

# The Titles of the Sinhalese Kings as recorded in the Inscriptions of 3rd Century B.C. to 3rd Century A.C.

## Introduction

THE titles of the Sinhalese Kings as recorded in the inscriptions of 3rd B.C. to 3rd A.C. were *Maharaja*, *Raja*, *Gamaṇi*, *Devanaṇḍiya*, *Ma Parumaka* and *Aṇaya*. (Princes were called *Aya* and Princesses *Abi*). In his paper on "Two Royal titles of the early Sinhalese and the origin of Kingship in Ancient Ceylon,"<sup>1</sup> Paranavitana discussed the titles *Gamaṇi* and *Ma Parumaka*: some supplementary observations thereto are offered here. The Chronicles omit altogether the epigraphical titles *Ma Parumaka* and *Aṇaya*, and they accord the title *Devanaṇḍiya* only to Devānaṇḍiya Tissa although the epigraphs prove its continuation by this King's successors for nearly 3 centuries; but, with regard to *Gamaṇi*, they establish an usage from the time of Paṇḍuvāsudeva to Gajabāhuka Gāmaṇi which is in general agreement with the inscriptions. The names and titles of Kings appear in the inscriptions (i) when the King himself is the donor, in which case it is usual for him to give also his father's and grandfather's names if they were Kings, or (ii) to show the kinship to the Royal family where the inscription is by a Queen, prince, princess or relative, or (iii) to describe an office held directly under the King where the inscription is by a high official, or (iv) to date the epigraph regnally. Of 83 pre-Christian cave inscriptions in which Royal personages are named, only 7 represent grants by the King himself,<sup>2</sup> while 33 are by Queens and Princesses, 28 by Princes and 15 by other persons. For every epigraphical grant of a cave by a Royal personage there are at least 12 grants by chiefs, headmen, householders and others. The paucity of cave inscriptions of the Kings themselves, at a time when the cave monastery was the vogue, is certainly surprising, especially as the Chronicles would have us believe that the Kings of the early Buddhist period built and endowed

1. *J.R.A.S. (Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society)*, July, 1936, 443 ff.

2. (a) the Dambulla inscription of Saddhā Tissa, *A.I.C. (Ancient Inscriptions of Ceylon)* by E. Müller 3, (b) the Riṭigala inscription of Lanjatissa, *E.Z. (Epigraphia Zeylanica)*, I, 144, (c) the 4 inscriptions at Periyapuliyankulam, *A.S.C.A.R. (Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, Annual Report)*, 1905, 47, Nos. 19 to 22, in which the joint donors are Raja Uti and his wife, Abi Anuradi, and (d) perhaps, the partly mutilated Mihintalē inscription of Uttiya which reads:—DEVANAPIYA MAHARAJAHA GAMAṆI UTI . . . PAṆI LEṆE.

Vihāras in many parts of the Island with great liberality.<sup>3</sup> In the 1st, 2nd and 3rd centuries A.C., when the rock inscription replaces the cave inscription, the position changes and the Kings themselves are the grantors in about half the number of inscriptions in which they are mentioned. It might be contended that there is a probability of the Kings not having been accorded their full or proper titles in the large proportion of inscriptions in which they themselves were not the grantors and that this accounts for the variations in the Kings' titles exhibited in the inscriptions. In the writer's view such laxity or carelessness in naming the King is not likely to have occurred or to have been countenanced.

### Maharaja and Raja

The relative frequency and value of the Royal titles *Maharaja* and *Raja* are illustrated in the tabular statement. A further analysis of 234 inscriptions of Royal personages, both identified and unidentified, in the period under review, discloses the following frequencies in the use of the various titles, singly and in combination :—

<i>Devanāpiya Maharaja Gamaṇi</i>	..	..	28	inscriptions
<i>Devanāpiya Maharaja</i>	..	..	12	„
<i>Devanāpiya Raja</i>	..	..	2	„
<i>Devanāpiya</i>	..	..	3	„
<i>Maharaja Gamaṇi</i>	..	..	11	„
<i>Raja Gamaṇi</i>	..	..	8	„
<i>Maharaja</i>	..	..	69	„
<i>Raja</i>	..	..	87	„
<i>Gamaṇi</i>	..	..	8	„
<i>Ma Parumaka Maharaja</i>	..	..	3	„
<i>Ma Parumaka Maharaja Apaya</i>	..	..	1	„
<i>Maharaja Apaya</i>	..	..	2	„

Saḍdhā Tissa, Kaniṭṭha Tissa and Mahāsenā are described as *Maharaja* in every inscription in which they are mentioned. But they are exceptions. In general, the Kings were styled *Maharaja* in a majority of inscriptions, but there was no apparent distinction between *Maharaja* and *Raja*. In India, the Kings did not assume the title *Maharaja* till about the 1st century B.C. but in Ceylon it was in use nearly 2 centuries earlier. The *Mahāvamsa* employs it rarely but in those instances it signifies no higher degree of rulership.

3. Devānāpiya Tissa, for instance, is credited with the construction of 68 rock-caves around the Kantaka Cetiya at Mihintalē (*M (Mahāvamsa)* 16, 12), but, although most of the caves in this locality bear inscriptions, not one is by Devānāpiya Tissa. Duṭṭhagāmaṇi Abhaya is stated to have built 68 or 99 Vihāras (*M.* 24, 47; 32, 26). Saḍdhātissa built Vihāras from Dīghavāpi to Anurādhapura, one for every yojana of the way (*M.* 33, 9).

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MAHARAJA AND RAJA—TABULAR STATEMENT

KING	INSCRIPTIONS OF THE KING'S REIGN				INSCRIPTIONS CONTAINING POSTHUMOUS REFERENCES TO THE KING			
	No. of Inscriptions	No. in which the King is styled Maharaja	No. in which the King is styled Raja	No. in which neither title is used	No. of Inscriptions	No. in which the King is styled Maharaja	No. in which the King is styled Raja	No. in which neither title is used
DEVĀNĀMPIYA TISSA ..	4	4	—	—	2	—	—	2
UTTIYA ..	3	3	—	—	—	—	—	—
KĀKAVAṆṆA TISSA ..	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	—
DUTTHAGĀMAṆI ABHAYA ..	7	4	1	2	1	—	1	—
SADDHĀ TISSA ..	9	9	—	—	1	1	—	—
LANJATIṬṬA ..	2	1	—	1	2	1	1	—
VAṬṬAGĀMAṆI ABHAYA ..	15	13	—	2	1	1	—	—
MAHĀCŪLĪ MAHĀTIṬṬA TISSA ..	3	1	2	—	9	7	1	1
KUṬAKAṆṆA TISSA ..	2	—	1	1	11	4	5	2
BHĀTIKĀBHAYA ..	7	2	3	2	1	—	1	—
MAHĀDĀṬṬHIKA MAHĀNĀGA ..	10	5	5	—	2	1	1	—
ĀMAṆḌAGĀMAṆI ABHAYA ..	3	—	2	1	—	—	—	—
SUBHA ..	2	—	2	—	1	—	1	—
VASABHA ..	9	4	5	—	9	5	4	—
VAṆKANĀSIKA TISSA ..	2	1	1	—	9	7	2	—
GAJABĀHUKA GĀMAṆI ..	13	7	6	—	—	—	—	—
MAHALLAKA NĀGA ..	10	7	3	—	9	8	1	—
BHĀTIKA TISSA ..	3	1	2	—	2	2	—	—
KANIṬṬHA TISSA ..	14	14	—	—	—	—	—	—
SIRINĀGA I ..	1	1	—	—	1	1	—	—
VOHĀRIKA TISSA ..	1	1	—	—	1	1	—	—
SIRINĀGA II ..	2	2	—	—	1	1	—	—
GOṬĀBHAYA ..	3	—	3	—	—	—	—	—
MAHĀSENA ..	1	1	—	—	5	5	—	—
	126	81	36	9	70	46	19	5

Some Kings (Duṭṭhagāmaṇi Abaya,<sup>4</sup> Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya,<sup>5</sup> Mahācūḷ Mahātissa,<sup>6</sup> Kuṭakaṇṇa Tissa<sup>7</sup> and Āmaṇḍagāmaṇi Abhaya<sup>8</sup>) were mentioned at times by their personal names without any title other than *Gamaṇi*. Duṭṭhagāmaṇi and Tissa were styled *Devanapīya Raja* and not *Maharaja*.<sup>9</sup> A pre-Christian cave inscription at Mihintalē reads:—DIPA RAJA JITAYA MAHABIYA LEṆE ŚAGAŚA: *Dipa Raja* signified the King over the whole Island and it did not derogate from his dignity to be called *Raja*. The conclusion to be drawn from the evidence is that, in regard to the Anurādhapura kings, *Maharaja* and *Raja* were understood and used as synonymous terms, no greater emphasis being laid on the former: these Kings, certainly from Duṭṭhagāmaṇi Abhaya onwards, ruled over the whole of Ceylon.

An unusual use of the title *Maharaja* has to be mentioned. A 1st century inscription at Karandahela,<sup>10</sup> incised over 200 years after the death of Kākavaṇṇa Tissa, reads:—HABUTAGALA VIHARAHI KAKAVAṆA TISA MAHARAJAHA UVASIKA MATA TU (MA) HA VAVI SAGA DINA MAHA VA . . . The Rugam inscription,<sup>11</sup> which is relevant though just outside the period covered by this paper, begins:—SIDDHAM YAṬALAKA TISA MAHARAJA . . . SARIMEKAVAṆA ABA MAHARAJA TUMANA PACAVANAKA VASAHI PIYAKALUTAṬA VAHIRA ICI CEYA ICI KARAVAYA: its date is about 5 centuries after the time of Yaṭṭhālaya Tissa. Both Kākavaṇṇa Tissa and Yaṭṭhālaya Tissa are posthumously styled *Maharaja* in these 2 inscriptions although neither of them ascended the throne of Anurādhapura or ruled over the whole Island.<sup>12</sup>

4. The Silavakanda inscription (*A.S.C.A.R.* 1935, para 41) reads:—UPAŚAKA VELAŚA LEṆE UPAŚIKA TIŚAYA LEṆE GAMAṆI ABAYAŚA RAJAŚI ŚAGAŚA DINE.

5. An inscription at Dambulla Vihāra and the Tittavela inscription (*A.S.C.A.R.* 1933, paras 56 and 76) read respectively:—(i) DAMARAKITA TERAHA LEṆE AGATA ANAGATA CATUDIŚA ŚAGAŚA DINE GAMAṆI ABAYAŚA RAJIYAHĪ KARITE, and (ii) BATA MAHATIŚAHA LEṆE GAMAṆI ABAYAŚA RAJAYAŚI . . . ŚAGAŚA.

6. *E.Z.* III, 156, note 5.

7. The Dunumaḍalakanda inscription (*A.I.C.* 15) begins:—KUṬAKAṆA GAMAṆI ABAYAHA PUTI BATIYA MAHARAJA; see also the Rātravala inscription (note 51) and *E.Z.* III, 156, note 5.

8. The Ridīvihāra inscription (*C.J.S.* II, 179) begins:—DEVAṆIPIYA TISA RAJAHĀ MARUMANAKE TISA MAHARAJAHĀ MARUMANAKE NAKA MAHARA(JA)HA PU(TA GA)MAṆI ABAYA DINE.

9. See notes 8 and 38.

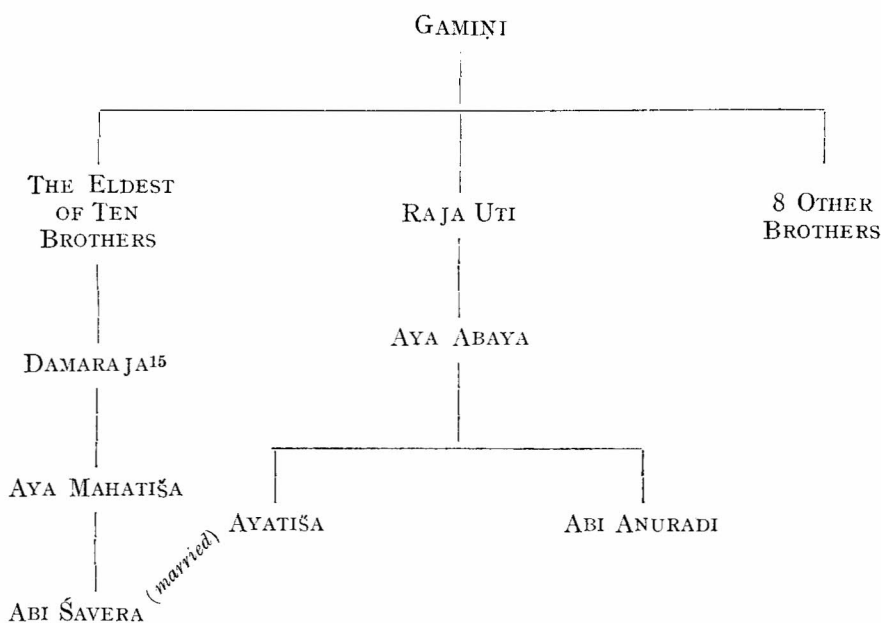
10. 1½ miles north of the 13th milepost on the Pottuvil-Moncrāgala road. Dr. Paranavitana informs me that this inscription is in verse.

11. *A.I.C.* 24, revised: the word which would have explained the context in which Yaṭalaka Tisa is here mentioned is, unfortunately, obliterated.

12. Kākavaṇṇa Tissa was ruler of Rohaṇa when Eḷāra reigned at Anurādhapura. There is disagreement as to where Yaṭṭhālaya Tissa ruled, whether at Mahāgāma or Kal-yāṇī—see *M.* 22, 10; *M.* 85, 64 to 65; *Puj* 15; *Raj* 24.

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The pre-Christian cave inscriptions contain the names of several Royal personages (*Raja, Gamaṇi, Aya, Abi*) whose identities are uncertain. Parana-vitana suggests that the princes named in the Bōvattagala inscriptions appear to be identical with the *Kṣatriyas* of Kājaragāma mentioned in the *Mahāvamsa*.<sup>13</sup> The 14 inscriptions at Koṭṭadāmuheḷa,<sup>14</sup> only 10 miles to the west, all read, with slight variations, as follows:—DAMARAJA PUTA MAHATIŚA AYAHA JITA ABI ŚAVERA AYA ABAYA PUTA TIŚA AYAHA JAYA ABI ŚAVERAYA DINE. Damaraja and his son, Mahatiśa Aya, of the Koṭṭadāmuheḷa inscriptions are identical with the persons bearing the same names in the Bōvattagala inscriptions: and both sets of inscriptions bear the same distinctive symbol of the fish. The genealogy derived from them is as follows:—



The fish symbol occurs also in the Henannēgala inscription<sup>16</sup> which mentions Gamaṇi Tiśa, Majima Raja and Gamaṇi.

13. *J.R.A.S.*, July, 1936, 445; *C.J.S.* II, 99 to 100, 114 to 115, 175 to 177.

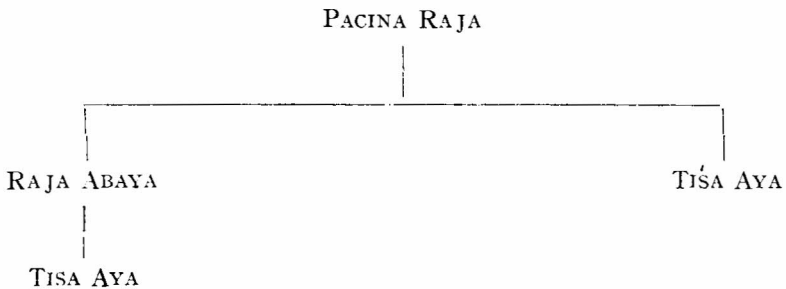
14. *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1934, para 78.

15. If this Damaraja was a local ruler in South and South-East Ceylon, there was another king bearing the same name at Anurādhapura: see the inscription of Aya Aśali, son of Gamaṇi Dhamaraja, at Mihintalē (*A.S.C.A.R.*, 1911-12, 95, No. 10, revised) and a reference to Damaraja in an inscription at Nāṭṭunkanda not far from Mihintalē (*A.S.C.*, 7th Report, 48, No. 3).

16. Parker, 446.

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About 20 miles from Henannēgala is the Kusalānakanda inscription<sup>17</sup> which reads :—UPARAJA NAGA PUTE RAJA ABAYE NAMA TAŚA PUTE GAMINI TIŚE NAMA LEÑE KARITE ŚUDAŚANE ŚAGAŚA. This inscription does not bear the fish (or any other) symbol, but its proximity to Henannēgala suggests that the *Rajas* and princes mentioned in the 2 inscriptions belonged to the same Royal family. Very close to Kusalānakanda is the Kaluḍupotana-malai inscription<sup>18</sup> reading :—AYABAYA PUTAŚA RAJIYAŚI KAṬE PARUMAKA ŚA. . . . Aya Abaya may be identical with Raja Abaya of Kusalānakanda. Paranavitana considers that Naga Aya of the Kolladeniya (Kiṇivāḷgoḍa) inscription<sup>19</sup> may be Mahānāga, the first ruler of Rohaṇa :—PARUMAKA PUŚADEVAŚA JAYA PARUMAKA LAṢOṆAYA LEÑE NAGAYAHA RAJAYAHI KAṬE ŚAGAŚA. Two inscriptions at Mihintalē bear the text :—KAṆAGAMA RAJAŚA TIŚAHA JITA ŚAVERA ŚAMAṆIYA LEÑE ŚAGAŚA.<sup>20</sup> An inscription at Koratota,<sup>21</sup> near Colombo, records the grant of a cave by the daughter of a *Maharaja* whose name is not stated. The Periyapuliyankulam inscriptions mention a princess named Abi Anuradi, the daughter of Raja Naga and the wife of Raja Uti.<sup>22</sup> The Āmbulambē inscriptions<sup>23</sup> give the genealogy :—



The Bambaragala inscription mentions Pocani Raja Nāgaya and his wife, the daughter of a Brāhmaṇa.<sup>24</sup> Princes named Aya Śuratiśa, Aya Śiva, Daraka Aya son of a Raja, Aya Duhita (probably a contemporary of Vattagāmaṇi Abhaya) and Uti Aya are mentioned in inscriptions at Dimbulāgala,<sup>25</sup> Mutu-

17. *Ibid.*, 421 and 445, revised.

18. *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1933, para 84.

19. *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1934, para 71(i). If the Kusalānakanda inscription is not associated with the one at Henannēgala, the equation Nagaya (Kolladeniya) = Uparaja Naga (Kusalānakanda) = Uparājā Mahānāga (*Mahāvamsa*), seems feasible.

20. *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1911-12, 95, No. 11(ii) revised.

21. *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1932, 9.

22. *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1905, 47, Nos. 19 to 22.

23. *A.I.C.* 34, revised.

24. *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1935, para 42.

25. *C.A. (Ceylon Antiquary)* III, 4.

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gala,<sup>26</sup> Nāccerimalai,<sup>27</sup> Nuvarakanda<sup>28</sup> and Ranagirimaḍa<sup>29</sup> respectively. The identification of the Royal personages named in the foregoing series of pre-Christian inscriptions is outside the scope of this paper, but the inscriptions are relevant to show that Buddhist rulers styled *Raja* ruled in the south and east contemporaneously with the early *Devanāpiya Maharajas* and *Rajas* of Anurādhapura. It is not possible to be precise as to whether they were dependent, independent or semi-independent of the Anurādhapura king, but it is significant that none of them is styled *Devanāpiya* or *Maharaja*. *Ayas* also exercised ruling powers and two of their inscriptions are dated regnally, Nagayaha rajayahi and Ayabaya putaśa rajiyaśi.

### Devanapiya

The significance of *Dēvānāmpriya* in Asoka's inscriptions has been explained elsewhere.<sup>30</sup> Its etymological meaning is "dear to the gods" and it was used in India as a honorific title and sometimes as a substitute for *Rājā* by the Emperor Asoka principally and to a lesser extent by his predecessors and successors. The Ceylon chronicles are unanimous that Muṭasiva's son and successor, Tissa, was the first (and only) King of Lanḱā to be called *Devānāmpriya*. The epigraphical evidence in support of the Chronicles that *Devānāmpriya* Tissa was the first King to be so named lacks certainty. The Rajagiri-lenakanda inscription of *Devanapiya Tiśa*<sup>31</sup> and the following inscription from Mihintalē refer most probably, though not with certainty, to *Devānāmpriya* Tissa:—DE(VA)NAPIYA MAHARAJAHA BARIYAYA BAKA . . . UPAŚIKA VARUṆA(DA)TAYA LEṆE.<sup>32</sup> Parānavitana attaches credibility to the *Mahāvamsa* account of *Devānāmpriya* Tissa's second consecration and suggests that "when Asoka conferred the dignity of a King upon Tissa (*Devānāmpriya* Tissa) he also permitted the latter to use the title (*Dēvānāmpriya*) by which he always refers to himself in his own inscriptions".<sup>33</sup>

26. *Ibid*, III, 211.

27. *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1933, para 81.

28. *C.J.S.* II, 127, No. 535.

29. About 10 miles north-east of Kurunāgala. See also the Yaṭahalena and Lenagala inscriptions, *C.J.S.* II, 202 to 204.

30. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. I, by E. Hultzsch, xxix; *Asoka and his Inscriptions*, by B. M. Barua, 16 and 106.

31. *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1933, para 55.

32. *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1911-12, 94, No. 2, revised. The 2 Piccandiyāva inscriptions (*A.I.C.* 84) reading (i) MAHARAJAŚA DEVANAPIYAŚA GAMIṆI TIŚAŚA VEJA BAMAṆA GOBUTIYA LEṆE ŚAGAŚA, and (ii) MAHARAJAŚA DEVANIPIYAHHA ACIRIYA BAMAṆA GOBUTIYA LEṆE, also refer, in all probability, from the nature of the script, to *Devānāmpriya* Tissa. In the later Yaṭahalena and Minvila inscriptions (*C.J.S.* II, 203, No. 618, and *E.Z.*, III, 156, note 5), *Devanapiya* stands for *Devānāmpriya* Tissa.

33. *J.R.A.S.*, July, 1936, 443.

This proposition may not be wholly acceptable : but Devānaṃpiya Tissa and Asoka were contemporaries and there was intercourse between the Mauryan empire and Ceylon, and there can be no doubt that Devānaṃpiya Tissa assumed the title in imitation of Asoka.

The earliest, certain, epigraphical use of *Devanaṃpiya* is in the Mihintalē inscriptions of Uttiya, the younger brother and successor of Devānaṃpiya Tissa.<sup>34</sup> In the period of about 110 years (corresponding, approximately, to the 2nd century B.C.) between Uttiya and Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya, there is some slight degree of doubt as to the identities of the kings mentioned in the inscriptions. *Devanaṃpiya Maharaja Gamaṇi Abaya* of the Tōnigala,<sup>35</sup> Kossagamakanda<sup>36</sup> and Mihintalē<sup>37</sup> inscriptions has been identified on palaeographical grounds with Duṭṭhagāmaṇi Abhaya. The Koravakgala inscription of the reign of the same King reads —DEVANAPIYA RAJA ABAYAŚA ŚENAPATI PARUMAKA M(I)TAŚA LEṆE AGATA ANAGATA CATUDIŚA ŚAGAŚA.<sup>38</sup> There is no evidence, historical or epigraphical, that any ruler other than the King at Anurādhapura bore the title *Devanaṃpiya*. The preceding epigraph, incised in the King's lifetime, after he had ascended the throne of Anurādhapura and restored Sinhalese sovereignty over the whole of Ceylon, has the unusual combination *Devanaṃpiya Raja* in place of *Devanaṃpiya Maharaja*.

Wickremesinghe has identified *Devanaṃpiya Maharaja Gamaṇi Tisa* of the Riṭigala inscription with Saddhā Tissa.<sup>39</sup> The same identification has been made in respect of the Dambulla<sup>40</sup> and Nuvaragala<sup>41</sup> inscriptions and the 5 inscriptions at Rājagala.<sup>42</sup>

In the Riṭigala inscriptions,<sup>43</sup> Lanjatissa is styled *Devanaṃpiya Tisa A(baya)* and *Devanaṃpiya Laja(ka Tisa . . .)*: the second of these inscriptions is partly obliterated and probably contained the title *Maharaja* or *Raja* at the end, but in the first inscription *Devanaṃpiya* was used along with the King's personal name, in an inscription of the King himself, unaccompanied by either *Maharaja* or *Raja*.

*Devanaṃpiya Maharaja Gamaṇi Abaya* of the 9 Gallena inscriptions<sup>44</sup> and the Sasseruva inscription<sup>45</sup> is identified as Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya. Henceforward occurs a change in the position of the Royal title *Maharaja*.

34. *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1933, paras 53 and 54 ; note 2(*id*).

35. *A.I.C.* I.

36. *J.R.A.S.* (C.B.), Vol. 36, No. 98.

37. *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1911-12, 97, No. 23 : read Loṇapi for Lanapi.

38. *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1934, para 71(ii).

39. *E.Z.* I, 144.

40. *A.I.C.* 3.

41. Parker, 445.

42. *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1935, para 39.

43. *E.Z.* I, 144, 148.

44. *A.I.C.* 2 ; *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1935, para 40 ; *E.Z.* I, 142.

45. Parker, 444 ; *J.R.A.S.*, July, 1936, 449.



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Mahācūḷi Mahātissa (B.C. 77-63) is styled *Devanāpiya Tisa Maharaja* in the Maha Ratmalē,<sup>46</sup> Mōlāhiṭiyavelēgala,<sup>47</sup> Mihintalē,<sup>48</sup> Kaduruvāva<sup>49</sup> and "Line"-malai<sup>50</sup> inscriptions. In the Rātravela inscription he is styled *Devanāpiya Gamani Maharaja*.<sup>51</sup>

Tissa (B.C. 51-48) is called *Devanāpiya Tisa Raja* in the Ridivihāra inscription:<sup>52</sup> this is the second instance of the use of *Raja* (and not *Maharaja*) with *Devanāpiya*.

The full titles of Kuṭakaṇṇa Tissa (B.C. 44-22) as given in the Maha Ratmalē<sup>46</sup> and Mihintalē<sup>48</sup> inscriptions were *Devanāpiya Puḍakaṇa Gamani Abaya Maharaja*.<sup>53</sup> In the same Mihintalē inscription, Bhatikābhaya is styled *Devanāpiya Gamani Abaya Maharaja*. The latest epigraphical record of the use of *Devanāpiya* occurs in the Maha Ratmalē inscription in which Mahādāthikamahānāga (A.C. 7-19) is called *Devanāpiya Naka Maharaja*.

We have, therefore, an almost unbroken epigraphical series for the use of the epithet *Devanāpiya* by the Sinhalese kings of Anurādhapura from B.C. 247 to A.C. 19. There are only 3 inscriptions of Mahādāthikamahānāga's successors up to and including Yasalākatissa : all 3 are of Āmaṇḍagāmaṇi Abhaya and *Devanāpiya* does not occur in any one of them. The dynasty of Devānāpiya Tissa ended with Yasalākatissa (52-60) and the use of the dynastic honorific *Devanāpiya* came to an end at the same time. But *Devanāpiya* was not paraded in every inscription nor even in a majority of inscriptions : it occurs in 45 out of 94 royal inscriptions from Devānāpiya Tissa to Mahādāthikamahānāga and it was rarely used in the inscriptions referring to the last three of these kings. Devānāpiya Tissa's successors on the throne of Anurādhapura continued to use the title till his line terminated with the assassination of Yasalākatissa in the year 60. As time went on, the honorific significance of the title had added to it a dynastic or lineage significance, as

46. *E.Z.* I, 61.

47. *E.Z.* III, 154.

48. *A.I.C.* 20, revised.

49. *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1935, para 43 ; the inscription begins :—DEVANIPI TISA MAHARAHA.

50. 2½ miles west of the 64th milepost on the Batticaloa-Pottuvil road. The inscription reads :—SIDDHAM DEVANAPIYA TISA MAHARAJAHA MANUMAKARAKE KUḌAKAṆA RAJAHA PUTE RAJA ABAYE CA NAKA MAHARAJA CA DAKAPUṆAKA MA(HA) GIRIGAMAKA AḶI CA SIPAVATAHI BIKU SAGAYE NIYATE ME DO AḶI SIRAHĪ KARA KAḌAVI.

51. *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1934, para 71(iv). The first part of the inscription reads :—SIDDHAM DEVANIPIYA GAMANI MAHARAJAHA MARUMANAKA PUḌAKAṆA GAMANI ABAYAHA PUTA NAKA MAHARAJA BOHOGIRI NAKAPAVATAHI TU(MA)HA VIHARAHI DINA SAGIKA CATUDISIKA.

52. See note 8.

53. Kuṭakaṇṇa Tissa is called Abaya in 10 inscriptions and Tisa in 3 (Ridivihāra, *C.J.S.* II, 179, Tissamahārāma, *C.J.S.* II, 18 ; and Kotāveheragala, *C.A.* III, 205).

is evident from the Minvila inscription of Kuṭaḱaṇṇa Tissa,<sup>54</sup> and when a new dynasty replaced the old it could no longer be continued.

Wickremesinghe advanced the proposition that (i) in the pre-Christian inscriptions the title *Maharaja* was always inserted between the epithet *Devanāpiya* and the name of the King, e.g. *Devanāpiya Maharaja Gamaṇi Abaya*, and (ii) in the inscriptions of the 2nd and 3rd A.C. the title *Maharaja* came after the King's name, e.g. *Devanāpiya Gamaṇi Abaya Maharaja*.<sup>55</sup> Three examples could be quoted against the first part of this hypothesis :— (a) one of the 5 royal epigraphs at Rājagala<sup>42</sup> reads :—MAHARAJAHA DEVANAPIYAHA GAMAṆI TIŠAHA PUTAHA TIŠA AYAHA MAHA LEṆE ; (b) the Piccandiyāva inscription<sup>56</sup> ; and (c) the Kossagamakanda inscription<sup>56</sup> which reads *Maharajaha Gamaṇi Abayaha Devanāpiyaśa*, but here the unusual order of words is accounted for by the fact that the inscription is in verse. Wickremesinghe's identification of the Kings in the Maha Ratmalē<sup>46</sup> and Riṭigala<sup>57</sup> inscriptions was at fault and Paranavitana has corrected the former error<sup>58</sup> ; moreover, his chronology was different to that adopted here.<sup>59</sup> The change which he observed in the relative positions of the titles *Devanāpiya* and *Maharaja* actually became the rule in the inscriptions in which Mahācūlī Mahātissa (B.C. 77-63) was given his full titles, and continued to be the rule till *Devanāpiya* went out of use in the middle of the 1st century.

### Gamaṇi

“ He who brings guerdon comes as first invited : the chief of the hamlet (*grāmaṇī*) comes as guerdon-bearer. Him I account the ruler of the people who was the first to introduce the guerdon ”. “ Blest be the hamlet's chief (*grāmaṇī*), most liberal Manu, may his bounty rival that of Sūrya ”.<sup>60</sup> These two quotations from the Rīgveda elevate the *Grāmaṇī* to a position of rulership, a position far higher than that of a village chief. *Grāma* originally had the sense ‘ horde ’ or ‘ host ’ (group of nomads) and *Grāmaṇī* was the leader of the *grāma*.<sup>61</sup> The Bharatas, one of the most powerful tribes of the Vedic period, are called a *jana* (‘ people ’) as well as a *grāma*.<sup>61</sup> *Grāmaṇī* was identical with *Vrājapati* and was the commander of a division of troops in war.<sup>61</sup>

In the later Brāhamaṇa period in India, the *Grāmaṇī* was one of about a dozen high personages who took an important part in the ceremony of the

54. *E.Z.* III, 156, note 5.

55. *E.Z.* I, 147.

56. See note 32(i).

57. *E.Z.* I, 148.

58. *E.Z.* III, 156.

59. Mendis' Chronology in this *Review*, Vol. 5, No. 1, page 39.

60. *Rīgveda*, Book X, hymn 107, verse 5 (933, 5) and hymn 62, verse 11 (888, 11). I am indebted to Dr. O. H. de A. Wijesekera for these two references.

61. *Cambridge History of India*, 93 to 95.

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King's consecration. " Probably at this epoch a *Grāmaṇī* was, both for civil and military purposes, at the head of each village, owing, it may be conjectured, his position to the king, while the *Grāmaṇī* par excellence presided over the city or village where the royal court was situated. It is also far from unlikely, despite the silence of the texts, that the civil functions of the *Grāmaṇī* were the more important, for the post is emphatically declared in several places to represent the summit of the ambition of the Vaisya. If later analogy is to help us, we may conjecture that the *Grāmaṇī* formed the channel through which the royal control was exercised and the royal dues received "62.

In the *Mānavadharmasāstra* the head of one village is called the *Grāmika*.<sup>63</sup> By the time of the *Jātakas* and in the Mauryan Empire, the position of the *Gāmaṇi* in India was that of a village headman appointed by the king : he is equated with *Gāma-bhojaka*.<sup>64</sup> The distinction between *Gāmaṇi* and *Gāmika* is now vague as well as confused, and historical criticism has not yet made the position clear. However, the deterioration of the rank or office of *Gāmaṇi* from Vedic to Mauryan times is noticeable : at first, the leader of the host, comparable with Manu, and finally a village headman.

This deterioration did not occur in Ceylon. With one possible exception, the *Gāmaṇis* of the Chronicles and inscriptions were undoubtedly Kings or princes. The Chronicles first give the title *Gāmaṇi* to *Dīghagāmaṇi*, the nephew of King *Paṇḍuvasudeva*:<sup>65</sup> then they accord it to *Duṭṭhagāmaṇi Abhaya*, *Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya*, *Āmaṇḍagāmaṇi* and finally to *Gajabāhuka Gāmaṇi*. The inscriptions confirm the Chronicles in respect of these 4 Kings and add to the list *Devānaṃpiya Tissa*(?), *Uttiya*, *Saddhā Tissa*, *Mahācūlī Mahātissa*, *Kuṭakaṇṇa Tissa* and *Bhatikābhaya*. The Prince *Gāmaṇi* was so named because he was lord of *Mahāgāma*,<sup>66</sup> so that the title *Gāmaṇi* was given to the King's son in the King's lifetime. *Dīghagāmaṇi*, as we have seen, was named *Gāmaṇi* although he was not the son of a King. The *Kusalānakanda* inscription<sup>17</sup> of *Gamaṇi Tiśa* appears to have been inscribed during the lifetime of his father, *Raja Abaya*. *Gamaṇi Tiśa* of the *Gōṇavatta* inscription<sup>67</sup> was the son of *Āmaṇḍagāmaṇi Abhaya* : he did not ascend the throne, but bore

62. *Ibid.*, 131.

63. *Manu*, VII, 123.

64. *C.H.L.*, 486; *Economic Life and Progress in Ancient India* by N. Bandyopadhyaya, 234.

65. *M.* 9, 13.

66. *M.* 22, 70 to 71. *Anurādhapura* and *Mahāgāma* would have been known as *Nagaras* even at this time. Other and less important *Nagaras* were then in existence ; the pre-Christian inscriptions at *Henannēgala*, *Tōṇigala*, *Ranagirimaḍa*, *Yatahalena*, *Lenagala* and *Kōngala* name the following *nagaras* :—*Kaśabanagara*, *Acanagara*, *Tavirikiyanagara*, *Abayanakara*, *Ṇīlayanagara*, *Bataśanagara*, and *Utinagariya*. This last may have been named after *Raja Uti* of the *Bōvattagala* inscriptions.

67. *C.J.S.*, II 150, note 1.

the title *Gāmaṇi* during his father's reign. So that *Gāmaṇi* in Ceylon could be said to have been exclusively and undoubtedly a title of kings and princes but for the single, exceptional inscription at Nāval Ār which Paranavitana has cited.<sup>68</sup> The text of this inscription is as follows :—ATI ACARIYA GAMAṆI PADUMA PUTA PADUMAGUTAŚA PIYADAŚANE NAMA LEṆE ŚAGAYE NIYATE, 2 symbols. Without extending the meaning of *Gamaṇi* in this solitary instance to signify, as in India, the head of a corporation or company of elephant-trainers or elephant-mounted soldiers, since Acariya is itself sufficiently expressive of that office, and without deviating from the meaning the title bears in every other written document in Ceylon, we may assume that *Gamaṇi Paduma* of this particular inscription was a Prince.

If it is correct that in India the status of the *Gāmaṇi* degenerated from that of a Vedic leader of the host to a Mauryan village headman, then Ceylon was not influenced by that process and it would appear that the Indo-Aryan occupation of this Island must be put back to a period earlier than the traditional one of 5th or 6th B.C.

#### Ma Parumaka

Paranavitana has pointed out that the Royal title *Ma Parumaka* is a corruption of *Mahāparumaka* which is identical with the Sanskrit *Mahāpramukha* and the Pāli *Mahāpamukha* or *Mahāpāmokkha*. He has also shown that in Pāli literature *Pāmokkha* signified a member of the nobility as well as the president of a guild or corporation.

The early inscriptions of Ceylon contain numerous references to persons bearing the rank of *Parumaka*. Its latest use in an epigraph was early in the 1st century A.C. The period during which the title *Parumaka* was in use was, therefore, 3rd B.C. to the early part of 1st A.C. During this period the title *Ma Parumaka* does not occur in a single inscription : its first appearance is in the second half of the 2nd century, nearly one and a half centuries after *Parumaka* became obsolete. This strange phenomenon is capable, at present, of speculative explanation only.

The first occurrence of *Ma Parumaka* is in the Tammanakanda inscription<sup>69</sup> of Kaniṭṭha Tissa (167-186), the relevant portion reading :—MA PARUMAKA MAḶI TISA MAHARAJI JIṆAPAṬI SATARIYA KOṬU DIṆI. But this is the only one of 14 known inscriptions of Kaniṭṭha Tissa in which this title is used. The Habarana inscription<sup>70</sup> of the late 2nd or early 3rd A.C. (quite possibly in Kaniṭṭha Tissa's time) is dated in the reign of a King styled MA PARUMAKA MAHARAJI, but the King's name is not given. The next King after Kaniṭṭha Tissa to be called *Ma Parumaka* was Mahāsena (274-302) but the number of royal inscriptions of the intervening period of a little over

68. *J.R.A.S.*, July, 1936, 446.

69. *A.S.C.* 7th Report, 47, No. 3.

70. *A.I.C.* 61; *E.Z.* III, 179, note 3.

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a century is so small that it cannot be inferred that the title went into abeyance during this period. The Karambagala inscription<sup>71</sup> of Sirimeghavanna commences:—SIDDHAM PUVAYA MA PARUMAKA MAHASENA MAHARAJA (HA) PUTA SIRIMEKA(VAṆA MA)HARAJA APAYA(HA CATA LAGITA) VISITIVANAKA VASAHI. The Bōvattagala inscription<sup>72</sup> of Jetṭhatissa II also refers to Mahāsena posthumously as *Ma Parumaka*:—(SIDDHA)M MA PARUMAKA (MAHA)SENA MAHARAJA APAYA(HA) PUTA JETATISA MAHA(RAJA APA)YAHA CATA (LAGITA.)

### Apaya

Paranavitana has recorded his observations on the title *Apaya*.<sup>73</sup> It was a synonym for *Abaya* but it was an honorific and not a personal name, and it always occurs after *Maharaja*. Like *Ma Parumaka*, *Apaya* appears only in epigraphs and is absent in the Chronicles. Mahāsena was the first king to bear it: in the Bōvattagala inscription already quoted he receives the titles *Ma Parumaka*, *Maharaja* and *Apaya*. The form *Abaya* was used in the shorter inscription at Tōnigala.<sup>74</sup> *Apaya* came into use at the very end of the period covered by this paper.

### Conclusion

The vogue of *Devanaṭṭiya* lasted from the second half of the 3rd century B.C. to the middle of the 1st century A.C. *Gamani*, which had an earlier origin, outlasted *Devanaṭṭiya* by about 75 years into the early 2nd century. *Ma Parumaka* was introduced in the latter half of the 2nd century. *Apaya* originated at the end of the 3rd or beginning of the 4th century.

Referring to the sobriquets<sup>75</sup> given to the Kings in the *Mahāvamsa* and particularly to 'Mahallaka', Paranavitana observed that "such epithets, though favoured by the writers of the Chronicles, are never found used in documents written in the lifetime of the personages to whom they referred"<sup>76</sup>. We find, however, in the inscriptions (i) Kākavaṇṇa Tissa called Kakavaṇa Tisa Maharaja two centuries after his death, (ii) Duṭṭhagāmaṇi Abaya called DUṬAKA GAMIṆI ABA RAJA in a 3rd century inscription,<sup>77</sup> (iii) Mahācūli Mahātissa called Macuḍi Raja in his reign,<sup>78</sup> Mahacuḍika by his son,<sup>79</sup> and Macuḍika Raja by his great-great-grandson,<sup>80</sup> (iv) Kuṭakaṇṇa Tissa called

71. *A.I.C.* 21(a) revised; *E.Z.* 179, note 3; *E.Z.* IV, 224.

72. *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1934, para 71(viii).

73. *E.Z.* III, 124, *E.Z.* IV, 114, note 10.

74. *E.Z.* III, 172, note 2.

75. For example, Kākavaṇṇa, Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, Vaṭṭagāmaṇi, Mahācūli (*E.Z.* III, 155), Kuṭakaṇṇa, Mahādāṭhika (*E.Z.* III, 156), Vaṅkanāsika and Mahallaka.

76. *E.Z.* IV, 216.

77. Kalkulam inscription, *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1933, para 57.

78. *J.R.A.S.* (C.B.), Vol. 36. No. 98.

79. *E.Z.* III, 156, note 5.

80. *C.J.S.*, II, 150, note 1.

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Puḍakaṇa, Puṭakaṇa, Kuḍakaṇa and Kuṭakaṇa in his own inscriptions and in inscriptions of his son and grandson,<sup>81</sup> and (v) Mahallaka Nāga referred to as Mahala Raja in an inscription of his son.<sup>82</sup> These sobriquets, as rendered in Pāli in the *Mahāvamsa*, connote some objectionable feature in the King's character or personal appearance, and are, in fact, vulgar nick-names : and it is scarcely credible, if the Pāli is a correct rendering of the original, that the Kings or their sons or their descendants would have tolerated their use in an epigraph or any document whatsoever. Only 5 out of some 15 Kings assigned nick-names in the Chronicles bear similar names in the inscriptions and the explanation appears to be that in these 5 cases the inscriptional names did not carry the opprobrious meaning which their Pāli rendering was later made to convey.

C. W. NICHOLAS

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81. *E.Z.* III. 156 note 5; *E.Z.* III, 154; *A.I.C.* 20; *A.S.C.* 7th Report, 38; *E.Z.* I, 61; etc;

82. Ganēkanda inscription, *A.S.C.A.R.* 1932, 9.