**Buddhist Rāmāyaṇas (India and Sri Lanka)**

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**general notes**

**see**Desai 1970: 6-8 **study**

**some comments on Buddhist influence/features are located at the end of “12. Southeast Asia (verbal)”**

Heinz Bechert (Bechert 1978: 230-31) comments that, although elsewhere the Rāma story is popular with Buddhists, “we soon discover that the classical literature of the Sinhalese has not incorporated any version of the Rāmāyaṇa. From the Jānakīraraṇa, a Sanskrit kāvya based on the Rāmāyaṇa story which was composed by a Ceylonese author of the later Anurādhapura period (... ...), and from the fact that Vibhīṣaṇa was one of the guardian gods of the island during late mediaeval times (see Mythologie, s. v. Vibhīṣaṇa), we can conclude that the Rāmāyaṇa story occupied a rather important place in certain periods of the history of Sinhala culture. But the Rāmāyaṇa was not allowed to retain such a position in the long run. In Sinhalese literature, a version of the story of Rāma is only met | with in some popular poems connected with the mythology of the Kohom̆bā kankāriya ritual (see Mythologie, s. v. Mala raja), but in a form which is very different from the standard Rāmāyaṇa. Not a single manuscript of the Rāmāyaṇa is found among the many Sanskrit texts preserved in Sinhalese tradition. The non-existence of the Rāmāyaṇa in the main cultural tradition of the Sinhalese must be explained as a consequence of the fear that it could endanger the exclusive validity of the traditions on the early history of the island found in the Ceylonese chronicles.”

**title (and author)** Pāli Jātakas: *Dasaratha, Vessantara, Sāma, Jayadissa*

**date (and provenance)**

**edition(s)** Fausbøll, Michael Viggo (ed.) 1877-97: *The Jātaka together with its commentary*, 7 vols (London: Kegan Paul Trench and Trübner). **download of vol. 1**

**translation(s)** Cowell, E.B. and others (trans.) 1895-1913: *The Jātaka or Stories of the Buddha’s former births*, 7 vols (Cambridge: CUP, repr. 3 vols 1995, Oxford: Pali Text Society). **OIL 555.606 Cow.1-7**[*Sambulājātaka* trans. by H.T. Francis, in Cowell 1895-1913, no. 519: V (1905), 48-53. *Dasarathajātaka* trans. by W.H.D. Rouse, inCowell 1895-1913, no.461: IV (1901), 78-82.]

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221–53. [pp. 222-29 survey *Jātaka* references] **OIL 503 Bas**

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[*challenges view that the DJ presents an earlier version of the Rāma story, stresses the difference between the gāthās and the prose commentary*]

**notes see** Zhang Xing 2010: 40

*VR* was widely known in some verbal and narrative detail, and many allusions are found in Buddhist material, but:

NO Buddhist narrative retellings. ***DasarathaJ*** (461) is one episode only, used and adapted to fulfil the specific purpose of an exemplum. Other parts would contradict the image of Rāma as imperturbable.

Several *Jātakas* reflect episodes from the *VR*, reworked in Buddhist context, with ‘happy ending’ that inverts/subverts the *Rm* source; e.g*. SāmaJ* (540), *SambulāJ* (519), *VessantaraJ* (547). *VJ*  has many analogues to Rāma’s journey to the forest (Gombrich 1985) — [M.B. *but were Vessantara’s values originally being promoted or condemned as excessive ?*]

notes on parallels in wording between *Rām.* and *DJ* below.

Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā are all children of Daśaratha by his queen-consort [unnamed], the eldest of his 16,000 wives. After her death, Daśaratha is at first inconsolable, then he appoints another queen-consort [unnamed] who gives birth to Bharata, and is promised a boon. When Bharata is seven she claims the boon — the kingdom for Bharata — and Daśaratha banishes the other three for twelve years (his expected life-span) to protect them from the queen. He lives only nine years. [cf. RR p.260 §2 + 261 §1 fin.]

Tripathi 1976 states that Sītā was **not married** to Rāma, she became his chief queen (*agramahiṣī*).

Pellegrini 2008 *on Buddhist material: until p. 275 §2 she merely summarises all previous views on relationship Rm : DJ — so can be ignored. On pp. 277-78 has references to Gorresio and Lahore edns.*

Jarl Charpentier, “Zur Geschichte des Cariyāpiṭaka”, *Vienna Oriental Journal* [WZKM] 24 (1910): 351-415, quoting p.397:

CP: III 13 ist das *Suvaṇṇasāmacariyam,* das dem *Sāmajātakam* (Jāt. 540, F. VI, p.68ff.) entspricht. Im Mahāvastu heißt der entsprechende Text *Śyāmajātakam* und steht in Vol.II, p.209 ff. Das Jātaka wird in Mil.P. pp.123ff.: 198 erwähnt.2

2 Ähnliche Geschichten finden sich in MBh. III, 14049ff.: Rām. II,63,14-53: Śivapurāṇa

(s. AUFRECHT, *Cat.Bodl.*, Fol.66a, Lüders, GN. 1897, p.109, N.2) usw. Die älteste Version scheint die zu sein, die durch Kombination des Mhv.-Textes mit dem Rām.- Texte erreicht wird.

Collins 1998: 498 — [about versions of Vessantara story] “Different versions will have different meanings, as is the case in the very much shorter Pali verse version redacted in the canonical *Cariya-piṭaka.*” **see further** in Cone 1977: xxix-xxx

For***SāmaJ*** *see* MB 2010b

For ***DasarathaJ***and relationship to *VR see* MB 2002a:139-40; also Zhang Xing 2010: 40*.*

**Parallels in wording between Rāmāyaṇa and Dasaratha Jātaka**

(noted in Shanti Lal Nagar, *Jātakas in Indian Art,* Parimal, Delhi, 1993, p.xi)

(1) yathā phalānāṃ pakvānāṃ nānyatra patanād bhayam |  
 evaṃ narasya jātasya nānyatra maraṇād bhayam || VR 2.98.17   
 (c: evaṃ narāṇāṃ jātānāṃ in N mss) **n.b.** preceding verse 16 = MBh.12.27.29

phalānam iva pakkānaṃ niccaṃ papatanā bhayam |  
 evaṃ jātānaṃ maccānaṃ niccaṃ maraṇato bhayam || DJ *gāthā* 4 (84)

(2) yad eko jāyate jantur eka eva vinaśyati | VR 2.100.3cd

eko va macco acceti eko va jāyate kule | DJ *gāthā* 10 (90)

(3) daśavarṣasahasrāṇi daśavarṣaśatāni ca |  
 vītaśokabhayakrodho rāmo rājyam akārayat || VR 6.116.90c + 3702\* + 90d  
 ª3702\*2 with readings of S: D1-4.8.9.12; other N mss plus G2.3 M3 have v.l.]

dasa vassasahassāni saṭṭhi vassasatāni ca |  
 kambugīvo mahābāhu rāmo rajjaṃ akārayi || DJ *gāthā* 13 (93)

*Dasaratha Jātaka* (Fausbøll’s edn, vol.4, pp. 123-130)

**p.126** 1. Etha Lakkaṇa Sītā ca ubho otarathôdakan ti.

... ...

Evâyaṁ Bharato āha: rājā Dasaratho mato ti. 81.

... ...

2. Kena Rāma ppabhāvena socitabbaṁ na socasi,  
 pitaraṁ kālakataṁ sutvā na taṁ pasahate dukhan ti. 82.

... ...

3. Yaṁ na sakkā pāletuṁ posena lapataṁ bahuṁ  
 sa kissa viññū medhāvī attānam upatāpaye. 83.

**p.127** 4. Daharā ca hi vuddhā ca ye bālā ye ca paṇḍitā  
 aḍḍhā c’eva daliddā ca sabbe maccuparāyanā. 84.

5. Phalānam iva pakkānaṁ niccaṁ papatanā bhayaṁ  
 evaṁ jātānaṁ maccānaṁ niccaṁ maranaṭo bhayaṁ. 85.

... ...

10. Eko ca macco acceti, eko va jāyate kule,  
 saññogaparamā tv-eva sambhogā sabbapāṇinaṁ. 90.

... ...

**p.130** 13. Dasa vassasahassāni saṭṭhi vassasatāni ca  
 kambugīvo mahābāhu Rāmo rajjam akārayîti 93.

[**n.b.** with 4c cf. *kaccin āḍhyo daridro vā* at *VR* 2.66.37c=40c]

**Against** derivation of *VRm* from *DJ* (cf. MB 2002a: 139-40):

Frame story

Quotations from *VR* in *DJ*; cf. quotations / adaptations in *Vessantara, Śyāma* and *Samubulā Js*

Other early Buddhist versions reflect whole story

Why change characters of Daśaratha and Kaikeyī — he to become more guilty, she less?

Why does Dasaratha not protect his children and execute Kaikeyī?

Age of brothers a problem: why change?

How satisfying a tale is either *DJ* or *Ayodhyākāṇḍa* on its own?

Wicked stepmother motif common, but as a prelude enabling heroes to leave and have adventures, not as a story on its own.

*see also* Goldman 1984: 32

Gombrich 1985

Pollock 1991: 4

*Dasarathajātaka* 1901*:* 78-82 —

**p.78** “*Let Lakkhaṇa*,” *etc.* — This story the Master told in Jetavana about a landowner whose father was dead. This man on his father’s death was overwhelmed with sorrow: leaving all his duties undone, he gave himself up to his sorrow wholly. The Master at dawn of day looking out upon mankind, perceived that he was ripe for attaining the fruit of the First Path. Next day, after going his rounds for alms in Sāvatthi, his meal done, he dismissed the Brethren, and taking with him a junior Brother, went to this man’s house, and gave him greeting, and addressed him as he sat there in words of honey sweetness. “You are in sorrow, lay Brother?” said he. “Yes, Sir, afflicted with sorrow for my father’s sake.” Said the Master, “Lay Brother, wise men of old who exactly knew the eight conditions of this world, felt at a father’s death no grief, not even a little.” Then at his request he told a story of the past.

—————————

Once upon a time, at Benares, a great king named Dasaratha renounced the ways of evil, and reigned in righteousness. Of his sixteen thousand wives, the eldest and queen-consort bore him two sons and a daughter;

**p.79** the elder son was named Rāma-paṇḍita, or Rama the Wise, the second was

named Prince Lakkhaṇa, or Lucky, and the daughter’s name was the Lady Sītā.

In the course of time, the queen-consort died. At her death the king was for a long time crushed by sorrow, but urged by his courtiers he performed her obsequies, and set another in her place as queen-consort. She was dear to the king and beloved. In time she also conceived, and all due attention having been given her, she brought forth a son, and they named him Prince Bharata.

The king loved his son much, and said to the queen, “Lady, I offer you a boon: choose.” She accepted the offer, but put it off for the time. When the lad was seven years old, she went to the king, and said to him, “My lord, you promised a boon for my son. Will you give it me now?” “Choose, lady,” said he. “My lord,” quoth she, “give my son the kingdom.” The king snapt his fingers at her; “Out, vile jade!” said he angrily, “my other two sons shine like blazing fires; would you kill them, and ask the kingdom for a son of yours?” She fled in terror to her magnificent chamber, and on other days again and again asked the king for this. The king would not give her this gift. He thought within himself: “Women are ungrateful and treacherous. This woman might use a forged letter or a treacherous bribe to get my sons murdered.” So he sent for his sons, and told them all about it, saying: “My sons, if you live here some mischief may befall you. Go to some neighbouring kingdom, or to the woodland, and when my body is burnt, then return and inherit the kingdom which belongs to your family.” The he summoned soothsayers, and asked them the limits of his own life. They told him he would live yet twelve years longer. Then he said, “Now, my sons, after twelve years you must return, and uplift the umbrella of royalty.” They promised, and after taking leave of their father, went forth from the palace weeping. The Lady Sītā said, “I too will go with my brothers:” she bade her father farewell, and went forth weeping.

These three departed amidst a great company of people. They sent the people back, and proceeded until at last they came to Himalaya. There in a spot well-watered, and convenient for the getting of wild fruits, they built a hermitage, and there lived, feeding upon the wild fruits.

Lakkhaṇa-paṇḍita and Sītā said to Rāma-paṇḍita, “You are in place of a father to us; remain then in the hut, and we will bring wild fruit, and feed you.” He agreed: thenceforward Rāma-paṇḍita stayed where he was, the others brought the wild fruit and fed him with it.

**p.80** Thus they lived there, feeding upon the wild fruit; but King Dasaratha pined after his sons, and died in the ninth year. When his obsequies were performed, the queen gave orders that the umbrella should be raised over her son, Prince Bharata. But the courtiers said, “The lords of the umbrella are dwelling in the forest,” and they would not allow it. Said Prince Bharata, “I will fetch back my brother Rāma-paṇḍita from the forest, and raise the royal umbrella over him.” Taking the five emblems of royalty, he proceeded with a complete host of the four arms to their dwelling-place. Not far away he caused camp to be pitched, and then with a few courtiers he visited the hermitage, at the time when Lakkhaṇa-paṇḍita and Sītā were away in the woods. At the door of the hermitage sat Rāma-paṇḍita, undismayed and at ease, like a figure of gold firmly set. The prince approached him with a greeting, and standing on one side, told him of all that had happened in the kingdom, and falling at his feet along with the courtiers, burst into weeping. Rāma-paṇḍita neither sorrowed nor wept; emotion in his mind was none. When Bharata had finished weeping, and sat down, towards evening the other two returned with wild fruits. Rāma-paṇḍita thought — “These two are young: all-comprehending wisdom like mine is not theirs. If they are told on a sudden that our father is dead, the pain will be greater than they can bear, and who knows but their hearts may break. I will persuade them to go down into the water, and find a means of disclosing the truth.” Then pointing out to them a place in front where there was water, he said, “You have been out too long: let this be your penance — go into that water, and stand there.” Then he repeated a half-stanza:

“Let Lakkhaṇa and Sītā both into that pond descend.”

One word sufficed, into the water they went, and stood there. Then he told them the news by repeating the other half-stanza:

“Bharata says, king Dasaratha’s life is at an end.”

When they heard the news of their father’s death, they fainted. Again he repeated it, again they fainted, and when even a third time they fainted away, the courtiers raised them and brought them out of the water, and set them upon dry ground. When they had been comforted, they all sat weeping and wailing together. Then Prince Bharata thought: “My brother Prince Lakkhaṇa, and my sister Lady Sītā, cannot restrain their grief to hear of our father’s death; but Rāma-paṇḍita neither wails nor weeps. I wonder what can the reason be that he

**p.81** grieves not? I will ask.” Then he repeated the second stanza, asking the question:

“Say by what power thou grievest not, Rāma, when grief should be?

Though it is said thy sire is dead grief overwhelms not thee!”

Then Rāma-paṇḍita explained the reason of his feeling no grief by saying,

“When man can never keep a thing, though loudly he may cry,

Why should a wise intelligence torment itself thereby?

The young in years, the older grown, the fool, and eke the wise,

For rich, for poor one end is sure: each man among them dies.

As sure as for the ripened fruit there comes the fear of fall,

So surely comes the fear of death to mortals one and all.

Who in the morning light are seen by evening oft are gone,

And seen at evening time, is gone by morning many a one.

If to a fool infatuate a blessing could accrue

When he torments himself with tears, the wise this same would do.

By this tormenting of himself he waxes thin and pale;

This cannot bring the dead to life, and nothing tears avail.

Even as a blazing house may be put out with water, so

The strong, the wise, the intelligent, who well the scriptures know,

Scatter their grief like cotton when the stormy winds do blow.

One mortal dies — to kindred ties born is another straight:

Each creature’s bliss dependent is on ties associate.

The strong man therefore, skilled in sacred text,

Keen-contemplating this world and the next,

Knowing their nature, not by any grief,

However great, in mind and heart is vext.

So to my kindred I will give, them will I keep and feed,

All that remain I will maintain: such is the wise man’s deed.”

In these stanzas he explained the Impermanence of things.

When the company heard this discourse of Rāma-paṇḍita, illustrating the doctrine of Impermanence, they lost all their grief. Then Prince Bharata saluted Rāma-paṇḍita, begging him to receive the kingdom of Benares. “Brother,” said Rāma, “take Lakkhaṇa and Sītā with you, and administer the kingdom yourselves.” “No, my lord, you take it.” “Brother, my father commanded me to receive the kingdom at the end of twelve years. If I go now, I shall not carry out his bidding. After three more years I will come.” “Who will carry on the government all that time?“ “You do it.” “I will not.” “Then until I come, these slippers shall do it,” said Rāma, and doffing his slippers of straw he gave them to his brother. So these three persons took the slippers, and bidding the wise man farewell, went to Benares with their great crowd of followers.

**p.82** For three years the slippers ruled the kingdom. The courtiers placed these straw slippers upon the royal throne, when they judged a cause. If the cause were decided wrongly, the slippers beat upon each other, and at that sign it was examined again; when the decision was right, the slippers lay quiet.

When the three years were over, the wise man came out of the forest, and came to Benares, and entered the park. The princes hearing of his arrival proceeded with a great company to the park, and making Sītā the queen consort, gave to them both the ceremonial sprinkling. The sprinkling thus performed, the Great Being standing in a magnificent chariot, and surrounded by a vast company, entered the city, making a solemn circuit right-wise; then mounting to the great terrace of his splendid palace Sucandaka, he reigned there in righteousness for sixteen thousand years, and then went to swell the hosts of heaven.

—————————

This stanza of Perfect Wisdom explains the upshot:

“Years sixty times a hundred, and ten thousand more, all told,

Reigned strong-armed Rāma, on his neck the lucky triple fold.”

The Master having ended this discourse, declared the Truths, and identified the Birth: (now at the conclusion of the Truths, the land-owner was established in the fruit of the First Path:) “At that time the king Suddhodana was king Dasaratha, Mahāmāyā was the mother, Rāhulā’s mother was Sītā, Ānanda was Bharata, and I myself was Rāma-paṇḍita.”

[footnotes: Suddhodana and Mahāmāyā: Gotama Buddha’s father and mother;

Rāhulā’s mother: Gotama Buddha’s wife]

Alsdorf 1957 summary (pp.69-70):

The Vessantarajātaka (VJ) is by common consent the most famous and popular of all Buddhist legends and tales: its Pali version, with its 786 gāthās — more than twice as many as any other Jātaka has —, occupies a unique position in Pali literature. Surprisingly, this im-| portant text has never received adequate critical and philological treatment which, as the present article tries to show, it needs very badly. To begin with, it can be proved that no less than 17 gāthās are late quotations from the Cariyāpiṭaka (the author of which latter had, much earlier, borrowed a number of pādas from the VJ!). The elimination of these stanzas (and a few others) at the same time removes from the little epic the only unmistakably Buddhist passages. Indeed it can be conclusively proved that the VJ, classified e.g. by Winternitz among “those legends whose purely Buddhistic origin in unmistakable”, is just as completely un-Buddhist or rather pre-Buddhist as the vast majority of the other Jātakas. This, of course, applies only to the verses, in sharp contradistinction to the prose which, with its excess of Buddhist piety, its boundless exaggerations, and its exuberance of sometimes rather insipid miracles breathes the totally different spirit of much later centuries.”

**Sambulājātaka**

For***Sambulājātaka*** (no. 519) *see* Söhnen-Thieme, Renate 2003: “Rāmāyaṇa”, in *Enzyklopädie des Märchens*, ed. by Kurt Ranke and others 11: 176-90 (col.181 §2). **photocopy**[*Demon woos virtuous wife of leprous king with almost same words and arguments as Rāvaṇa uses with Sītā*]

Cowell, E.B. and others (trans.) 1895-1907: “Sambulā-Jātaka”, trans. by H.T. Francis, in *The Jātaka or Stories of the Buddha’s former births*, 6 vols (Cambridge: CUP, repr. 3 vols 1995, Oxford: Pali Text Society), no. 519, V (1905), 48-53. *Sambulā-Jātaka,* Francis 1905: **photocopy**

Sambulā follows her husband *yuvarāja* Sotthisena to forest when he develops leprosy, caring devotedly for him. Rejects proposition by demon (verses verbally similar to *VRm*), seized [*not abducted*], rescued by Sakka who exiles demon, returns to hermitage, lamenting to Nature. Sotthisena is suspicious when she returns late, refuses to believe her explanation until she performs an Act of Truth simultaneously confirming her chastity and curing Sotthisena’s leprosy.

On return to city Sotthisena is appointed king and Sambulā chief queen but she pines to return to forest-life because her husband neglects her in favour of rivals. Sotthisena’s ascetic father reproves him and he repents and begs Sambulā’s forgiveness; they live happily ever after.

**title (and author)** *Dīgha Nikāya* 3.1.15 (*Ambaṭṭha Sutta*)

**date (and provenance)**

**edition(s)** *The Dīgha-nikāya,* ed. T. W. Rhys Davids and J Carpenter (London: Pali Text Society, 1890-1911).**(IND) 11 A 23a**

**translation(s)** *Thus have I heard: the long discourses of the Buddha,* trans. by Maurice O'C. Walshe (London: Wisdom Books, 1987). **(IND) 12 B 79 / OIL 555.15 Wal**

**studies** Thomas, E.J. 1949: *The Life of Buddha as Legend and History,* 3rd edn (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul), pp. 5-16. **OIL 514.3 Tho.2**

**notes** The main theme is the four-*varṇa* hierarchy, which was strongly favoured and promoted by the brāhmans. In this regard, the Buddha gave Ambaṭṭha very practical advice. An interesting account of the ancestry of the Sakyas, alongside that of the Kanhayanas and the shared heritage of both, arises out of Ambaṭṭha’s claim of the superiority of the brahmins over all other people. From the dialog, the event may have well taken place when the Buddha was more advanced in years. This is the first sutta in the Sutta Pitaka to mention the thirty-two physical traits of a "great man", as well as the belief, according to legend, that such a person would either become a universal monarch or a Buddha but not both.

Contains reference to the legend of King Okkaka, the traditional founder of the Sakya clan.

**title (and author)** Spitzer ms. (Sarvāstivādin philosophical ms.)

**date (and provenance)**

**edition(s)**

**translation(s)**

**studies** Brockington, John 2010c: “The Spitzer manuscript and the Mahābhārata”, in *From Turfan to Ajanta: Festschrift* *for Dietrich Schlingloff on the occasion of his eightieth birthday,* ed. by Eli Franco and Monika Zin (Rupandehi, Nepal: Lumbini International Research Institute): I.75-87.

Franco, Eli 2003: “The oldest philosophical manuscript in Sanskrit”, *JIPh* 31: 21-31. **printout**

Franco, Eli 2004: *The Spitzer Manuscript: the Oldest Philosophical Manuscript in Sanskrit,* 2 vols (Öst. Ak. d. Wiss. , phil.-hist. Klasse, Denkschr. 323. Bd).. Wien 2004.

Franco, Eli 2005: “Three Notes on the Spitzer Manuscript”, *WZKS* 49 (2005) 109-111 **download**

Schlingloff, Dieter 1968: “Fragmente einer Palmblatthandschrift philosophischen Inhalts aus Ostturkistan (Ms. Spitzer)”, *WZKS* 12/13 (1968) 323-328.

Schlingloff, Dieter 1969: “The Oldest Extant Parvan-List of the Mahābhārata”, *JAOS* 89 (1969) 334-338. **photocopy**

**notes**

**title (and author)**  *Buddhacarita* of Aśvaghoṣa

**date (and provenance)** 1st cent. A.D. (usual dating), 2nd cent. (Olivelle); Ayodhyā

**edition(s) see** Olivelle trans. [see below]

**translation(s)** Johnston, E.H. (ed. and trans.)1935-36: *The Buddhacarita or Acts of the Buddha*, 2 vols (Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press).

*Life of the Buddha,* trans. Patrick Olivelle (Clay Sanskrit Library), 2008. **own copy**

**studies** Covill, Linda 2009: *A metaphorical study of Saundarananda* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass). **(IND) 5 Asva. 16 / Wolfson**

Gawroński, Andrzej 1914-15: “Gleanings from Aśvaghoṣa’s *Buddhacarita*”,   
*RO* 1.1: 1-42 (reprinted in *Studies about the Sanskrit Buddhist Literature: collected papers,* ed. by Marek Mejor (Warsaw: Research Centre of Buddhist Studies, Faculty of Oriental Studies, University of Warsaw, 2012): 17-58). **own copy**[**see** especially p. 14 mid. (Johnson’s comment) and pp. 89-102 (27-40)]

Hiltebeitel, Alf 2006a: "Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacarita*: The first known close and critical reading of the Brahmanical Sanskrit Epics", *JIPh* 34: 229-86. **download**

Hiltebeitel, Alf 2011b: *Dharma: its early history in law, religion, and narrative* (New York: Oxford University Press). [specifically pp. 625-84, ch. 13. “Aśvaghośa’s *Buddhacarita*]

Raghavan, Venkatarama 195a: “Buddhological Texts and the Epics”, *ALB* 20: 349‑59 [repr. in Janaki 1992: 262-76]. **photocopy**

**notes see** Johnston 1935–36 and Raghavan 1956: 349–59 (including such echoes in Aśvaghoṣa’s other works and even in Mahāyāna works like the *Lalitavistara* and *Mahāvastu*); also Leslie 2003: 119

Hiltebeitel 2011b: 638-45 repeats Hiltebeitel 2006a

specific *VR* references in *Buddhacarita*:  
1.43 Vālmīki as first poet (in *VR* only in stage 3)  
2.15 Anaraṇya (*VR* 2.102.9; 1.69.20-21 irrelevant)  
4.20 Viśvāmitra and Ghṛtācī [*verbal echo*] *VR* 4,34.7  
5,48-61 drunken sleeping women: *see JLB 1998: 485 for verbal echoes of 5,7-9*  
6.36 Chandaka (prince’s groom) sent back by Siddhārtha refers to Sumantra sent back by Rāma [*not as in Olivelle’s note p.450*]  
8.8 return of Chandaka to Kapilavastu compared to Sumantra’s return to Ayodhyā with Dāśarathi’s chariot [*much of ch.8 modelled on VR?*]  
8.79, 8.81 grieving father compares self to Daśaratha  
9.09 chaplain and counselor’s visit to Siddhārtha to bring him back compared to Vasiṣṭha and Vāmadeva visiting Rāma  
9.25 Rāma cited as example of acting to please his father in attempt to persuade Siddhārtha to obey his father and return from forest [*inverted*]

Gawroński, Andrzej 2012 [1919]: “Buddhacarita and Rāmāyaṇa II.”: 27 [89] —

. . . In fact, the references to the story of Rāma’s exile, occurring in the Buddhacarita, are not limited to those few quoted by Cowell. They can be multiplied and some of them, on closer examination, do indeed prove interesting enough. To say it at once, we are able, with the help of them, to prove past all doubt that the auth of the Buddhacarita was intimately acquainted not only “with the myth of Rāma’ as Cowell says, but with the Rāmāyana such as we know it to-day.”

see also Introduction, Olivelle 2008: xxxi-xxxii: the Buddha is compared to / authenticated by references to *dharmic* figures of the past e.g. Rāma; he does not oppose *brāhmanical* tradition, he fulfils it [*but much of the narrative / motivation is a direct inversion of the VR, MB*]

[*MB in e-mail to Patrick Olivelle*, 1 June 2009]:

I ... came across the reference to Anaraṇya in 2.15.  In view of all the other Rm references, which get close in places to being an inversion of the epic narrative, it seems plausible to me that this Anaraṇya is the king of Ayodhyā who appears in the Ikṣvāku genealogy at Rm CE 2,102.8-10 [Pollock translates v.9: “When Anaraṇya, the best of men, was king, there was no drought, no famine, and not a single thief in the land” and also seems to make this connection in his note].  When the genealogy is repeated at 1,69, that eulogy is simplified to “mighty and valorous Anaraṇya” [v.20].  A narrative is introduced at 7,19.6-26, echoed at 6.1026\*2 [S insert], where he is killed by Rāvaṇa, and prophesies that an avenger [= Rāma] will be born in his lineage.  Whether this explains his appearance in the MBh list [1,1.171-79] you cite in your Glossary seems to me an open question.

*Olivelle, Glossary, says* “little is known about this king from Brahmanical sources. He is mentioned in the list of kings in MBh CE [1,]1.171-79.”

*Saundarananda* 1.26 alludes to Vālmīki performing the birth ritual for Sītā’s sons.

**title (and author)** *Haribhaṭṭajātakamālā*

**date (and provenance)** early 5th century

**edition(s) see** Hahn 1976

Haribhaṭṭa 2011: *Poetical Visions of the Buddha’s former lives: seventeen legends from Haribhaṭṭa’s* Jātakamālā, ed. by Michael Hahn (New Delhi: Aditya Prakashan).

**translation(s) see \*** Hahn 1976

Haribhaṭṭa 2017: *Once a peacock, once an actress: twenty-four lives of the Bodhisattva from Haribhaṭṭa’s Jātakamālā,* trans. by Peter Khoroche (Chicago: Chicago University Press). **online access (library only)**

**studies** Hahn, Michael 1974: “Die Haribhaṭṭajātakamālā (I): das Ādarśamukhajātaka”, *WZKS* 18: 49-88. **photocopy**

Hahn, Michael 1976: “Die Haribhaṭṭajātakamālā (II): Das Śyāmajātaka”, *WZKS* 20: 37-74. **photocopy**

Hofstetter, E. 1980: *Der Herr der Tiere im alten Indien,* Freiburger Beiträge zur Indologie 14 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz).

**notes** Haribhaṭṭa wrote his *Jātakamālā* in Kashmir around 400 A.D. Long thought lost in its Sanskrit original and known only in the Tibetan translation, large parts of the Sanskrit (c. 78%) have been rediscovered since 1973. This includes much of the *Śyāmajātaka,* but not verses 1 and 45 to the end (as noted in the preface to Haribhaṭṭa 2017, which translates the *Śyāmajātaka* as no. 14).