ART. XXXII.—*The Last to go Forth.* Jātaka, 4. 490 = 6. 30.
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THERE are curious passages, found in two places of Fausbøll's Jātaka, 4. 490 and 6. 30, which are full both of interest and of difficulty. At Professor Cowell's suggestion I venture to put together a few remarks which may tend to make these passages clearer.

It is well known that at the end of each Jātaka the Buddha is represented as summing up the Jātaka by identifying the principal persons (men or animals), mentioned in it, with himself and with people associated with him—his relatives, principal disciples, and so on. In the two passages in question certain Ceylon Theras are in a similar way identified, by the unknown author of our Pali Commentary on the Jātakas, with personages in the two Jātakas to which the passages are appended. But not with the principal personages.

Five Jātakas are referred to. In each of these five the hero of the story had gone forth from the world, and the contagion of his example was so powerful that an immense multitude followed him into retirement. In the second passage in question six Ceylon Theras are said to have been (in a previous birth, of course) the very last of those who joined the multitude to 'go forth' on the five occasions mentioned in the Jātaka stories. In other words, they were the most backward of all in insight and resolution. And that is why it took them so many centuries to arrive at the Sambodhi, at Arahatsip.

The six names given are those of famous scholars in the *theraparamparā*, or succession of teachers. A few words may be said on each of them.

1. Tissa the Short, who dwelt at Mangana, is distinguished from the many other Tissas—there are about two score of them in the books—not only by the personal description as short, but by the literary epithet *Mahāvamsaka*. This means ‘the one mentioned in the *Mahāvamsa*’—that is, the old *Mahāvamsa*, in Sinhalese prose with Pali verses, on which our Pali *Dīpavamsa* and *Mahāvamsa* are based. A list of the *thera-paramparā* taken from that *Mahāvamsa* is preserved at p. 2 of the *Parivāra*,¹ and one of the two Tissa Theras mentioned in it is doubtless the man referred to. In any case, he was identical with the Tissa Thera who is mentioned in the Pali *Mahāvamsa* (p. 197 of Turnour’s edition) as having lived at Mangana, in the highest mountains of Ceylon, about 120 B.C.

2. The next is Phussa Deva, who is described as resident in, or at, a place called ‘The Gloom of the mountain side’ (*Kaṭandhakāra*). At p. 189 of the *Sumangala Vilāsinī* he is described as dwelling on, or at, a place called the *Ālinda*, the Threshold, and a curious story is told of his attaining Arahatsip late in life. The descriptive titles of the name of his hermitage refer apparently to a cave in the mountains of Ceylon, and in the second part of the *Mahāvamsa* (chap. xlv, verse 2) we are told that Kassapa II (A.D. 653) had a complete set of the Pali canonical books copied out for the use of ‘the resident (or, as we might say, the incumbent) at *Kaṭandhakāra*,’ who dwelt there in the residence his brother had built.

Vasantaṃ bhātu āvāse samuddissa likhāpayi
Kaṭandhakāra-vāsiṃ so Pāḷiṃ sabbaṃ sasangahaṃ.

It is very possible that this is the very place referred to as the residence of Phussa Deva. That Kassapa’s brother had built a new parsonage, or hermit’s dwelling, there, does not make the identification any more unlikely than similar

¹ Also quoted in full by Buddhaghosa in the *Samanta Pāsādikā* in Oldenberg’s *Vinaya*, vol. iii, pp. 313, 314.

circumstances would in the case of an English vicarage. But we must wait for the publication of other texts to solve the mystery. And such texts we are likely to find, as Phussa Deva's name also occurs in the list of teachers at Parivāra, p. 2, where he is simply described as *mahākathī*, 'the great preacher.'

3. The next, though evidently the same person, is described in slightly different words, at Jātaka, 4. 490, as

Upari-maṇḍalaka-Malaya-vāsī Mahā-Saṅgharakkhita,

and, at Jātaka, 6. 30, as

Upari-maṇḍaka-Māla-vāsī Mahā-rakkhita.

In all three cases the former readings are to be preferred. Malaya, the Tamil Malei, is the mountainous district in the south-central portion of Ceylon, and Upari-maṇḍala is the topmost range (literally, zone) of it, that is to say, the district between the modern sanatorium Nuwar Eliya (wrongly pronounced by the English New Railier) and Adam's Peak. We must read the name of the place accordingly.

As to the divergent personal names, they are both possible. But Mahā-rakkhita (not 'the protégé of the Great One,' but simply 'Rakkhita the Great') occurs twice only—once as the name of a pre-Buddhistic ascetic at Jātaka, 4. 445, and once as the name of the Buddhist missionary who went in Asoka's time to Afghanistan (Dīpavaṃsa, 8. 6; Mahāvaṃsa, 71, etc.). Saṅgha-rakkhita, on the other hand, is frequent. It is given already in the Vinaya as a specimen of an honourable name (Vinaya, 4. 8; see 3. 169). It is the name of one of the poets whose verses are preserved in the Thera Gāthā (verse 109); and of both the brethren (of Buddha's time) mentioned in the curious old story (at Dh. Com., 198) on counting one's chickens before they are hatched.¹ The

¹ The story recurs in the "Arabian Nights," in La Fontaine, in Ralston's Tibetan Tales, etc.

name occurs, too, several times in the old inscriptions¹ and legends.² But all these are too early. And the author of the *Vuttodaya*, of the *Subodhālankāra*, and of a *Ṭikā* on the *Khudda Sikkhā*³ is too late. On the other hand, there is a *Saṅgha-rakkhita* mentioned in the *Attha Sālinī*, p. 187, and a story is told of him in the *Visuddhi Magga*.⁴ This *Thera* would exactly fit our passage, and it is most probable that this is the man referred to.

4. *Bhaggari - vāsī Mahā Tissa* also lived in *Dutṭha Gāmini's* time. He is the other *Tissa* of the *Parivāra*, p. 3, and the *Mahā Tissa* of the *Sutta Sangaha*, p. 77.

5. *Mahā Siva*, who lived on the *Vāmanta Hill* (*Jātaka*, 6. 30 reads wrongly *Vāmatta*) is also one of the line of teachers in the memorial verses quoted at *Parivāra*, p. 3. He is the *Mahā Siva* of *Sumangala Vilāsinī*, vol. i, pp. 202, 203, and of the *Attha Sālinī*, p. 220.

6. *Mahā Maliya Deva* of *Kāḷavela* is no doubt the same man as the one of the same name, a quite uncommon one, who is said in the *Mahāvamsa*, p. 197, to have flourished in the second century B.C., and to have been in close connection then with the *Bhikshus* dwelling on *Adam's Peak*. At *Jātaka*, 4. 490 the name is slightly different, *Mali Mahā Deva*. The personal name is *Deva*; *Mali* or *Maliya* is local. And as there are two *Devas* in the list at *Parivāra*, p. 3, this man is probably one of them.

Of the five *Jātakas*, four are mentioned in both passages. One, the *Cūla-Sutasoma-Jātaka* is mentioned only at 4. 490. In that passage occur also two names of *Theras* not mentioned in the other passage. It does not necessarily follow that the two *Theras* in question are the last who went forth

¹ Cunningham : " Bhilsa Topes," 313; *Stūpa* of *Bharhut*, 29, 140.

² *Divyāvadāna*, 330.

³ See Dr. Mabel Haynes Bode's *Index to the Gandha Vamsa*, and the *Sāsana Vamsa Dīpa*, 1209.

⁴ See *J.P.T.S.*, 1891, p. 82.

in that particular Jātaka. The theory of the transmigration of Karma is sufficiently elastic to look upon all the Theras as having been connected, in a previous birth, with all the Jātakas.

The two Theras referred to are:—

1. Dhamma-gutta, the Earth-shaker, mentioned also, as such, in the Pali Mahāvamsa (Turnour, p. 197). His *floruit* will have been about 130 B.C.

2. Mahā Nāga, resident at the Pavilion of the Black Creeper. He is the hero of the interesting story at Sumangala Vilāsinī, 1. 190.

There is also, perhaps, a third Thera mentioned at Jātaka, 4. 490 and not at Jātaka, 6. 30. For the name of No. 4 in the first list above is Bhaggari-vāsī Mahā Tissa, and the corresponding name at Jātaka, 4. 490 is Bhaggiri-vāsī Mahā Deva. But it is probable that, either in the one passage or the other, there is here a wrong reading, and that the same person is meant in both places. The locality is almost certainly the same. There may well have been a Deva and a Tissa in the same hermitage; but it is not usual for two Theras, each of them so distinguished as to have acquired the distinctive epithet of Mahā, to be dwelling together. As a rule, one more learned and aged Bhikshu was at the head of each small residence. It would only be in the one or two large monasteries in the big towns that several such would be found together, and as we hear nowhere else either of Bhaggari or of Bhaggiri, it was certainly not a place of much note or size or importance. Are we to understand two men who were successively presiding over a small hermitage of this kind? Here again we must await the publication of further texts from the too neglected old literature of Ceylon for the solution of the doubt.

It is evident that these Theras are real personages. In the few scraps of the early Ceylon texts that have already

been published we have, as is shown in these notes, sufficient information as to their opinions, and as to their character, to warrant the hope that, when the texts are completely before us, we may be able to reconstruct, to a very considerable extent, the literary and intellectual history of Ceylon in the second century B.C.

Meanwhile, we have another instance of the interest, from the historical point of view, of the chance references incidentally buried in what seem, at first sight, to be merely foolish old stories.