

Some Offices and Titles in the Early Sinhalese Kingdom¹

Senāpati

IN Ceylon, as in India, the *Senāpati* was the Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces. In the Mauryan Empire he was also a member of the Emperor's inner Council of four.² In Vedic times the leader of the army was called the *Senānī*.³ In Ceylon there was only one *Senāpati* at one time in the early period.

The earliest reference to a *Senāpati* in the Ceylon Chronicles occurs in connection with the war between Paṇḍukābhaya and his 10 uncles: when a decisive battle became imminent, the latter appointed a *Senāpati* to command their forces.⁴

The Emperor Asoka bestowed on the Prince Mahārīṭṭha, the Chief Minister and principal Envoy of King Devānāpiya Tissa, the honorary dignity of a *Senāpati* in the Mauryan army.⁵ Dīghasandana was the *Senāpati* of Devānāpiya Tissa and he built in the Mahāvihāra the Dīghasandasenāpati Pariveṇa which became "the home of renowned men".⁶

The Chronicles do not specify which one of the 10 paladins of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi Abhaya was his *Senāpati*, but the Koravakgala (Situlpavva) inscription supplies this omission. The inscription reads:— DEVANAPIYA RAJA ABAYAŚA ŚENAPATI PARUMAKA M(I)TAŚA LEṆE AGATA ANAGATA CATUDIŚA ŚAGAŚA. Parānavitana proposes the identification of King Devanapiya Abaya with Duṭṭhagāmaṇi Abhaya and *Senāpati* M(i)ta with the most famous of his commanders, Nandimitta.⁷ The text of the Vālaellugoda inscription is:—ŚAGAŚA DINE, ŚENAPITI PARUMAKA PUŚADEVHAHA JITAYA UPAŚIKA NAGAYA LEṆE TIŚA MAHARAJAHA ŚENAPITIYA AGIDATAHA BARIYAYA. Parānavitana identifies *Senāpati* Parumaka Puśadeva with Phussadeva, Duṭṭhagāmaṇi's paladin, and Tiśa Maharaja with Saddhā Tissa.⁸ Evidently, Phussadeva succeeded Nandimitta as *Senāpati*. Agidata (P. Aggidatta), Saddhā Tissa's *Senāpati*, was the son-in-law of *Senāpati* Phussadeva.

1. The period covered by this paper is the period of the Mahāvamsa.

2. *C.H.I.* (*Cambriāge History of India*), Vol. I, p. 488.

3. *Ibid.*, 95.

4. *M.* (*Mahāvamsa*) 10, 64 to 71.

5. *M.* 11, 25.

6. *M.* 15, 212 to 213.

7. A.S.C.A.R. (*Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, Annual Report*), 1934, para. 71 (ii).

8. A.S.C.A.R. 1940-45, 149.

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The Mahakaccatkoḍi inscription of about the 2nd century B.C. gives the name of a *Senapati's* son but not that of the *Senapati* himself.⁹ An inscription at Kuḍimbigala¹⁰ of the same period reads:—GAMIKA NAGA PUTE GAMIKA TIŚA KARIPITE IMA LEṆA ŚENAPATI (TI)VAYA ŚAGAŚA DINE; the *Senapati* was the donor of the cave but entrusted its construction to the local Village Headman.

King Khallāṭanāga was killed by the *Senapati* named Mahārattaka who was himself quickly overpowered and slain by the King's younger brother, Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya.¹¹ Four of the five Damiḷas who displaced Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya on the throne were *Senāpatīs* in succession and each of them gained the throne by killing the ruler under whom he served.¹²

A *Senapati* of the end of the 1st century B.C. is mentioned in an inscription at Hittaragamahinna¹³:— ŚENAPATI ASALAYAHA MARUMANAKA MAHARAKA ABAYAHA LEṆE. A Lambakaṇṇa was *Senapati* of King Subha, and his nephew, Vasabha, afterwards became King.¹⁴ The *Senapati* of Gajabāhuka Gāmaṇi was his brother-in-law who later became King under the name Mahallaka Nāga.¹⁵

A 2nd century inscription at Mihintalē mentions the *Maha Senavita* named Nakaya. The Nelugala inscription,¹⁶ dated in the reign of Kanitṭha Tissa, names the King's Commander-in-Chief, *Senapati* Ahali. Sirināga (afterwards Sirināga I), the King's brother-in-law, was *Senapati*: he raised rebellion, overthrew the King and ascended the throne.¹⁷ The *Senapati* named Mūlanāga built a Vihāra which bore his name.¹⁸ Samghatissa was *Senapati* of King Vijayakumāraka and became King by assassinating the Ruler.¹⁹ King Samghatissa's *Senapati* and successor was Samghabodhi.²⁰ A 6th century inscription at Tissamahārāma has the form *Seneviraja* which later became *Senevirad* (Pāli, *Senāpatirāja*).

The command of the army placed in the hands of the *Senapati* immense power which he could use to his own advantage to the extent of bringing about the downfall of the King. The holder of this most powerful position in the

9. A.S.C.A.R. 1905, 43, No. 1.

10. 8 miles, S.S.W. of Pānama in Pānama Pattu, Batticaloa District.

11. *M.* 33, 33 to 34.

12. *M.* 33, 54 to 61.

13. Near the 6th mile on the Maradankaḍavala-Habarana road.

14. *M.* 35, 59 to 70.

15. *M.T.* 480. In the Habāssa inscription (*E.Z.* IV, 217) he is styled Uvaraja.

16. A.S.C.A.R. 1897, 15.

17. *M.* 36, 21 to 23.

18. *M.* 36, 35.

19. *M.* 36, 63.

20. *M.* 36, 72.

State had, necessarily, to be a person high in the King's confidence. Not infrequently, he was a member of the royal family.

Nagaraguttika

The title *Nagaraguttika* means the Guardian or Protector of the city. The Arthaśāstra mentions the *Nāgaraka*, the officer-in-charge of the capital city, and defines his duties and the regulations which he was required to enforce.²¹ In the Mauryan Empire, the *Nāgaraka* was the "Mayor" of a City.²² According to the *Mahāvamsa*, the office of *Nagaraguttika* was first instituted by Paṇḍukābhaya who appointed his eldest uncle to it and "handed over the government (of the capital) to him for the night-time : he became the *Nagaraguttika* : from that time onwards there were *Nagaraguttikas* in the capital".²³ There is no further reference to the office in the Ceylon Chronicles.

It would appear, therefore, that only Anurādhapura had a *Nagaraguttika* and not the other nagaras, several of which are mentioned in the Chronicles and early inscriptions. There appears also to be no external parallel for the limitation of the *Nagaraguttika*'s functions to the "night-time". An inscription of 2nd or 1st B.C. at Virandagoḍa²⁴ records the donation of a cave to the Saṅgha by a *Nagaraguttika* :—NAKARAVUDIKA BARAṆIGUTAHA LEṆE AGATA ANAGATA CATU(DIŚA) ŚAGAŚA.

Amacca, Ameti

The Arthaśāstra²⁵ defines the qualifications and qualities of the Chief Minister (*Mahāmātya*, Pāli *Mahāmacca*) and Ministers (*Amātya*, *Amacca*). In Pāli literature officials styled *Mahāmatta* are mentioned as supervising the collection of the tithes on crops : they are also stated to have been Ministers of Justice, War, etc. and to have held the office of Chief Minister.²⁶ In the Mauryan Empire, *Mahāmattas* were superior officials functioning as ministers, administrators of provinces, and in special capacities.²⁷ Only two epigraphical references have been found so far in Ceylon to *Mahāmattas*. The first records the foundation of the village of Ariṭa by the 3 sons, all *Parumakas*, of *Mahāmata* Bamadata.²⁸ The other, a pre-Christian cave record at Uddakandara,²⁹ reads :—LEṆE ŚAGAŚA MAHAMATA TISAHA LEṆE ŚAGAŚA.

21. *Arthaśāstra*, Book II, Cap. XXXVI.

22. *C.H.I.* Vol. I, 489.

23. *M.* 10, 80 to 82.

24. A.S.C.A.R., 1911-12, 71.

25. *Arthaśāstra*, Cap. IX.

26. *C.H.I.* Vol. I, p. 199 : Asoka and his Inscriptions, by B. M. Barua, 174, 177.

27. *C.H.I.* Vol. I, p. 508. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. I, page XL.

28. *E.Z.* I, 150 to 152.

29. Near Tissamahārāma.

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Vijaya had at least five Ministers (*Amacca*), one of whom was his Chaplain (Purohita).³⁰ They governed during the interregnum preceding the arrival of Paṇḍuvāsudeva.³¹ Devānāpiya Tissa's Chief Minister (*Mahāmacca*) was his nephew Mahāriṭṭha.³² Duṭṭhagāmaṇi Abhaya had a Minister named Tissa :³³ his Ministers were distinct from his 10 commanders.

In exile, Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya had 8 Ministers.³⁴ One of them named Tissa founded the Uttaratissārāma or Tissārāma.³⁵ Inscriptions at Nuvarakanda, the ancient name of which was Tisapavata Mahavihara (P. Tissapabbata Mahāvihāra), record the construction of some of its earliest caves by the *Gamika* (Village Headman) Kaṇaṭṭisa who was a Minister (*Amati*) of Gamaṇi Abaya Pita Maharaja (Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya) :³⁶ in all probability the Chronicle and the inscriptions refer to the same Minister and the same benefaction. An inscription at Kaduruvāva gives the names of 5 generations of *Ametis* (Ministers), the first the Chief Minister of Mahācūḷi Mahātissa and the last a Minister of Mahādāthikamahānāga :—DEVANIPI TISA MAHARAJAHA NAVASI-(TA) NAMA MAHA AMETIYA PUTE PARUMAKA TISA NAMA PUTE PARUMAKA VAHAṬIMADE NAMA ETA AMETAHA PUTE PARUMAKA KANAPETIKETISA NAMA ETA AMETA(HA) PUTE PARUMAKA DATA AMATI NAMA MAHAṆAKA RAJAHA MAHA DORATAṆA PAṬIVITA DINE.³⁷ This is probably a very exceptional case of the office of Minister having been held by members of one family down to the great-great-grandson, through 6 reigns and over a period of about 100 years. An inscription of the 1st century B.C. at Paramākanda records the grant of a cave by *Ameta* Vahiṭimata.³⁸ Another of the same period at Demaṭagala³⁹ names *Amatiya* Baraya as the joint donor of a cave. One of Bhatikābhaya's Ministers was *Ameta* Maḷitaya⁴⁰ and another was a Brāhmaṇa.⁴¹

In the pre-Christian period, therefore, we have references in the Chronicles to Ministers from the time of the first King, Vijaya, onwards : though the Chief Minister is not specifically mentioned till the reign of Devānāpiya Tissa, there is no reason to assume that the office did not exist earlier. The inscriptions of

30. *M.* 7, 43 to 45.

31. *M.* 8, 4 to 5.

32. *M.* 11, 20 ; 16, 10.

33. *M.* 24, 20 to 27.

34. *M.* 33, 68 to 71.

35. *M.* 33, 91 ; D. 19, 20.

36. *C.J.S.* II, 126 to 128.

37. *A.S.C.A.R.* 1895, 13 ; 1935, 10.

38. *C.J.S.* II, 108.

39. In the Yāla Strict Natural Reserve.

40. *A.C.I.* 31, revised.

41. *E.H.B.* (*Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, by E. W. Adikaram), p. 88.

the pre-Christian period include two references to *Mahamatas* (not mentioned in the Chronicles), one to the *Maha Ameti*, and six to *Ametis*. Their grants were caves, a thūpa and fields.

Epigraphical references to *Maha Ameti* and *Ameti* become far more numerous in the 1st, 2nd and 3rd centuries A.C. An inscription of the 1st century at Avukana Vihāra⁴² records the grant of a tank by an *Amati*:—SI(DDHAM) VAYAVAḌA TISAHA PUTI BAHURAVAMATI KAḶUBAHA VAVI SAGA DIṆI. Another inscription of the same period at Ilukvāva⁴³ reads:—SIDDHAM Symbol AMITIYA MAHAJAṆUKA SAGAYA DINE KABURAKA VAVIYA CETIYA DINE. Grants made by *Ametis* during this period include tanks, fields, money (Kahavaṇas) and water-rights and revenues of tanks and irrigation channels. Several of the technical terms used in connection with these grants (mataramaji-baka, dakabaka, dakapati, bojiya-pati, bakapati, dopati, mahapati) have not yet been satisfactorily explained.

In the 2nd century an *Ameti* was Rohaṇa-bojika, the governor of Rohaṇa.⁴⁴ King Vasabha's *Ameti* named Isigaraya was governor of Nakadiva (Nāgadīpa, the Jaffna peninsula).⁴⁵ Another of his ministers was governor of the eastern coast (Pajinakara bujāmini).⁴⁶ Some ministers, therefore, were provincial administrators.

The inscribed slabs of the late 2nd century at Dakkhiṇa Vihāra, Anurādhapura, mention the *Ametiya* named Maha Bamaṇaya: at all times Brāhmaṇas held high office at the King's Court. Vohārika Tissa's Minister, Kapila, was entrusted with the investigation of the authenticity of the Vaitulya Piṭaka and gave his decision that it was not true doctrine.⁴⁷

Sirisamghabodhi's Treasurer (*Bhaṇḍāgārika*) was the Minister Gcṭhābhaya who afterwards became king.⁴⁸ Ministers had their own Treasurers.⁴⁹

The title *Ameti-paheja* occurs in a 4th century inscription and Paranavitana has suggested that Paheja is probably equivalent to Pāli, Pārisajja, and that it means a 'Councillor'.⁵⁰ Its significance in association with *Ameti* is not clear. Some persons were Pahejas who were not *Ametis*. The Rasnakavāva inscription⁵¹ of the 1st century contains the phrase, TOJANAHINA-KEHI MA TISAHA MAṆU PAHEJA BIKU SAGAHA ATANI CATAL(I)SA

42. A.S.C.A.R. 1893, 6.

43. In Hurulu Palāta, N.C.P.

44. C.J.S. II, 18.

45. E.Z. IV, 237.

46. Inscription at Kūmacōlai, about 10 miles north-west of Batticaloa.

47. M. 36, 41; N.S. 11.

48. M. 36, 91.

49. C.J.S. II, 126, Nos. 529, 532; II, 216, No. 680.

50. E.Z. III, 177.

51. A.S.C.A.R. 1892, 7.

KAVENAGATI TUMAHASANAPATI DINI. Another reference of the same period to a Paheja occurs in a mutilated inscription at Uddhakandara.⁵² In a 4th century inscription at Kaṭugampolagama, an *Ameti*'s son is styled Paheja.⁵³ The title Paheja also occurs in 3 or 4 inscriptions of the 5th century, but not in association with *Ameti*.

There seems to be no doubt but the office of *Ameti* originated when Kingship was first established in Ceylon. It was not hereditary but, doubtless, the Ministers were generally chosen from the noble families. Some Ministers, like the *Mahāmattas* of the Mauryan Empire, were provincial administrators. A *Gamika* (Village Headman) was of sufficiently high degree to be *Ameti* in the reign of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya. Some *Parumakas* were Ministers.

Parumaka

References to the title *Parumaka* (usually rendered into English as 'Chief-tain') are numerous in the early inscriptions of Ceylon. Its absence in the Ceylon Chronicles becomes, therefore, the more conspicuous. Wickremesinghe was undecided as to its etymology, whether from Skt. *Paramaka* or Skt. *Pramukha*.⁵⁴ Paranavitana's view is that *Parumaka* is identical with Skt. *Pramukha* and Pāli, *Pamukha* or *Pāmokkha*, and that in Pāli literature it denoted the nobility as well as the president of a guild or corporation.⁵⁵ The nature and extent of the authority of the *Pāmokkha* over the guilds in uncertain and the distinction between him and the *Jeṭṭhaka* is not clear.⁵⁶

Our inscriptions include 35 to 40 instances where the son of a *Parumaka* is not designated *Parumaka*. In 4 instances the son is designated *Parumaka* while the father is not:—(i) GUTA PUTAHA PARUMAKA PURAHA LEṆE AGATA (ANA)GATA CATUDIŚA ŚAGAŚA;⁵⁷ (ii) GAPATI AVIRADA PUTA PARUMAKA DEVAHA LEṆE;⁵⁸ (iii) PARUMAKA BAKINIYA VEḶAHA LEṆE AHALI PUTA PARUMAKA DATAHA LEṆE ŚAGAŚA;⁵⁹ and (iv) GAṆAKA CALITIŚA PUTA PARUMAKA TIŚAHA LEṆE.⁶⁰ In the second of these inscriptions the *Parumaka*'s father was a *Gapati* (householder) and in the fourth a *Gaṇaka* (accountant). In 76 inscriptions father and son are both styled *Parumaka*; considering, however, that there are about 40

52. See note 29.

53. *C.J.S.* II, 110; *E.Z.* IV, 128.

54. *E.Z.* I, 17.

55. *J.R.A.S.*, July, 1936, 447 to 448.

56. *C.H.I.*, Vol. I, p. 206.

57. *A.S.C.A.R.* 1911-12, 96, Cave No. 19, revised.

58. At Situlpavva, in the Yāla National Park.

59. At Handagala Vihāra, near Horovopotāna, N.C.P.

60. At Maha Āḷagamuva Vihāra, near Kākirāva, N.C.P.

inscriptions where this rule does not obtain, and, particularly, the Situlpavva inscription of a *Parumaka* who was the son of a *Gapati*,⁶¹ one may conclude somewhat confidently that the title *Parumaka* was not hereditary.

A King's daughter married a *Parumaka*.⁶² A *Parumaka* was the grandfather of a Princess:—ABI UPALAYA AYAKA PARUMAKA ŚUMANA PUTA PARUMAKA TIŚAHA LEÑE.⁶³ The *Senāpatis* of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi Abhaya and Saddhā Tissa were *Parumakas*.⁶⁴ The 3 sons of a *Mahamata* were *Parumakas*.⁶⁵ *Parumakas* were Ministers.⁶⁶ A *Parumaka* commanded the company of the King's palanquin-bearers:—MAHARAJAŚI GAMAṆI ABAYASA SIVIKA ADAKA PARUMAKA MAJIMAŚA (LE)NE AGATA ANAGATA.⁶⁷ The King's Treasurer (*Baḍakarika*) was a *Parumaka*:—(i) PITA MAHARAJAHA BAḌAKARIKA PARUMAKA ŚUMANA PUTA PARUMAKA CEMAŚA LEÑE RAJA TIŚAHA RAJIYAŚI NIYATE AGATA ANAGATA CATUDIŚA ŚAGAŚA ;⁶⁸ (ii) MAHARAJAHA PAṆITA BAḌAKARIKA PARUMAKA ŚUMANAHA.⁶⁹ There are other inscriptions of *Parumakas* who held the office of *Baḍakarika* but it is not expressly stated that they were *Baḍakarikas* to the King.⁷⁰

There are a few epigraphs in which *Parumakas* figure as owners of tanks (vavi hamika):—(i) GOKAṆEGAMAKA VAVI HAMIKA PARUMAKA TISAHA LEÑE ŚAGAŚA ;⁷¹ (ii) ANUḶAPI VAPI HAMIKA PARUMAKA MAHA VETALAYA LEÑE ŚAGHAŚA ;⁷² (iii) NAKOḌAPIKA VAPI HAMIKA PARUMAKA MAHADATAHA PUTA PARUMAKA DIGADATAHA LEÑE ŚAGHAŚA ;⁷³ and (iv) KAḶABUTAKA VAVI HA(MIKA PARU)MAKA DASAHAHA LEÑE ŚAGAYA NIYATE.⁷⁴ These are not the only instances of private ownership of tanks at this period. The Tōṅigala

61. The combination *Gapati Parumaka* does not occur anywhere.

62. *J.R.A.S.*, July, 1936, 449.

63. At Balaharuvakanda, in Vāllavāya Kōralē, Ūva.

64. See notes 7 and 8.

65. *E.Z.* I, 152.

66. See note 37.

67. At Kumburulena, *C.J.S.* II, 194. The King was probably Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya.

68. See *A.S.C.A.R.* 1934, para 71(iii) for the identification of the Kings.

69. At Tōrava Mayilāva in Vanni H.P., Kurunāgala District.

70. In *A.S.C.A.R.* 1911-12, 94, Cave No. 2 ; 96, Cave No. 16 ; and 98, Caves Nos. 4, 5 and 6, *Baḍakarika* has been erroneously rendered *Baḍakajhaka* and mistranslated. A sixth inscription at Mihintalē reads :—BAḌAKARIKA PARUMAKA SAGAHA PUTA PARUMAKA UTIYA VIVANA LEÑE CATUDISIKA SAGAYE NIYATE. An inscription at Bambaragastalāva in Pānama Pattu, Batticaloa District, reads :—PARUMAKA BAḌAKARIKA NAGA KULAHA CA GOTIMATAHA CA LEÑE.

71. At Ganēkanda, *A.S.C.A.R.* 1932, 9.

72. At Handagala Vihāra, near Horovopotāna, N.C.P.

73. *Ibid.*

74. At Avukana Vihāra, N.C.P.

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inscription, for example, records the grant of a tank to a Vihāra by a *Parumaka*.⁷⁵ Vavi hamika appears to have been used in the foregoing inscriptions as a mark of distinction ; perhaps, the private ownership of a tank was uncommon and enhanced the *Parumaka's* status.

Three inscriptions describe the *Parumaka* as *Bhojaka* of a locality :—
 (i) MAṬUKAGAMA BUJIKE PARUMAKA TIŠA(GU)TAYA LEÑE ;⁷⁶
 (ii) GAṬIKA BOJIIYANA PARUMAKA GOPALAHA BARIYA UPAŠIKA CITAYA LEÑE ŠAGAŠA ;⁷⁷ and (iii) PIYAKAPAŠAÑA BOJIIKA PARUMAKA NARAYAGUTAHA LEÑE ŠAGAŠA.⁷⁸ Maṭukagama was a village, Gaṭika was a village or local area, and Piyakapasana was the hill now called Galkanda. In the first of these inscriptions the *Parumaka* was *Gāma-bhojaka* of Maṭukagama but not the *Gamika* or Village Headman. (There is no epigraphical record of a *Parumaka* also being a *Gamika*, or *vice versa*). The *Gāma-bhojaka* in Ceylon did not signify the *Gamika*.

Some Brāhmaṇas bore the title *Parumaka* :—(i) PARUMAKA BAMAṆA TIŠAHA LEÑE ŠAGAŠA DINE ;⁷⁹ (ii) PARUMAKA BAMAṆAHA PUTA DATAKAYAGUTAHA LEÑE ŠAGAŠA ;⁸⁰ (iii) ŠAGAŠA BAMAṆA MEGALI PUTA PARUMAKA MAJIMA PUTA DATAHA LEÑE ;⁸¹ and (iv) PARUMAKA BADIHARAMITA PUTA PARUMAKA BAMAṆA UTIYA LEÑE AGATA ANAGATA CATUDIŠA ŠAGAŠA.⁸² The King's Purohita or " Chaplain " was always a Brāhmaṇa : Brāhmaṇas held office as the King's teacher and as Ministers and they were a wealthy and influential class in the early period.⁸³

Of more than usual interest are the following inscriptions in which the title *Parumaka* was borne by women :—(i) PARUMAKA MAHATIŠA PUTA PARUMAKA AYIMARAHA LEÑE JAYA ŠADI ŠADAYA PARUMAKA ŠUPAṬAMA JITA PARUMAKA LUŠOṆAYA ;⁸⁴ (ii) PARUMAKA PUŠA-DEVAŠA JAYA PARUMAKA LAŠOṆAYA LEÑE NAGAYAHA RAJAYAHI KAṬE ŠAGAŠA ;⁸⁵ (iii) PARUMAKA MITA JAYA PARUMAKA ŠATANAŠATA JITA PARUMAKA LUPUŠAYA LEÑE AGATA (A)-

75. A.I.C. 1.

76. At Dambulla Vihāra.

77. At Galgiriyaṅvakanda in Hiriyāla, H.P., Kurunāgala District.

78. At Galkandēgama in Hurulu Palāta, N.C.P.

79. At Dambulla Vihāra.

80. At Handagala Vihāra.

81. At Diyabāṭṭa Vihāra, A.I.C. 48.

82. Kandegamakanda, *C.A. III*, 208. Yet another inscription of *Parumaka Bamaṇa* appears at *C.J.S. II*, 227.

83. *Pre-Buddhist Religious Beliefs*, by S. Paranavitana, *J.R.A.S. (C.B.)*, 31, No. 82, 321.

84. At Situlpavva, in the Yāla National Park.

85. A.S.C.A.R. 1934, para 71(i).

NAGATA CATU ŚAGAŚA ;⁸⁶ (iv) PARUMAKA LAŚUMANAYA CA PARUMAKA ŚAMUDAHA CITA TERAHA CA LEṆE ŚAGAŚA ;⁸⁷ (v) PARUMAKA DATA JITA PARUMAKA BAGINIYA NADIKAŚA JAYA PARUMAKA LAŚUMAṆAYA LEṆA AGATA ANAGATA CATUDIŚA ŚAGAŚA DINE ;⁸⁸ (vi) the Mādagama inscription ;⁸⁹ and (vii) the Sangamu inscription.⁹⁰ Three of the ladies were daughters as well as wives of *Parumakas* : six were wives of *Parumakas*. Residentially, they were widely separated, so that this was no local peculiarity. It is difficult to conceive that in these 7 instances the title *Parumaka* signified the presidency of a guild or corporation, or conferred territorial or administrative jurisdiction : probably, it was only titular.

The epigraphical evidence fully justifies Paranavitana's view that " there were probably many hundreds of them (*Parumakas*) at the same time ".⁹¹ It also shows that the title was not hereditary although it was borne by an upper class or nobility from whom were drawn the higher officials of the kingdom. Men who were not the sons of *Parumakas* could be elevated to that rank. The title did not necessarily imply territorial jurisdiction or authority. The social degrees below the King appear to have been : (i) Princes and Princesses, (ii) *Parumakas*, or the nobility and (iii) *Gamikas*, the village chiefs, a lesser degree of nobility.

Though the title *Parumaka* went out of use in the inscriptions in the early part of the 1st century A.C., strangely, the King's title, *Ma Parumaka* came into use about 150 years afterwards. Grants to temples made by *Parumakas* included tanks and fields : one *Parumaka* built a thūpa.

Bhaṇḍāgārika, Baḍakarika

The *Bhaṇḍāgārika* (lit. ' houser of goods ') in Pāli literature was not confined to the custody of money and it is possible that his duties extended to other goods and not only to the King's exchequer : how far the office coincided with that of a modern Treasurer is not known.⁹² Asoka's *Bhaṇḍāgārika* was in charge of the Imperial treasury and storehouse.⁹³

Devānaṃpiya Tissa's Treasurer (*Bhaṇḍāgārika*) was one of the envoys sent by the King to the court of Asoka.⁹⁴ Inscriptions in which 2 Royal Trea-

86. A.S.C.A.R. 1905, 44, No. 6, revised.

87. At Virandagoḍa, A.S.C.A.R. 1911-12, 69.

88. At Brakmaṇayagamakanda, near Horovopotāna, N.C.P.

89. C.J.S. II, 221, No. 719.

90. C.J.S. II, 223, No. 732.

91. J.R.A.S. July, 1936, 462.

92. C.H.I., 206.

93. *Asoka and his Inscriptions*, by B. M. Barua, 172.

94. M. II, 20 to 21.

SOME OFFICES AND TITLES IN THE EARLY SINHALESE KINGDOM

urers (*Baḍakarika*) are named have already been quoted.⁹⁵ Other Treasurers who were *Parumakas* and may have been Royal Treasurers are mentioned in inscriptions at Mihintalē and Bambaragastalāva.⁹⁶ A *Gamika* was a *Baḍakarika* :—BAḌAKARIKA GAMIKA ANUḌIYA JITA UPAŚIKA TIŚAYA LEṆE.⁹⁷ A Minister had his own Treasurer :⁹⁸ so had a *Gamika*.⁹⁹ The son of a *Parumaka* was *Baḍakarika* :—PARUMAKA MITA PUTA BAḌAKARIKA DATAHA.¹⁰⁰ The Minister, Gothābhaya, was the King's Treasurer :¹⁰¹ thus, one of the Ministers held the office of Royal Treasurer in the 3rd century. Ministers and high officials had their own Treasurers. *Baḍakarikas* were, therefore, of different grades. Grants made by *Baḍakarikas* included fields and irrigation revenues.

Gāmika, Gamika

In the Manavadharmasāstra the head of one village is called the *Grāmika*.¹⁰² In Pāli literature and in the *Mahāvamsa*,¹⁰³ *Gāmika* is also used in the sense of 'villager' or 'resident of a village'. There is much uncertainty as to the differences in office and functions between the *Gāma-bhojaka*, *Gāmaṇi* and *Gāmika* in the Mauryan Empire. The Ceylon epigraphs leave one in no doubt that *Gamika* as used in them meant the Village Headman. In most of these inscriptions he is described as the son of a *Gamika*, but there is a sufficient number of exceptions to show that the office usually, but not always, passed from father to son.

A *Gamika* was a Minister of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya.¹⁰⁴ *Gamikas* had their own *Baḍakarikas*.¹⁰⁵ A *Gamika* held the office of *Baḍakarika*, perhaps that of the King's Treasurer.¹⁰⁶ A *Gamika* was the maternal grandfather of a Prince.¹⁰⁷ A *Gamika's* daughter married a *Parumaka* :—GAMIKA VAHABA JITAYA PARUMAKA PUŚADEVA JAYA LEṆE UPAŚIKA ŚIVAYA LEṆE.¹⁰⁸ The *Gamika* was not a Village Headman in the present-day sense but a member of the lower segment of the nobility.

95. See notes 68 and 69.

96. See note 70.

97. At Mihintalē.

98. *C.J.S.* II, 216.

99. *C.J.S.* II, 126.

100. At Situlpavva.

101. *M.* 36, 91.

102. *Manu*, VII, 123.

103. *M.* 23, 66.

104. See note 36.

105. See notes 36 and 99.

106. See note 97.

107. *C.A.* III, 209, Cave No. 4.

108. At Dambulla Vihāra.

In a few inscriptions the village over which the *Gamika* was chief is mentioned :—(i) BATA NAGAHA LEÑE ŚAGAŚA MATALA GAMIKA PUTA GAMIKA TIŚAHA LEÑE ;¹⁰⁹ (ii) KAÑAYUTA GAMIKA ABAYA PUTA GAMIKA ŚUMANAŚA LEÑE MAHAŚUDAŚANE ŚAGAŚA ;¹¹⁰ (iii) KAÑAYUTA GAMIKA ŚUMANAŚA BARIYA UPAŚIKA TIŚAYA LEÑE ŚAGAŚA ;¹¹¹ (iv) DANATEKA GAMIKA PUTA GAMIKA TIŚAHA JAYA UPAŚIKA MAGILAYA LEÑE ŚAGIKE ;¹¹² (v) MUKALU GAMIKA ŚUMANA PUTA IDABUTIYE LEÑE AGATA ANAGATA CATUDIŚA ŚAGAŚA DINE DANU ACIRIYAHA ;¹¹³ (vi) the Nätṭunkanda inscription ;¹¹⁴ and (vii) the Mutugala inscription.¹¹⁵

The use of *Gamika* in inscriptions ceases more or less contemporaneously with the cessation of *Parumaka* early in the 1st century A.C. The inscriptions supply no evidence as to what designation took its place : it can be confidently assumed that the office was not abolished.

Gaṇaka

Paranavitana renders the word *Gaṇaka* as 'Accountant' but he points out that other possible renderings are :—leader of a gaṇa, an astrologer, an overseer and a member of a corporation.¹¹⁶

A *Gaṇaka's* son was a *Parumaka*.¹¹⁷ A *Gamika's* son was a *Gaṇaka* :—GAMIKA ŚATAKA PUTA GAṆAKA NUGUYA JITAYA DARAKATIŚAYE LEÑE ŚAGAŚA PADITITE VAPI CA KARAPITA M(U)RAGAMA MU . . .¹¹⁸. A *Gaṇaka* was also a *Gapati* (householder) :—GAPATI GAṆAKAŚA VEMARUKANA ŚIVAŚA LEÑE ŚAGA(ŚA).¹¹⁹ In the following inscription the mention of the village suggests that the *Gaṇaka* named was *Gaṇaka* of that village :—PAŚANADARIYAGAMAŚI GANAKA TIŚA PUTA GANAKA TIŚAHA LEÑE.¹²⁰ Other epigraphical references to *Gaṇakas* do not exceed 3 or 4. It would appear that the office of *Gaṇaka* was inferior to that of *Badakarika*.

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109. At Handagala Vihāra.
 110. At Vihāregala, in Pānama Pattu.
 111. *Ibid.*
 112. At Bambarahela, near Kahaṭagasdigiliya, N.C.P.
 113. Nuvarakanda in Vanni, H.P., Kurunāgala District.
 114. A.S.C. 7th Report, 48.
 115. C.A. III, 212, Cave No. 11.
 116. E.Z. III, 116, 119.
 117. See note 60.
 118. At Maṇḍagala, in the Yāla Strict National Reserve.
 119. At Magul-maha-Vihāra, in the Yāla National Park.
 120. At Situlpavva.

Ratika or Raṭiya

Raṭṭhika-bhojaka as used in Asoka's and Khāravēla's inscriptions meant a chief who administered and derived his revenues from a district or division.¹²¹ In Pāli literature *Raṭṭhika* signified a high dignitary of the state: in Ceylon, *Raṭika* or *Raṭiya* was the officer administering a territorial division called a Raṭa.¹²² Pliny's 'Rachias' was very probably a *Raṭiya*.

The earliest epigraphical use of *Ratika* is in an inscription of early 1st A.C. at Galabāva which commences:—(SI)DDHAM RAṬIKA UTALAYAHA VIHARA.¹²³ A mutilated inscription of the same century at Ridivihāra terminates with the words:—RAṬIKA DATAHA TUBE. The Vāllagala inscription of approximately the same period records a gift to the cetiya by the *Ratika* in charge of Paṇahapahaṇa ('50 rocky hills') district.¹²⁴ An inscription at "Line"—malai¹²⁵ of the reign of Kaniṭṭha Tissa (167-186) reads:—SIDDHAM MAḶ(I)TISA MAHARAJI ṄAKAMULAYAHA HUVAHAKA BUJAṄAKALAHĪ RAṬIYA HATA · DA · YA KIRAVĪKA (DARA)MARAYA (DARA)KAḶA VAVĪ GAṄAVAYA RA · · MA KOṬU DAKAPATIYA KARA KAḶAYA SIPAVATA VEHERAHI BOTAGEHI DIṆĪ MAHAPAKA VAṬA. This *Raṭiya* administered the Huvahaka District, called Huvācakaṇṇika in the *Mahāvamsa*,¹²⁶ a part of the Province now called Ūva. The form *Ratika* changed to *Raṭiya* sometime in the 2nd century. The Periyakaḍu inscription¹²⁷ of the reign of Sirināga I (189-209) records a grant by the son of the *Raṭiya* Soṇaya. The 3rd century inscriptions at Burutankanda,¹²⁸ Badagiriya,¹²⁹ and Kimbulāgala¹³⁰ are records of donations by *Raṭiyas*. References to *Raṭiyas* are more frequent in the inscriptions of the 4th and 5th centuries, a period outside the scope of this paper. The office of *Ratika* or *Raṭiya* was established, judging by the epigraphical evidence, early in the 1st century A.C. This was the time when the order of *Parumakas* was beginning to pass away. No *Ratika* has the additional title *Parumaka*. The evidence does not, however, lend any support to a conclusion that *Ratika* was a new name for *Parumaka*. Donations made by *Raṭikas* or *Raṭiyas* included thūpas, tanks, fields, water revenues, paddy and money.

121. *Asoka and his Inscriptions*, by B. M. Barua, 83.

122. *E.Z.* III, 252.

123. A.S.C.A.R. 1933, para 71.

124. *C.J.S.* II, 126, No. 528.

125. Near Arugam Bay.

126. *M.* 34, 90.

127. *C.J.S.* II, 215, No. 676.

128. *E.Z.* III, 252.

129. A.I.C. 68.

130. A.S.C.A.R. 1893, 11.

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It should be added, in conclusion, that the main object of this paper is to present the historical and epigraphical material in a collated form so that further research on the precise meaning and functions of these ancient offices and titles may be facilitated.

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