup> *ŚB* 6,4,4, 15; *SkandaP* 6,4 *Agneyaṃ Kṛttikā-putram Aindram kecid adhīyate, / kecid Paśupatiṃ Rudraṃ; yo 'si so 'si: namo 'stu te*.

<sup>92</sup> *Mbh* (Poona, 1929) 1,66,24 = *ViṣṇuP* 1,15,116. Cf. *Mbh* cr. ed. 3,215,23 *Agnir bhūtvā Naigameyaś chāga-vaktro bahu-prajāḥ / ramayāmāsa śaila-stham bālaṃ (Skandam) krīḍanakair iva* and 3,217,1 *Skandasya pārśadān ghorān śṛṇuṣvādbhuta-darśanān / vajra-prahārāt Skandasya jajñus tatra kumārakāḥ / ye haranti śisūn jātān garbha-sthāṃś cāiva dāruṇāḥ*.

<sup>93</sup> See Banerjea 1956: 363, 367 and 562; Mani 1975: 748; Sontheimer 1987b: 124. – On the multiple transfer of Śiva's semen see Mani 1975: 747 and O'Flaherty 1980: 171.

<sup>94</sup> *Mbh* cr. ed. 7,5,37.

Mathurā this already complex figure, which was adopted by the Jains and under the influence of Viṣṇuism, obtained the name Hariṇegamesī, i.e. 'Naigameṣa merged with Hari.'<sup>95</sup> Thus it can be explained that Indra, who in Jainism and Buddhism became a devoted servant of the respective Jina, orders his commander – both a seizer and a bestower of children – to perform such a fitting operation as was the foetus exchange for him.

As to the etymology of the name and its consequences for the presentation in pictorial form of Hariṇegamesī, whose fiery character, which is not only destructive, as we have seen, but also positive (erotic and promoting fertility), reach back to Agni, the following observations become relevant. The ancient Jaina theologians of course did not place great value on preserving the memory of the fact of their having come under vaiṣṇavite influence, and thus the two parts of the name, Hari and Negamesin (as the middle Indo-Āryan form must be) were joined into one compound. Thereupon, commentators (intentionally ?) analysed it in the wrong way, viz. in *hariṇa* 'deer' and, apparently, *\*egamesin*, whatever that in their opinion may have meant. Here I must rely on a footnote in Hermann Jacobi's *Kalpasūtra* translation,<sup>96</sup> as the *Pañjikā*<sup>97</sup> is not at my disposal. Thus, in Jaina art Nejaṃeṣa's he-goat face turned into Hariṇegamesī's deer head. Hariṇegamesī's Hindu counterpart is Parivartaka (*MārkaṇḍeyaPurāṇa* 51,14).<sup>98</sup>

There remains the question concerning the background of the whole motif in Jaina mythology. It is completely different from the Herodes motif in the *Mahābhārata* story. Connected with this I believe is also the idea that future Jinas and Buddhas must be reborn in *kṣatriya* families only – though this apparently was not always the case, as becomes evident in the Jaina legend, and as the *Nidānakathā* explicitly teaches us.<sup>99</sup> Among the five main considerations (*mahā-vilokana*) before being reborn, the Bodhisatta Gotama also thinks of his future family as follows: Buddhas are reborn neither in a Vaiśya family nor in one of Śūdras, but in these two families only, viz. either in a respected *kṣatriya* or in such

<sup>95</sup>Liebert 1976 : 102 takes the name to mean 'Hari, i.e. Indra, as Negamesi.'

<sup>96</sup>Jacobi 1884: 227.

<sup>97</sup>Of Jinaprabha 1913 (Jacobi 1879: 25).

<sup>98</sup>Apparently, demons exchanging foetuses are male, whereas those who take away new-born children (and occasionally devour them) are female, e.g. Jāta-hāriṇī in *MārkaPur* 51,106 sq. and 76,9.

<sup>99</sup>*Ja* I 49,22 sq. – For a further development of this idea in mediaeval Jainism see Merutunga's *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* p. 83,9 with regard to young Cāṅgadeva, who later became famous by his monastic name Hemacandra: (*Śrī Devācāryas*) *tad-aṅga-pratyāṅgānāṃ jagad-vilakṣaṇāṇi lakṣaṇāṇi prekṣya "ayaṃ yadi kṣatriya-kule jātas, tadā sārva-bhauma-cakravartī; yadi vaṇig-vipra-kule jātas, tadā mahāmātyaḥ; ced darśanaṃ pratipadyate, tadā yuga-pradhāna iva Kali-kāle 'pi Kṛta-yugam avatārayati sa ācārya" iti vicārya (...).*

a brahmin family. Nowadays a *kṣatriya* family is respected. Into that I shall be reborn.<sup>100</sup> The apparent irrelevance of *karman* – also as regards the choice of the aim in life: whether to become a Buddha or a *Cakravartin* – could point to a certain antiquity of this conception. Can it be a reminiscence of pre-Vedic times in Magadha, of fluid dividing lines, exchange, and rivalry between Brāhmaṇa- and Kṣatriya-Vrātyas?

A characteristic of Jainism is its static nature, which manifests itself, e.g. in the above dream visions and in the staring statues of saints. It is found already in the womb, where Mahāvīra, who is conscious of his descent from heaven, of his embryonic status and of his transfer,<sup>101</sup> does not move out of pity for his mother until she thinks he is dead. Then he moves a little and, unlike the Bodhisatta, resolves not to go forth in his parents' lifetime (Kappa §94). The latter detail, which is not found in the *Āyāranga*, seems odd in this context. However, a person destined to become a hero can only fulfil his mission after the death of his mother.<sup>102</sup> The case of the Bodhisatta did not require such a vow, as his mother was destined to die much earlier in any case.

Eventually, after nine months and seven and a half days<sup>103</sup> Mahāvīra is born in an apparently normal way under an auspicious constellation and a great lustre of descending and ascending deities (*Āyār* 2,15,7),<sup>104</sup> at night in the beginning of summer. Then *devas*<sup>105</sup> and demons in animal form from Vessamaṇa's/Kubera's realm,<sup>106</sup> the auspicious north, that is, produce a downpour of money, jewelry, fruits, etc. The *Āgama* does not elaborate on the bearing posture but – e.g. on a fresco in the Vardhamāna temple in Tirupparuttikunram near Kāñcipur in the Vijayanagar region, where, as a rule, at least nowadays women stand upright when giving birth<sup>107</sup> – the birth of the first and of the last Jina takes place in a crouching position behind a curtain covering the lower part of his mother's body.<sup>108</sup> On the occasion of the birth, not only the

<sup>100</sup> Cf. Jaini 1985: 84.

<sup>101</sup> *Āyār* 2,15,5 and *Kappa* §3 refer to his knowing to descend, *Āyār* 2,15,5 and *Kappa* §29 to his transfer. As to the time of the exchange there is a marked difference between the two canonical texts in that according to *Āyār* Mahāvīra knows of the moment, whereas according to *Kappa* he does not.

<sup>102</sup> Neumann 1962: 154 where it is stressed that not the hero's real mother as such, but his mother as the representative of the Great Mother is meant.

<sup>103</sup> This is the average with the Jains, see Schubring 1935 §95.

<sup>104</sup> See on this light the critical remarks of Eliade 1976: 96.

<sup>105</sup> *Āyār* 2,15,8.

<sup>106</sup> *Kappa Jinac* §98.

<sup>107</sup> Cf. the 18th cent. wooden sculpture in Mookerjee and Khanna 1977: 171.

<sup>108</sup> I owe this information to the kindness of Anna L. Dallapiccola, who here refers to an incorrect observation made by Thomas in his unpublished thesis (1979: 335, panel 17 [1:17]). Here, he discusses Ramachandran 1943: 82 and plate XI (Rṣabhadeva)

usual amnesty of the sympathetic-magical kind,<sup>109</sup> and a grand popular festival take place,<sup>110</sup> but there is also – after ten days of childbed impurity, the purification ritual on the 11th day,<sup>111</sup> and the naming festival – a family banquet and an exchange of gifts, possibly of potlatching nature.<sup>112</sup>

Returning now to Buddhism, we hear of the Bodhisatta descending from heaven into the womb of his 40–50 year old mother accompanied by a radiant brightness in the universe.<sup>113</sup> As to the descent, Buddhaghosa says, "Though knowing 'I shall fall from the world of the gods' yet he was not conscious of the process itself. He was aware of having been reborn, but could not remember entering a new body." Other monks, however, did not share this opinion, which also involves the moment of death – as is the case with the Jains.<sup>114</sup> Relevant Theravāda and Jain data when collected systematically may be taken into account in our thanatology, along with the discussion on possession going on here in Heidelberg at present, in which only East Asian material, especially from Amida Buddhism, and case studies from India have been evaluated so far.<sup>115</sup>

The Pāli canon does not elaborate on the manner of descent, but since Buddhaghosa there is in Tusita a pleasure grove (Nanda/na-vana) where the being to be reincarnated is seen off by the gods with the words: "Have a good course!"<sup>116</sup> The text emphasizes, that all the worlds of the gods have such a grove, but it does not deal with its significance.<sup>117</sup> Gods "die" in that they shrink and become sad only to dematerialize eventually. Does the reincarnand retire into this wood in order to save the other gods an unpleasant sight? Why, then, is it called *Nanda-vana*? Or can it be a state of preparation, perhaps like the Anūpiya mango grove, where the Bodhisatta spent a week enjoying the happiness of his *pabbajjā* before entering Rājagaha? It can, however, just as well be a mechanical adoption from Hinduism of a divine, esp. Indra's, garden (*PWB*).

---

and XII (Vardhamāna).

<sup>109</sup> *Kappa* §100.

<sup>110</sup> *Kappa* §102.

<sup>111</sup> Cf. Jolly 1901 §43.

<sup>112</sup> *Āyār* 2,15,11 and, in greater detail, in *Kappa* §103–105. Similarly in *Divy* 282 (see Schlingloff 1962: 20).

<sup>113</sup> Windisch 1908: 111; Eliade 1965: 33.

<sup>114</sup> *Sumangala-vilāsini* 430,15 sqq. (not *Ja* I 50) and cf. *Vism* 548.

<sup>115</sup> See M. Schröter, *Nahtodeserlebnisse – eine wissenschaftliche Deutung* (working title).

<sup>116</sup> *Sv* 430,12 *su-gatim gaccha*!

<sup>117</sup> Cf. Kirfel 1920: 230 sq.

Māyā sees her son sitting<sup>118</sup> or even standing,<sup>119</sup> then gives birth to him after a full ten months, not after 9 or 10, as is the case with other children. The canonical Pāli texts explicitly stress this.<sup>120</sup> Besides, she does so in an upright position after plucking a flower from a tree.<sup>121</sup>

Queen Māyā's erect posture is emphasized already in the canon as something special, something not done by common women.<sup>122</sup> This is interesting in connection with the fact that in modern gynaecology the delivering posture in general and the standing posture in particular have been much discussed of late. Its outcome was the insight that the specific surroundings and cultural development of primitive tribes also essentially shape childbirth circumstances. The way of living of these tribes and the specific bearing postures they practice are not natural as in the case of animals – quasi instinctive – but they are acquired by their whole mode of life; they represent an expression of a traditional social system that seems to be frozen, as it were, in its development.<sup>123</sup> Though tradition does not allow us to make a relevant statement as to the Śākya Queen, her standing posture may, nevertheless, not be self-determined. *DN* II 14, however, tells us that the lords of the quarters receive the child first, before the humans, which can mean that Queen Māyā was delivered without any assistance. Women of the Benín (Africa), as Richard Burghart informed me, consider a birth in a standing position to be particularly heroic. Did the Śākya women share this view? So much for the old tradition in Pāli.

Yet in the *Mahāvastu* the Bodhisatta suddenly comes into being, in a non-physical way, out of Māyā's right side,<sup>124</sup> without splitting it

<sup>118</sup> *Ps* IV 181.21 sqq. (*Mātā*) *nisinnam Bodhisattam kucchi-gatam taco paticchādetum na sakkoti. Olokentiyā ca bahi thito viya paññāyati* (30 ...) *Bodhisatto pana anto-kucchi-gato mātaram na passati, na hi anto-kucchiyam cakkhu-viññānam uppajjati* = *Sv* 436,18 sqq. In art, this has never been represented, as far as I know, e.g. in the way Marx Reichlich depicted the Christ child in his mother's womb (1502; see, e.g. Lechner 1981: plates 231–234) to which Johann-Michael Fritz (Heidelberg) kindly drew my attention. Embryonic animals, however, are known in Indian art from prehistoric and historical rock shelters in Bhimbetka, Satkunda and Ramchaja south and east of Bhopal (see, e.g. Neumayer 1983: 75d and 77h [bovid with foetus inside body], 77a and 77g [antelope with foetus]).

<sup>119</sup> *Mvu* I 144,3 sqq.

<sup>120</sup> *D* II 14; *M* III 122. Cf. the discussion in Printz 1925: 119 sqq.

<sup>121</sup> Usually, trees like the *śoka* here (thus Lüders 1941: 62 against *Ja* I 52,24 sq., where it is a *Śāl* tree. See also Printz 1925: 126.) flower when touched by a lady's foot; here we have the case of a woman delivering after touching a tree with her hand. See, e.g. Bollée 1983: 238 and now also Syed 1990: 77 sqq. – For the symbolism implied I refer to Eva Tornow's forthcoming study *Das Geburtsmotiv in den altindischen Religionen* (working title).

<sup>122</sup> *DN* II 14; *MN* III 122.

<sup>123</sup> See Hauffe/Köster-Schlutz 1987: 395.

<sup>124</sup> *Mvu* II 20,14 > Windisch 1908: 121. – Hieronymus, The Christian Father of the

open, which may emphasize the miraculous character of the birth of the Bodhisatta. From the point of view of psychology of religion, a birth through the (right) side is, on the one hand, a shift from below, i.e. from the impure, upward, just as the birth of a hero takes place in a clean way, as is stressed in the texts.<sup>125</sup> On the other hand, it can be considered a degradation of the status of the mother, as higher beings are marked by an out-of-the-way coming into existence. Such an exceptional birth is known, apart from the case of Indra's mother, e.g. in the *MatsyaPur* 157,39 sq., when Umā, Śiva's consort, gives birth to the six Kārttikeyas, and of Sūravantī bearing Birobā (see Sontheimer 1989a: 104). A still higher upward shift is shown by a Nepalese statuette of the 18th century that features the Bodhisatta jumping from his mother's armpit like Kakṣīvat in the *Buddhacarita* I 10<sup>126</sup> (cf. already the seasons, *ghṛ̥*, etc. produced from Prajāpati's armpits).<sup>127</sup>

As soon as the gods have placed the Bodhisatta on the earth he takes seven strides to the north, reminding us, on the one hand, of a king's three strides at his *rājasūya*,<sup>128</sup> thus imitating Viṣṇu's three strides in the *ṚV*, for, this god clears the way for somaholic Indra's battle against Vṛtra, the primaeval *Ouroboros*, and, in this way, favours the cosmic order that Indra is about to establish. Further, Gotama was after all a prince who could also have become a ruler.

Buddhism adopts this battle, adapting it as the Bodhisatta's battle with Māra; the former by virtue of his final emancipation emerges victorious.<sup>129</sup> At the same time, one cannot help but think of the marriage ritual, though it seems difficult to connect it with the Bodhisatta's strides. The commentators explain them allegorically and thus, for us, unsatisfactorily. They may, therefore, be taken as a step up of Viṣṇu's strides,<sup>130</sup> rather than of those of Alexander the Great in a Caucasian folk tale.<sup>131</sup> Keith (1920: 503) compared the seven steps of the young Gotama to those of the mother-to-be of Christ and holds them to be

---

Church (4th cent.) already mentions this, adding that the mother is a virgin. See also, e.g. Neumann 1962: 133.

<sup>125</sup> *DN* II 14; Windisch, Id., 127 and 138.

<sup>126</sup> See Bollée 1983: 265 and cf., e.g. Franz, von 1982: 75.

<sup>127</sup> *TB* 2,2,9,7; see Minard 1956 §874; 918.

<sup>128</sup> *TS* 1,8,10g.

<sup>129</sup> See Bollée 1977: 371–381.

<sup>130</sup> Kirfel 1920: 23\* "auf die Idee der Dreizahl folgte die der Siebenzahl."

<sup>131</sup> As Ruben 1944: 70 thinks referring to Dirr 1920, No. 259. – Eva Tornow has reminded me of *Śakuntala* 7,33, where Mārīca prophesies that his grandson will be a *cakravartin* and *rathenânuddhāta-stimīta-gatinā tīrṇa-jaladhiḥ/ purā sapta-dvīpāṃ jayati vasudhām a-pratirataḥ*.// That would be an interesting counterpart to the Bodhisatta here, also because of *tīrṇa-jaladhiḥ*. Pāli literature, however, to my knowledge, does not know of an earth consisting of seven islands the idea apparently being brahminic (see Kirfel 1920: 57).

ethnic.

At the seventh stride the Bodhisatta utters the (metrical) words of an "eminent person" (as nowadays Windisch's rendering by "indem er die stiergleiche Rede von sich gehen ließ" is translated),<sup>132</sup> viz. *aggo 'ham asmi lokassa* (*DN* II 15 etc.). The expression *āsabha* 'eminent person' (*CPD*) does not only remind us of a melody used at magic rites in order to acquire power and sung to the words of a ṛgvedic Indra-hymn,<sup>133</sup> but also of the sound of a bull-skin kettledrum in use at the Mahāvratā ritual, where it is said: 'The bull is the highest sound.'<sup>134</sup> In post-canonical times this becomes, "He sang the song of victory."<sup>135</sup> As can be seen, e.g. from *Ja* V 360,28, where *sīha-nāda* is said of a bird, it should not be rendered by 'lion's roar' and even less, of course, by 'halleluia' (*PED*), but as given in *PWB*: 'ein Wort, das ich mit Selbstvertrauen ausspreche und auf das man sich verlassen kann.'

The Tipiṭaka uses *sīha-nāda* with regard to the Buddha,<sup>136</sup> just as he is also called *Sakya-sīha* 'Lion among the Śākya's', his tribe. Yet it is interesting here, that in late Vedic *Simha-nāda-nadin* is the epithet of a form of Rudra-Śiva,<sup>137</sup> whereas in the Jaina Siddhānta it is the *Asura* Camara who expresses himself in this way before his attack on Indra.<sup>138</sup> More than once, as will be seen below, non-orthodox religions reflect first Śaivite and later Vaiṣṇavite influences.

According to tradition, Māyā – as in Christian mythology the mother of St. George the dragon slayer – died after seven days – thus apparently in childbed. This possibly historical fact must have been too ominous to be accepted by the faithful. In the Pāli canon no explanation for it is given, and it seems to contradict a passage stating the resistance on the part of prince Gotama's mother (!) and father though they knew of his glorious future: *Gotamo a-kāmakānaṃ mātā-pitunnāṃ assu-mukhānaṃ rudantānaṃ (...) pabbajjito* (*DN* 115,18 sqq.). But this may be an oversight on the part of the redactor of the text. In *Ja* I 52,2 and *Mvu* II 3,9 sq. the reason is that, after giving birth to a Bodhisatta, sexual intercourse does not befit his mother any longer, whereas the La-

<sup>132</sup> Windisch 1908: 131.

<sup>133</sup> *PVB* 9,2,15 = *JB* 1,222 "abhi tvā vṛṣabhā (suté) sutám" (*RV* 8,45,22) ity āṛṣabhaṃ kṣatra-sāma kṣatram evāitena bhavati.

<sup>134</sup> *Paramā vā vṛṣabho vāk*, *JB* 2,404 (Caland 1919 §165 = p. 215 "Der Stier ist der höchste Klang").

<sup>135</sup> Rhys Davids' (1880: 156) translation of *Ja* I 53,19 *āsabhiṃ vācam nicchārento sīha-nādaṃ nadi*.

<sup>136</sup> Hiltebeitel 1978: 775 note 27 connects the *sīhanāda* with the Bodhisatta's numerous animal *lakṣaṇas*, which remind him of the numerous postures in classical yoga that are named after animals and thus suggesting an affinity between yoga and the assimilation of powers of those animals.

<sup>137</sup> *AVPar* 36,1,15.

<sup>138</sup> *Viy* 3,2, p. 147 line 24.



litavistara (98,3) states that her death in childbed was not the child's fault, but was due to the shortness of her life span. For otherwise, her heart would have been broken at the departure of the adult Bodhisatta in search of a teacher.

Little Gotama was taken care of by his mother's sister Mahāpajāpatī, as, for different reasons, Tisālā took care of Vaddhamāṇa. Thus, in a way, both the Jina and the Buddha had two mothers, something, which, according to Jung (1976 §494 sqq.) and Neumann (1962: 132 sqq.) is an essential item of heroic myth. Ānanda's story in the *MārkaṇḍeyaPurāṇa* ch. 76 is a similar case of *dvi-mātr̥tva*.

Now Nyberg (1938: 7) and Widengren (1965: 102) assume that the Buddha-*vita* for its part influenced the eastern Zoroāstra legend. Comparing the relevant Persian tradition to the Buddhist Jātakas, as Widengren demands, will not get us much further. Besides, he may mean the birth and life of Gotama Siddhattha in certain Indian texts other than the Jātakas. Moreover, one wonders that he does not mention Windisch's book *Buddha's Geburt*. Furthermore, details such as the statement in the late *Dēnkart* (7,1,56 sqq.), that Zoroāstra's native village was quite bright three days before his birth, and the old legend in *Yašt* 17,18 sq. that Zoroāstra was the only child who laughed when he was born, at any rate only occurs of the Bodhisatta in the *Mahāvastu*.<sup>139</sup> On the other hand, a similar phaenomenon to the bodily marks of the Indian Mahāpuruṣa (*vide infra*) are not found in the culture of ancient Irān. This is all the more striking as they were known of in Sakian-Khotanese<sup>140</sup> and Tokharian.<sup>141</sup>

Though we meet with Vaddhamāṇa Mahāvīra and Gotama Siddhattha, notwithstanding the peculiar circumstances of their births, as human beings in the respective canonical traditions, they were deified very early. This, too, was a result of the belief that before their present existences they stayed in a heaven, and that their descents were accompanied by special phenomena in the sky, and that the gods took an active interest in their passing away – in the case of the Buddha they stood packed together around his deathbed.<sup>142</sup> The Jains, for their part, began to perform *pūjā* in front of statues for the Jinas as if they were Hindu gods and later to speak of Mahāvīra as *Gurudeva*.

Something similar developed, as is well-known, in the Buddhist Mahāsāṅghika school as a precursor of Mahāyāna.<sup>143</sup> Typical of the deification process may also be the male proper name *Buddhadeva* (MW)

<sup>139</sup>Widengren, *Ibid.*, p. 101; – Printz 1925: 127 sq.

<sup>140</sup>See Leumann 1920: 116–122; Bailey 1963: 91 sq.

<sup>141</sup>See Couvreur 1946: 577–610.

<sup>142</sup>Bollée 1984: 177 note 27 (which should read: *Kalpasūtra* §125 f.).

<sup>143</sup>Glasenapp, von 1936: 57 *et passim*.

and the fact that in the lists of the 32 bodily marks (*lakṣaṇas*) of a *mahāpuruṣa*, which we shall now discuss, the feet are dealt with first, gods as well as great men (like kings) being looked up to from below, for, the viewer is lying at their feet. This begins already in *AV* 10,2. Ordinary humans, however, are looked at the other way around. The 84 *anulakṣaṇas* ('secondary marks') follow the main bodily characteristics and, as it were, comment upon them.

One remark may yet be made in this context. Indian scholastics know of four postures, viz. walking, standing, sitting and reclining.<sup>144</sup> The latter posture is unheroic, because it is the posture of the dead and of sleeping people, though after his transition into *parinirvāṇa* the Buddha is depicted and worshipped in the reclining position.<sup>145</sup> Indra, however, in his fight against *Vṛtra*, is moving in an upright position – the erect divine hero against the horizontal animal (*tiryak*),<sup>146</sup> for *Vṛtra* is lying in 99 coils around the cosmic mountain (*RV* 5,29,6).

In *RV* 10,90, *Puruṣa*, the thousand-footed Cosmic Man whom the gods sacrifice, in my opinion stands ten fingers over the earth without touching it. His mouth becomes the brahmin (10,90,12), yet out of his mouth emerges Indra (10, 90,13). This creation hymn, which stresses sacrifice, brahmin primacy, and the secondary rank of Indra, and thereby of the warrior class, already shows clear evidence of a transition toward the *Brāhmaṇa* literature. Furthermore, the cosmic giant reminds one of course of the Jainist concept of the universe as an erect human – woman or man – as well as of erect Jain ascetics like Bahubali in Śravaṇabelgoḷa.

Indra's successor, *Prajāpati*, is standing when the Brahman strikes the Evil off him which is perhaps represented by the hair on his head.<sup>147</sup> This, then, would be a Vedic justification for the tonsure of the Buddhist monks and for the Jaina monks' even pulling out their hair. The hair is also a substitute for the head, which the hero has to sacrifice before he can be reborn in a higher state?<sup>148</sup>

The Bodhisatta defends himself in an upright position in meditation against *Māra*, who wishes to prevent him from reaching final emancipation.<sup>149</sup> This yogic posture, which is visible already on seal

<sup>144</sup> E.g. *AiB* 7,15,3. See also Bollée 1983a: 112 sqq. and cf. *RE* 1912: col. 1142 line 10 sq.

<sup>145</sup> Cf. Hildebeitel 1978: 775 note 27; 783 note 47, and 787 note 64. Filliozat 1967: 75 stresses the meaning of the direction of the head toward the north.

<sup>146</sup> The *Rgveda* uses the word *mṛga* only.

<sup>147</sup> *JB* 2,369 (Caland 1919 §160). In *BaudhŚS* 17,40 hair is equated to Evil. See also Onians 1954: 108.

<sup>148</sup> Neumann 1962: 159; 59 sq.

<sup>149</sup> Cf. Bollée 1977: 377.

No. 420 in Mackay's list<sup>150</sup> and was formerly ascribed to "Proto-Śiva", is taken by Hildebeitel to belong to "Proto-Mahiṣa".<sup>151</sup> But, perhaps, it is safer to designate it as proto-Indian as does Sontheimer (1987b: 124). The same *padmāsana* also marks the statues of Jinas, whereas standing Buddhas may be adaptations of Yakṣas – an association aided by the well-known fact that the Buddha as well as the Mahāvīra often stayed in or near Yakṣa shrines. Besides, the Buddha,<sup>152</sup> as also Indra,<sup>153</sup> is called *Yakṣa* himself, and the *pipal* tree under which the Buddha reached his *bodhi* is also found on seal No. 335 in Mohenjo Daro.

The marks of the body are a product of brahmanic speculation on the physical externals of the ideal man and were adopted by Jains and Buddhists alike. Initially, they may go back to Nārāyaṇa and Indra, perhaps even to certain pre-Vedic concepts. In the course of the Vedic period prognostic teachings must have developed – probably first in a magical context, in order to enable brahmins to ward off evil from the ritual and recitation. Teachings of this kind may have begun in the fourth Veda, as is shown by the *Atharvaveda-pariśiṣṭa*.

As to the number 32, this, perhaps, has to do with a tradition of 32 *ākāras*, i.e. parts of the body as found, e.g. in the Pāli Tipiṭaka.<sup>154</sup> The references made by Weber (1878: 334 note 5) are of little help, whereas Jolly does not deal with the topic at all in his *Medicin*. – Besides, the portents at the Bodhisatta's birth are also 32 in number.<sup>155</sup> In the *Mahābhārata*, however, there is a list of 16 marks of Nara and Nārāyaṇa, seers in the sphere of Viṣṇu.<sup>156</sup> Since Burnouf dealt with the *lakṣaṇas* of the *mahā puruṣa* – he was probably the first to do so in the West – in the 8th Appendix to his translation of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra*, they have undergone several treatments – complete and partial ones – which, however, with one exception, deal with the Buddha. For, only Weber<sup>157</sup> compared the person of the Mahāvīra with the Buddhist *lakṣaṇas* described by Burnouf. In doing so he could not but rely on Malayagiri's Sanskrit commentary on the *Sūrapannatti* – a representation of the activity of the sun and the moon in the Jaina Siddhānta – for, Leumann was the first scholar to edit the text containing the canonical list of the Jaina *lakṣaṇas* in his *Aupapātika sūtra* (1883). This list

<sup>150</sup> Mackay 1937–38.

<sup>151</sup> Hildebeitel 1978: 767–797, esp. 775 sq.

<sup>152</sup> See Bollée 1977: 377.

<sup>153</sup> *Ja* IV 4,11\*.

<sup>154</sup> *DN* II 293 sqq. etc. (see *CPD* s.v. *ākāra* 7).

<sup>155</sup> *Ja* I 51,3–28 (cf. *Lalit* [L.] 85,11 – 86,17).

<sup>156</sup> Cr. ed. (Poona, 1974) 12,331, 24 sqq.

<sup>157</sup> 1867: 306 sqq. Later (1883: 377 sqq.) he refers to Leumann, yet in his description of the contents of the *Aupapātika* he does not mention the physical description of the Tīrthaṃkara at all.

does not correspond either in its wording or in its order to Malayagiri's list, which is more than a thousand years later.

Comparing the Jaina with the Buddhist *lakṣaṇas*, we first notice that – after some general features such as physical constitution, beautiful shape, condition of the flesh, purity and shine of the bodily appendages – the Jains treat the particulars of the body from top to bottom. There also occur some duplications and variants. Further, the *lakṣaṇas* are not always identical with those of the Buddha, and their description most often does not contain simple compounds like *dīghāṅgulī* 'having long fingers resp. toes' or *eṇi-jangho* 'with antelope-like legs', but *varṇakas*, i.e. in principle endless units of metrical prose. Thus, the depiction of the hair on Mahāvīra's head is a compound three and a half lines long in Latin transliteration. Strikingly, the compiler of this tradition and the redactor of the *Aupapātika* were not worried by the fact that, according to tradition, Mahāvīra at his *pabbajjā* pulled out his hair in five tufts – a praxis that may still take place when a novice enters the order, but otherwise seems to have fallen into disuse nowadays. In this connection mention may be made of the name Keśī (in the *Rāyapaseṇaijja*) which is peculiar for a monk.

The removal of one's own hair means the renunciation of sexuality, just as baldness or cutting off someone else's hair means castration as a punishment for adultery. Thus, e.g. Indra branded his son and charioteer bald after the latter's intimacy with Indra's wife Śacī.<sup>158</sup> The foregoing is also founded on a concept that the late London Latinist Onians proved, inter alia, in Greek culture in his highly erudite study *The Origins of European Thought* – sperm was for the Ancients a fluid which, like the soul, originated in the head. Its abundance – says Aristotle in his *Problemata* 867a 23 sqq. – causes the growth of hair. This would explain that a person about to join a religious order and thus to give up a layman's sexual activity, cuts off his hair. In this way, and by abstinence, the sperm accumulates, producing a kind of *hydrocephalus* – a protuberance more or less visible on pictures and statues of the Buddha and the Jina: the *uṣṇīṣa*. Further, as Hertha Krick (1982: 88 sq.) points out, the ritual haircut connects dedication to the deity by sacrificing the Self and returning vital power with separation from the past in order to be prepared for a new life period.

The fact that, in spite of cutting off or pulling out their hair, both are nevertheless depicted with hair may be taken with Wendy O'Flaherty (1980: 45)<sup>159</sup> to mean that "the rich supply of semen stored in the

<sup>158</sup> JB 3,199.

<sup>159</sup> She apparently refers to articles by E.R. Leach and G. Obeyesekere, the former of which is missing in the bibliography (p. 356), whereas the latter is not available to me.

yogi's head is symbolised by his high-piled hair; his powers, like those of the seduced Samson or the macho Sikh with his topknot, reside at the top of his head, in the 'snakelocks,' that characterize the Sādhu." Rśyaśṛṅga, too, belongs to this category.<sup>160</sup>

The point of departure of the above two scholars is *BĀU* 6,4,4 sq., which reads that the man who spills his seed puts it either in the middle of his chest or between his eyes. Later, in Kuṇḍalinī-yoga, these places are the *anāhata cakra*<sup>161</sup> – where Viṣṇu<sup>162</sup> and the Jinas have a *śrīvatsa* (possibly a fertility symbol: frog or woman giving birth),<sup>163</sup> statues of the Buddha sometimes have a *svastika*<sup>164</sup> – and the *ājñā cakra* which appears among Buddhist *lakṣaṇas* as *ūrṇā*, a circle of hair between the eyebrows. From the latter the seed rises up to the highest *cakra* at the crown of the head, the very spot of the cosmic man's (or woman's) head, where the Jains believe the liberated souls abide. Related to this topic are such otherwise inexplicable words as *ūrdhva-reta(s)*,<sup>165</sup> *ūrdhva-manthin*,<sup>166</sup> and *ūrdhva-līṅga*<sup>167</sup> all of which mean 'sexually abstinent,' though etymologically the sense should in fact be 'ithyphallic.' However, "the phallus that draws up its seed is symbolic of the perfect man."<sup>168</sup>

Before concluding with these brief remarks on two of the *lakṣaṇas* on the Mahāpuruṣa's upper body – elsewhere<sup>169</sup> I have dealt with some marks on his feet that go back to Indra and Prajāpati – this note on the birth of the hero in ancient India, I shall return briefly to the name Mahāvīra. In a Hindu context nowadays it usually stands for Hanumān. The earlier occurrences of this use of the word seem to be in the *Skanda-purāṇa*, e.g. 3,36,189; 37,5 *namo 'stu te, Mahā-vīra, (...)* *Vāyu-putrāya, te namaḥ*; 46,23; in the *Lāṅgūlōpaniṣad* (*Upaniṣat-saṃgraha* II 214, 21) *namo Bhagavate caṇḍa-pratāpa-Hanumate mahāvīrāya*; and in Bhavabhūti's (8th cent.) *Mahāvīracarita* 5. Later, in Hindī literature, we find the word in the *Rāmcaritmānas* of Tulsīdās

<sup>160</sup> Cf. O'Flaherty 1973: 50.

<sup>161</sup> See, e.g. Mookerjee 1982: 11, 13, 43 *et passim*.

<sup>162</sup> *Mbh* cr. ed. 12,329,42,2.

<sup>163</sup> See Bolon: 1983, to which Anna L. Dallapiccola kindly drew my attention. Cf. perhaps the 11 cent. C.E. sculpture in the Alampur Museum (Mookerjee and Khanna 1977: 181).

<sup>164</sup> As, e.g. in the Kek Lok Si temple near the village of Ayer Itam on Pulau Pinang. It has been under construction for about a century now in a syncretistic or pan-buddhist style and is the largest pagoda complex in Malaysia.

<sup>165</sup> *TaittĀr* 10,12,1; *MaitrīUp* 2,3; *Mbh* cr. ed. 1,13,10; 13,17,45 (*Nilakaṇṭha: a-vipluta-brahmacaryaḥ*); 13,74,35.

<sup>166</sup> *TaittĀr* 2,7,4.

<sup>167</sup> *Mbh* 13,17,45 (*Nilakaṇṭha: adho-līṅgo hi retaḥ siṅcati, na tūrdhva-līṅgaḥ*).

<sup>168</sup> O'Flaherty 1973: 44.

<sup>169</sup> Bollée 1977: 372 *et passim*.

(1,33,5 and 9). The authors may have conferred this title on Rāma's devotee on the strength of enumerations of Hanumān's good qualities in Vālmiki's *Rāmāyaṇa* 7,36,43 sqq., where *sauvīrya* is ascribed to him, and a passage such as *Rām* 6,128,32 *vānarāḥ mānuṣaṃ vighrahaṃ kṛtvā* (said of Sugrīva's elephant corps mounted by monkeys in human shape proceeding to Laṅkā). Hanumān is also called Langūr Vīr.<sup>170</sup> Mahāvīra is further found as the name of a son of Bṛhadratha (*Rām* 1,71,7), and, in the last century, as that of the man who revived Buddhism.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abbreviations of Sanskrit and Pāli texts follow the system adopted by Monier Williams' and the Critical Pāli Dictionary.

- *Antagaḍadasāo* 1974 Ed. by Muni Nathmal. Lāḍnūn: Jain Viśwa Bhāratī.
- Bailey, H.W. 1963 *Khotanese Texts* 5. Cambridge.
- Banerjea, J.N. 1956 *The development of Hindu iconography*. Calcutta.
- Bollée, W.B. 1967 *Kuṇāljātaka*. London.
- Id. 1977 A Note on Evil and its Conquest from Indra to Buddha. In: Lancaster, L. (Ed.), *The Prajñāpāramitā and Related Systems*. Berkeley, 371–381.
- Id. 1981 The Indo-European Sodalities in ancient India. *ZDMG* 131,1: 172–191.
- Id. 1983a Notes on Middle Indo-Aryan Vocabulary II. *JOIB* 33,1–2: 108–122.
- Id. 1983b Traditionell-indische Vorstellungen über die Füße in Literatur und Kunst. *BAVA* 5: 227–281.
- Id. 1984 Zur Typologie der Träume und ihrer Deutung in der älteren indischen Literatur. *StII* 10: 169–186.
- Bolon, C.R. 1983 Problems of the Origin and Identity of a Frog-goddess Figure in the Victoria and Albert Museum. Paper read at the International Conference on "Influences and Interaction in Ancient Indian Art." Lucknow.

<sup>170</sup>Hiltebeitel 1989: 244 sqq.

- Brückner, H. 1991 *Königliche Kulte. Mythologie und Rituale eines Volkskultes an der Westküste Südindiens*. Stuttgart.
- *Buddhacarita* 1935 of Aśvaghoṣa. Ed. by E.H. Johnston. Calcutta.
- Buitenen, J.A.B. Van 1968 *The Pravargya*. Poona.
- Caillat, Colette 1974 Sur les doctrines médicales dans le Tandulaveyāliya. *Indologica Taurinensia* 2: 45–55.
- Caland, W. 1919 *Das Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa in Auswahl*. Amsterdam.
- Id. 1924 *Das Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba II*. Amsterdam.
- Carman, J.B. and Apffel Marglin, F. 1985 *Purity and Auspiciousness in Indian Society*. Leiden.
- Chandra, K. and Mehta, M. (Eds.) 1970 *Prakrit Proper Names I*. Ahmadabad.
- Couvreur, W. 1946 Le caractère Sarvāstivādin – Vaibhāṣika des fragments tochariens A d'après les marques et épithètes du Bouddha. *Muséon* 59.
- Dange, S.A. 1986– *Encyclopaedia of Purāṇic Beliefs and Practices*. Delhi.
- Dīrr, A. 1920 *Kaukasische Märchen*. Jena.
- Eliade, M. 1965 *The Two and the One*. London.
- Id. 1976 *Occultism, Witchcraft and Cultural Fashion*. Chicago.
- Fedor Freybergh, P.G. (Ed.) 1987 *Prānatale und Perinatale Psychologie und Medizin*. Alvsjö.
- Filliozat, J. 1967 L'Abandon de la Vie par le sage et les suicides du criminel et du héros dans la tradition indienne. *Arts Asiatiques* XV: 65–88.
- Fodor, N. 1949 *The Search for the Beloved*. New Hyde Park.
- Franz, M.-L. von 1982 *Les Mythes de Création*. Paris.
- Geldner, K.F. 1951 *Der Rig-Veda*. Cambridge (Mass.): H.O.S. 33 – 35.

- Glasenapp, H. von 1936 *Der Buddhismus*. Berlin.
- Id. 1925 *Der Jainismus*. Berlin.
- Hauer, H.W. 1927 *Der Vrātya*. Stuttgart.
- Hauffe, U. and Köster-Schlutz, M. 1987 Gibt es natürliche Gebärhaltungen und welche Bedeutung haben sie für das Geburtserleben. In: *Pränatale und perinatale Psychologie und Medizin*. Ed. by P.G. Fedor Freybergh. Alvsjö, 393–399.
- Heesterman, J.C. 1962 Vrātya and Sacrifice. *IJJ* vi,1: 1–37.
- Hillebrandt, A. 1897 *Ritual-Litteratur*. Straßburg.
- Hildebeitel, A. 1978 The Indus Valley "proto-Śiva" Reexamined through Reflexions on the goddess, the Buffalo, and the Symbolism of *vāhanas*. *Anthropos* 73: 767–797.
- Id. (Ed.) 1989 *Criminal Gods and Demon Devotees*. Albany.
- Hopkins, E.W. 1909 Gods and Saints of the Great Brāhmaṇa. *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences* 15, 1–69.
- Israel, M. and Wagle, M.K. (Eds.) 1987 *Religion and Society in Mahārāṣṭra*. Toronto.
- Jacobi, H. 1879 *The Kalpasūtra of Bhadrabāhu*. Leipzig.
- Id. 1884 *Jaina Sutras*. SBE XXII. London.
- Jaini, P.S. 1980 Karma and the Problem of Rebirth in Jainism. In: *Karma and Rebirth in Classical Indian Tradition*. Ed. by W.D. O'Flaherty. Chicago, 217–238.
- Id. 1985 The Pure and the Auspicious in the Jaina Tradition. In: *Purity and Auspiciousness in Indian Society*. Ed. by J.B. Carman and F. Apffel Marglin. Leiden, 84–93.
- Janus, L. 1990 *Die Psychoanalyse der vorgeburtlichen Lebenszeit und der Geburt*. 2nd ed. Pfaffenweiler.
- Jolly, J. 1901 *Indische Medicin*. Straßburg.
- Id. 1977 *Indian Medicine*. Delhi.
- Jung, C.G. 1976 *Symbols of Transformation*. Collected Works 5. New York.



- Kashigar, C.G. 1975 A propos of the Pravargya. *AIOC* 26: 137–147.
- Keith, A.B. 1920 *A History of Sanskrit Literature*. London.
- Kirfel, W. 1920 *Die Kosmographie der Inder*. Bonn.
- Krick, Hertha 1982 *Das Ritual der Feuergründung*. Wien.
- Lancaster, L. (Ed.) 1977 *The Prajñāpāramitā and Related Systems: Studies in Honor of Edward Conze*. Berkeley.
- *Lalitavistara* 1902 Ed. by S. Lefmann. Halle.
- *Lāṅgulôpaniṣad* see *Upaniṣat-saṃgraha*.
- Lechner, G.M. 1981 *Maria Gravida*. München.
- Leumann, E. 1920 Buddhistische Literatur nord-arisch und deutsch 1. *AKM* 15,2. Leipzig.
- Liebert, G. 1976 *Iconographic dictionary of the Indian religions*. Leiden.
- Lüders, H. 1941 Bhārhut und die buddhistische Literatur. *AKM* 26,3. Leipzig.
- Id. 1951 *Varuṇa*. Göttingen.
- Macdonell, A. and Keith, A.B. 1912 *Vedic index of names and subjects*. London.
- Mani, Vettam 1975 *Purāṇic Encyclopaedia*. Delhi.
- Mette, A. 1974 *Piṇḍ'esaṇā*. Wiesbaden.
- Minard, A. 1956 *Trois énigmes sur les cent chemins II*. Paris.
- Mookerjee, A. 1982 *Kuṇḍalinī*. London.
- Mookerjee, A. and Khanna, M. 1977 *The Tantric Way*. London.
- Neumann, E. 1962 *Origins and History of Consciousness*. New York. (Zürich 1949; New York, 1954).
- Neumayer, E. 1983 *Prehistoric Indian Rock Paintings*. Delhi.
- Nyberg, H.S. 1938 *Die Religionen des alten Iran*. Leipzig.

- O'Flaherty, W.D. 1973 *Ascetism and Eroticism in the Mythology of Śiva*. Chicago.
- Id. 1975 *Hindu Myths*. Hammondsworth.
- Id. 1980 *Women, Androgynes and Other Mythical Beasts*. Chicago.
- Id. (Ed.) 1980 *Karma and Rebirth in Classical Indian Traditions*. Chicago.
- Oldenberg, H. 1959 *Buddha*. Stuttgart 13th ed. (1881).
- Id., 1907 *Die Religion des Veda*. Stuttgart.
- Oman, J.C. 1908 *Cults, Customs and Superstitions of India*. London.
- Onians, R.B. 1954 *The Origins of European Thought*. Cambridge, 2nd. ed.
- Printz, W. 1925 Buddha's Geburt. *ZDMG* 79 : 119–132.
- *Rāmcaritmānas* 1922 of Tulsīdās. Allahabad.
- *Rāmāyaṇa* 1930 *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki. Bombay.
- Rank, O. 1909 *Der Mythos von der Geburt des Helden*. Leipzig and Wien.
- *RE* 1912 Pauly, A. and Wissowa, G. *Realencyclopädie der klassischen Alterthumswissenschaft*. VIII, 1. Stuttgart.
- Renou, L. and Filliozat, J. 1949 *L'Inde classique I*. Paris.
- Renou, L. 1954 *Vocabulaire du rituel védique*. Paris.
- Rhys Davids, T.W. 1880 *Buddhist Birth Stories*. London. 2nd. rev. ed. by C.A.F. Rhys Davids. London, n.d. (ca. 1925).
- Roghair, G.H. 1982 *The Epic of Pañādu*. Oxford.
- Ruben, W. 1944 *Kṛṣṇa*. Istanbul.
- Scheftelowitz, I. 1906 *Die Apokryphen des R̥gveda*. Breslau.
- Schlingloff, D. 1962 *Die Religion des Buddhismus I*. Berlin.
- Schubring, W. 1935 *Die Lehre der Jainas*. Leipzig.

- Shrinivas, Doris 1983 Vedic Rudra-Śiva. *JAOS* 103.3: 543–556.
- *Skandapurāṇa* 1961 Calcutta.
- Sontheimer, G.-D. 1987a Rudra and Khaṇḍobā: Continuity in Folk Religion. In: *Religion and Society in Mahārāṣṭra*. Ed. by M. Israel and N.K. Wagle. Toronto, 1–31.
- Id. 1987b The Vana and the Ksetra. In: *Eschmann Memorial Lectures I*. Ed. by G.C. Tripathi and H.Kulke. Bhubaneswar, 117–164.
- Id. 1989a *Pastoral Deities in Western India*. New York.
- Id. 1989b Between Ghost and God: A Folk Deity of the Deccan. In: *Criminal Gods and Demon Devotees*. Ed. by A. Hildebeitel. Albany, 299–337.
- Spratt, P. 1966 *Hindu Culture and Personality*. Bombay.
- Syed, Renate 1990 *Die Flora Altindiens in Literatur und Kunst*. München.
- Thāpar, Romilā 1990 Indian views of Europe: Representations of the "Other" in history ? Āgneya Commemoration Lecture. Heidelberg.
- Thomas, I.J. 1979 *Painting in Tamil Nadu A.D. 1350–1650*. Ann Arbor (Mich.). Unpublished thesis.
- Thomas, W. (n.d., ca. 1930) *Hindu Religion, Customs and Manners*. Bombay.
- Thompson, St. and Balys, J. 1958 *The Oral Tales of India*. Bloomington.
- Tripathi, G.C. and Kulke, H. (Edd.) 1987 *Eschmann Memorial Lectures I*. Bhubaneswar.
- *Upaniṣatsaṃgraha* 1970 I-II. Delhi (Bombay, 1913).
- Van Buitenen see Buitenen, Van.
- Viśvabandhu 1935–1945; 1955–1961 *A Vedic Word-concordance*. Lahore; Hoshiarpur.
- *Viyāhapannatti* 1974 Ed. by B.J. Doshi. Bombay: Mahāvīra Jain Vidyālaya.

- Weber, A. 1866 Über ein Fragment der Bhagavatī I. *AdW* Berlin, 367–444.
- Id. 1867 Id., II. *AdW* Berlin, 155–352.
- Id. 1878 Über die Siṃhâsanadvātriṃśikā. *Indische Studien*. 15, 185–455.
- Id. 1883 Über die heiligen Schriften der Jaina. *Indische Studien* 16, 211–480.
- Widengren, G. 1965 *Die Religionen Irans*. Stuttgart.
- Windisch, E. 1908 *Buddha's Geburt und die Lehre von der Seelenwanderung*. Leipzig.
- Winternitz, M. 1895 Nejaimesha, Naigamesha, Nemeso. *JRAS*: 149–155.